THE *ANNALS* and *HISTORY* OF Cornelius Tacitus;

His Account of the

ANTIENT GERMANS

AND THE

LIFE of AGRICOLA.

Made Engliſh by ſeveral Hands.

WITH THE

POLITICAL REFLECTIONS

AND

HISTORICAL NOTES

OF

Monſieur Amelot *De La Houſſay*, and the Learned Sir Henry Savile.

In Three Volumes.

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To the Right Honourable

WILLIAM

Lord *DIGBY*,

Baron of *GEASHIL*

In the Kingdom of *Ireland*:

This Volume of CORNELIUS TACITUS, *is moſt humbly Dedicated, by,*

MY LORD,

Your Lordſhip's

Moſt Devoted Servant,

M. GILLYFLOWER.

A CHARACTER OF *C. Cornelius Tacitus* AND HIS WRITINGS.

By *Justus Lipsius.*

CAIUS CORNELIUS TACITUS, whom we commonly find mentioned with the *Prænomen* of *Publius*, descended not from that Noble *Cornelian* Family, so Celebrated in the *Roman* Senate and Story, but from another House of the same Name, though of less Note and Quality. The time of his

Birth, ſo far as I am able to Judge, muſt have been about the latter end of *Ti. Claudius* his Reign. Whether his Father and Grandfather bore publick Offices, or raiſed themſelves to any of the Honourable Poſts in the *Roman* State, is a Matter too dark and diſtant for me to be poſitive in; but, if I may be allowed to interpoſe my private Opinion, it ſeems to me more probably, that he (*a*) was the firſt Man of Quality in his Family. His firſt Riſe was under *Veſpaſian*, who (as *Pliny* acquaints us) advanced him to the Procuratorſhip of *Gallia Belgica*, and made him Superintendant of that Province. Upon his return to *Rome*, he had the Office of Quæſtor conferred upon him, (if I miſtake not) by *Titus*: Thus much at leaſt is out of Diſpute, that he, in his own Books of Hiſtory, acknowledges the Dignity to which *Veſpaſian* had firſt pro-

(*a*) Monſieur *Bayle* hath truly obſerved, that in this, *Lipſius* contradicts himſelf; for in his Note on thoſe Words, *Dignitatem a Veſpaſiano, &c.* Hiſt. Lib. 1. he makes the Procuratorſhip of *Gallia Belgica* mentioned here ſhortly after to have been conferred by *Veſpaſian*, not upon *Tacitus* himſelf, but upon his Father. To which I add, That the Circumſtance of his being near *Pliny*'s Age makes it highly improbable, that *Veſpaſian* ſhould employ him in ſuch a Truſt. For if *Pliny* were but 18 when his Uncle died, that is, in the 2d of *Titus*; and if *Tacitus* were no great matter elder than he, at what Age muſt we ſuppoſe him made by *Veſpaſian* Procurator of *Gallia Belgica*. Now, if his Father had this Poſt, then it is plain, that *Tacitus* was not the firſt Man of Quality in his Family, that Office being, as himſelf ſtyles it in the Life of *Agricola*, *Equeſtris Nobilitas*: But whatever *Lipſius* hath taken away from *Tacitus* his Birth, *Morery* hath made up, who by a miſtake in the other extreme, repreſents him as a Branch of the Noble *Cornelian* Family.

promoted him, to have received ſuch Acceſſions from *Titus*: And what Advancement this could be except the Office of Quæſtor, or that of Ædile, is not eaſie to determine, ſince we are well aſſured, he did not attain to the other of Prætor till the Fourteenth Conſulate of *Domitian*, which (by the way) ſhews us the miſtake of a certain Learned Perſon, who will needs make *Tacitus* to have been Prætor in the Ninth Conſulate of *Domitian*, and the Second of *Verginius Rufus*. For *Tacitus* himſelf is expreſs in the Eleventh of his Annals, that he, as one of the Quindecimviri, (whoſe Buſineſs it was to ſee the the Rites and Religious Ceremonies duly obſerved, and at the ſame time Prætor too, was particularly carefull in ordering the * *Ludi Saeculares*, exhibited by *Domitian*. Now theſe were celebrated in the Eight Hundred and Forty Firſt year after the Founding of *Rome*; which Computation falls Five years later than *Vertrunius* hath placed them. But of this Account Antiquity hath left us Evident Proof, there being ſtill extant ſeveral Coins with this Inſcription: IMP. CÆS. FLAV. DOMITIANUS. AUG. GERM. PONT. MAX. TR. POTEST. VIII. COS. XIV. LUD. SAEC. FECIT.

* *A Solemnity regularly repeated but once in a hundred years, inſtituted by* Valer. Publicola, *celebrated by* Auguſtus *after long intermiſſion, then by* Claudius *out of time, and now by* Domitian, *computing from thoſe of* Auguſtus, *and the ſeventh from their firſt Inſtitution. See* Alex. ab Alexand. Lib. 5. C. 24. & Lib. 6. C. 19.

After this it was a great while before his Promotion to the Conſulſhip, which happened under *Nerva*,

Nerva, in the year of *Rome* Eight Hundred and Fifty, he being choſen into the place of *F. Verginius Rufus* deceaſed; The ſame Perſon, who with ſuch an inflexible firmneſs of Mind diſdained the Offers of the Empire made him by the German Legions, and whoſe Funeral Oration was ſpoken by *Tacitus* himſelf. Some have pretended, that he was Baniſhed under *Domitian*; but this ſurmiſe I am apt chiefly to charge upon the Temper of the common People, which being extremely given to amuſe the World with ſome very remarkable Events attending the Lives of Great Men, thought *Tacitus* too conſiderable to paſs without ſomething of this kind. For good Authority to countenance this Opinion I meet with none. The utmoſt my Reading furniſhes me with, is only an Account of his being abſent from *Rome* for ſome years, and this was at the very time of his Father-in-Law *Julius Agricola*'s Death, when *Pompeius Conlega* and *Cor. Priſcus* were Conſuls: But that abſence ſeems to have been the effect not of Neceſſity but Choice; no Exile impoſed, but a Retirement of a Perſon ſick of Trouble and Buſineſs, and deſirous to be quiet, and yet rid of a bad World. And as for that other Fancy of the ſame Authors, That *Domitian* was at laſt prevailed upon to recall him from a Ten years Exile, it is Fiction all over: Nor can I think how this particular term of Ten years came to be fixed upon, except their Heads were full of the *Trojan* War, and ſo applied the continuance of that to the matter then before them: For every Man awake and in his Senſes, muſt know,

that

that after thoſe *Ludi Sæculares*, (at which time *Tacitus* was undoubtedly Prætor and actually in *Rome*) *Domitian* lived but Seven years, for in the Eighth he was Murdered by the Conſpirators. And this is the Account of *Tacitus* with regard to his Publick Character.

As for his private Capacity; we find, that in the Year of *Rome* Eight Hundred and Thirty, he Married the Daughter of *Agricola*, then Conſul with *Veſpaſian*, with whom he lived many years in great Affection and conſtant good Agreement. There is little doubt to be made of his leaving Iſſues, for from him I am very apt to believe, *M. Claudius Tacitus* ſprung, who many Deſcents after was called Emperor; (for ſo the Coins name him, and not *P. Annius Tacitus*, as we commonly find him called.) And this Perſon, *Flavius Vopiſcus* ſays, uſed to ſpeak of our *Tacitus* as his Anceſtor.

The former part of his Life was employed in publick Pleadings and the Practice of the Law, but when he grew into (*b*) years he betook himſelf to Writing his Hiſtory. From ſome Paſſages in *Pliny*'s Epiſtles we may plainly perceive, that *Tacitus* was eſteemed one of the beſt Orators of thoſe times, and that ſeveral Orations of his were publiſhed. He was Contemporary with *Quintilian*, both the *Pliny*'s, *Julius Florus*, *Secundus*, *Maternus*, *M. Aper*, *Eprius Marcellus*, and *Vipſanius Meſſalla*. The firſt Compoſitions of this kind were certainly his Books of Hiſtory, beginning at *Nero*'s Death, and continued down to the Reign of *Nerva*. After theſe, he wrote his Annals, reaching from the Death of *Auguſtus* to the end of *Nero*, of both which

which Undertakings, how much and what Parts are loſt, I ſhall have occaſion to obſerve hereafter. *Fulgentius* mentions ſome Books of Ingenious Sayings attributed to him, of which he produces this ſmall Fragment, *Caſi itaque morum eclogio in filiis relicto.* The exact time of his Death I pretend not to determine, though I think I am not miſtaken in that of his Birth, for the computing of which, *Pliny* the younger hath given one hint ſufficient in the Seventh Book of his Epiſtles, where he ſays, That he was near upon the matter as old as *Tacitus*; and he declares, that he was in * his Eighteenth year when that Eruption of *Veſuvius* happened, in which his Uncle was loſt. Now that Burning of the Mountain happened in the Second year of *Titus*, and therefore *Pliny*, according to this reckoning, was certainly born in the Year of *Rome* Eight Hundred and Sixteen; *Memmius Regulus* and *Verginius Rufus* then Conſuls. But now *Pliny* hath told us in the ſame Epiſtle, that *Tacitus* was ſomewhat the Elder of the two, ſo that he muſt needs have been Born about the latter end of *Claudius*, or more probably the beginning of *Nero*, and he lived, as I conceive, till the time of *Adrian*. It is obſervable that he began not to compoſe his Hiſtory till *Nerva* was dead: This is abundantly manifeſt from the Title he gives him in the beginning of the Firſt Book. For *Divus Nerva, Nervæ of Bleſſed Memory*, is an Appellation of Honour never applied to any Prince in his own Life time.

Epiſt. 20.

* *See* Pliny's *Epiſt. XVI. and XX. Lib. VI.*

A N

AN ACCOUNT OF *C. Cornelius Tacitus*, FROM *F. de la Mothe de le-Vayer*, IN HIS Judgment of the HISTORIANS, Both *Ancient* and *Modern*.

THE Reaſon why all the Impreſſions of *Tacitus* now extant place his Annals before his Hiſtory, is, I preſume, becauſe they begin higher, and are drawn down from the latter end of *Auguſtus*, to that of

of *Nero*, (though even of his Reign the two * laſt years are wanting) whereas the Hiſtory ſets out from the Death of that Monſter of a Prince, and was continued to the Auſpicious Government of *Nerva* and *Trajan*. But notwithſtanding this Order in the Book it ſelf, there is no doubt, but in Time, the Hiſtory had Precedence. This, as neareſt to his own Knowledge, was his firſt Compoſition, and accordingly in the Eleventh of his Annals we find it quoted by himſelf, and the Reader referred to what he had formerly Written concerning *Domitian*, whoſe Actions he no where concerns himſelf to give any account of that we know, except in that part of his Writings only, which are publiſhed under the Title of his Hiſtories. Of theſe we have now but Five Books remaining, though I believe *Lipſius* does not gueſs much amiſs (*c*), when he thinks that Ten at leaſt have been loſt. And indeed, any Man who conſiders, that from *Galba* to *Nerva* and (*d*) *Trajan* contains the ſpace of One and Twenty years at leaſt, will find little difficulty to perſuade himſelf, that by much

* *So it ſhould be* deux *not* ouze.

(*c*) In all probability there muſt have been many more; for the Times treated of in the Parts that are loſt ſeem equally fruitful of matter, and indeed the term is much longer than what we find here mentioned: From the Death of *Nero* to that of *Domitian* being 28 years and 3 months. *Nero* died the 10th of *June*, *An. V. C.* 819. and *Domitian* was killed in *September.* 847.

(*d*) His Deſign in this Piece was laid no farther than *Domitian*'s Death, *Nerva* and *Trajan* being ſet aſide as an Argument for a freſh Undertaking. *See Note* (*b*).

(*e*) *Thu-*

much the greater part of this Work is wanting, when he reflects, that the Matters contained in the Five Books we now have were moſt, if not all, tranſacted within the compaſs of one ſingle year. The Style of this Part is ſomething more Copious and Florid than that of his Annals, which are written in a cloſe dry way, as the Subject indeed required. Though the Truth is, the particular Talent of *Tacitus* throughout, is a Grave Majeſtick manner of Writing, a ſort of Eloquence not very different from that ſtrength and ſublimity of Expreſſion, which the Maſters of Rhetorick have obſerved, as the conſtant Character of *Demoſthenes*, and that wherein his Excellency conſiſted.

Among the many Criticks, who take upon them to find fault with *Tacitus*, thoſe are without queſtion moſt to be excuſed, who complain of his being dark and difficult to be underſtood. This proceeds very frequently from a way he hath of giving ſhort Hints, and leaving his Narrations abrupt and imperfect. But ſome part no doubt of this Fault belongs not ſo properly to the Author as to the Errours of the Copies, and Corruptions of his Original Text, which make him much more intricate. This Reflection was in Juſtice but his due, ſince in other Paſſages which have eſcaped thoſe Depravations, we can eaſily give our ſelves a tolerable Account of his Meaning. But however, conſidering that *Tacitus*, propoſed to himſelf *Thucydides* for his Pattern, and that both

both (*e*) of them made it their Buſineſs to tread in the Steps of *Demoſthenes*, we are not to wonder if this Hiſtorian retain ſomewhat of that harſhneſs and ſevere manner ſo remarkable in thoſe two Eminent Greek Writers. And what Antiquity applauded as an Excellence in Them, it would be hard meaſure to charge as a Fault upon One, who ſeems to have made it his great aim to Write after Them. And in Truth, as ſome Wines are chiefly recommended by a grateful roughneſs upon the Palate, and the darkneſs of Temples adds to the Reverence of the Pile, and heightens the Devotion of ſome who come to Worſhip there; ſo there are a ſort of Readers, who think a rough dark Style an Advantage, becauſe this awakens the Attention more powerfully, raiſes the Mind, and keeps it fixed, thus giving occaſion for many Obſervations, which a Man would never take the time or pains to make upon an Author, whoſe Senſe is eaſie and obvious.

As for thoſe who have the Confidence to Blame *Tacitus* for not Writing good Latin, I look upon them as Men not well in their Senſes, and therefore rather in a Condition for Pity, than a Serious Anſwer. And yet two great

(*e*) *Thucydides* flouriſhed ſome 60 or 70 years before *Demoſthenes*, the one about the 87th, the other about the 105th *Olympiad*. This therefore of *Demoſthenes* being the common pattern to both theſe Hiſtorians, is a miſtake.

(*f*) How

great Lawyers, it must be confeſs'd, have been of this Opinion. *Alciat*, who pretends that the Expreſſion of *Paulus Jovius* was much to be preferr'd before the Thorny Phraſe (ſo he terms it) of this ancient Hiſtorian; and *Ferretus*, who condemns *Tacitus* likewiſe for a Diction, which he can by no means think good Roman. Than which Objection, nothing was ever more ridiculous; and the juſt Indignation raiſed by ſo unreaſonable a Cenſure, provokes me to ſay, That in all appearance, the very meaneſt Cook or Groom belonging to *Tacitus*, ſpoke better Latin than either *Alciat* or *Ferretus*; who, allowing them the Commendations due to their great Skill in the Law, were yet by no means competent Judges of the Matter now before us. For *Tacitus* is not preſently to be run down for an ill Writer, becauſe he hath not all the Beauties of *Cæſar*, or *Cicero*. Eloquence is not confin'd to one particular manner; ſeveral ſorts of it are commendable in their reſpective Ways; and the Latin Tongue, we know, flouriſh'd in all, though not in all equally, down to the Time of *Adrian*, which is ſince *Tacitus*: And he in his own Time had acquir'd ſuch Reputation, that the Principal Orators contemporary with him, made no difficulty to give him Precedence in their own Art. Of theſe I reckon *Pliny* the Younger one of the moſt conſiderable; and he in ſeveral of his Epiſtles declares, that he bore a great Regard to *Tacitus*, as one of the moſt Eloquent Per-

ſons in that Age. In the Twentieth of the Firſt Book, he refers himſelf to his Judgment, for determining a Diſpute depending between him and an Eminent Lawyer, whether copious and long Orations, or ſhort and conciſe ones, were more proper for Pleadings at the Bar. In another place, deſcribing the whole Solemnity of *Verginius Rufus* his Funeral, he obſerves, as the laſt and chief Inſtance of the Good
L. 2. *Ep.* 1. Fortune which befell him, that the making his Funeral Oration, fell into ſo Maſterly a Hand as *Tacitus*'s. In the account given his Friend *Arrian*, how the great Action entred againſt a Proconſul of *Africk* for cheating the Publick had ſucceeded,
L. 2. *Ep.* 10. he obſerves, that *Cornelius Tacitus* replied upon the Defendant's Counſel with wondrous Eloquence and Skill, and particularly with that Gravity and Weight ſo remarkable in all his Way of expreſſing himſelf. When *Pliny* was deſirous to provide a Publick Maſter for Inſtructing the Youth of his
L. 4. *Ep.* 13. own Country at *Como*, *Tacitus* was the Perſon thought fitteſt to be applied to, as One whom all the Wits of the Age affected to be known to, and moſt capable of chuſing an Undertaker of ſo conſiderable a Charge. I forbear the particular Deſcriptions he gives him in two ſeveral Letters of the Death of his Uncle, and the Eruption of *Veſuvius*, in
L. 6. *Ep.* 16. the manner related by *Tacitus* in
& 20. his Hiſtory; the earneſt Requeſt of

of having his Name mention'd there, which paſſionate Addreſs I think my ſelf oblig'd to inſert in his own Terms, (L. 7. Ep. 33.) * *I eaſily foreſee, and dare depend upon the Truth of my Prediction, That your Hiſtories will laſt for ever: And this Preſumption, I muſt freely own, makes me very ambitious of having my Name read there: For if we are commonly very nice what Hand our Pictures are done by, ſure it is much more reaſonable, when not the Lineaments of our Faces, but the Account of our Actions muſt recommend us to Poſterity, that a truly-good Artiſt ſhould form the Piece: In a word, that it ſhould be one, who writes and relates Things juſt as You do.* But the Paſſage which moſt fully expreſſes both his own and the general Eſteem all *Italy* had for *Tacitus*, is that wherein he declares him to have been the Pattern of Eloquence, which from his Youth he ſet himſelf to Copy after. And that in the abundance of Eminent Orators then flouriſhing about *Rome*, not any one ſeem'd either ſo capable, or ſo worthy of being imitated as He. †This the Reader will find in the Terms of *Pliny* himſelf in the Margin; and there

* Augûror, nec me fallit Augurium, Hiſtorias tuas immortales futuras, quo magis illis, ing-nuè fatebor, inſeri cupio. Nam ſi eſſe nobis cûræ ſolet, ut facies noſtra ab optimo quoque Artifice exprimatur, nonne debemus operare, ut operibus noſtris ſimilis tui Scriptor Prædicatorq; contingat?

L. 7. Ep. 20.

† Equidem adoleſcentulus cum Tu jam formâ gloriâq; floreres, te ſequi tibi longo, ſed proximus intervallo, & eſſe & haberi concupiſcebam. Et erant multa clariſſima ingenia, ſed Tu mihi, (ita ſimilitudo naturæ ferebat) maximè imitabilis, maximè imitandus videbaris.

there I have the rather inſerted it, becauſe it may be of ſome uſe to inform us more exactly concerning the Age of theſe two Learned Men.

It is needleſs to alledge more Proofs of the mighty Reputation *Tacitus* was in, even in his own Time, and amidſt ſo many Great and Celebrated Contemporaries: And for the following Ages, every body knows what Honour and Deference have been all along paid to his Labours; ſome Teſtimonies whereof I ſhall alledge, before I ſhall diſmiſs this Subject. In the mean while, is it not a prodigious thing, that he ſhould at this time of day meet with ſuch contumelious Treatment from Barbarians? (For *Alciat* and *Ferret* are no better, when compar'd with the Old *Romans.*) Men who have the Hardineſs raſhly to pronounce, that an Author of this Character was not a competent Maſter ſo much as of his own Mother-Tongue? In good Truth, ſuch Aſſertions as theſe, require a Brow of Braſs, and a heated Brain to advance them. For my own part, though I ſhould obſerve a thouſand things in *Tacitus*, which I could not tell how to approve; yet I would ſuſpect the Weakneſs of my own Judgment, the Corruption of the Copy, or any other Defect, which might be no Imputation upon the Author himſelf, rather than venture to give all Antiquity the Lye, by cheriſhing any Imagination ſo ſingular and unworthy, as this I have now been confuting.

Ano-

Another Fault laid to *Tacitus*'s Charge, is Want of Truth; and one of the Principal who prefer this Accuſation againſt him is *Vopiſcus*. But I beg it may be obſerv'd upon what occaſion this Allegation is brought: 'Tis only to excuſe in this general Aſſertion, That the mixture of ſome Falſhood with Truth, is what the beſt Hiſtorians that ever wrote have never been able to avoid. And now methinks *Tacitus* his Reputation is not very much concern'd; nor need he apprehend any mighty Danger from ſuch a Complainant; eſpecially ſince I have elſewhere ſhew'd, that ſeveral other Perſons have pleas'd themſelves with maintaining the ſame Propoſition. And *Dion Chryſoſtomus* (I well remember) pretending in one of his Orations to prove, That we know nothing as it really is, does not only averr, that the taking of *Troy* by the *Græcians* is a mere Fable, and that the *Perſians* gave a Relation of *Xerxes*'s and *Darius*'s Expeditions againſt *Greece*, very different from what the *Greeks* themſelves do; but he carries his Point farther; and, as an Inſtance how little any Hiſtory can be depended upon, he tells you, That of the moſt Eminent *Greek* Writers, ſome make the Sea-Fight of *Salamis* to have been before that of *Platea*, and others place it after.

Now it were, I think, a ſufficient reply to all this Objection, if a Man ſhould urge, That ſome Falſhoods there, are very reconcileable with Human Infirmity; and ſuch as (according to the

Diſtinction of the Schools) though not true, are yet no Lyes, becauſe they are utter'd in the Integrity of the Man's Heart. But then, as for the Impoſtures charged upon *Tacitus* by *Tertullian*, and the Reproach of one of the moſt Scandalous and Profligate Authors extant, caſt upon him by *Budæus*; their true Meaning is, not to load him with ſuch Accuſations of Falſhood, as ſimple Ignorance, or Inadvertency, might acquit or excuſe him in, or the too eaſie Credit given to Miſtakes generally receiv'd might be alledg'd in mitigation of: But their Intention was to expoſe his impious Miſrepreſentations of the Chriſtians, the Scoffs and inſolent Railleries againſt our Holy Religion; attack'd by him in its very Foundations laid in the Old Teſtament; his ridiculing the Miracles of *Moſes*, and reviling the *Jews* with Worſhipping the Image of a Wild Aſs. And theſe, I acknowledge, are Calumnies full of true Pagan Venom, and ſuch as no Man can be too ſevere in condemning. But then I muſt take leave to urge withal, that if this Author muſt be thrown aſide in reſentment for what he hath ſaid to traduce the True GOD and the Chriſtian Worſhip, he muſt be baniſh'd in a great deal of Good Company: For the ſame Rule will oblige us to burn almoſt all the Heathen Authors, very few of whom are clear of endeavouring to blacken us by ſuch kind of vile Aſperſions.

The ſame Reply may ſerve to take off that Sentence pronounc'd againſt this Author by *Caſaubon*,

ſaubon; who in his Preface to *Polybius*, affirms the Reading of *Tacitus* to be the moſt dangerous Study that Princes can employ themſelves in, by reaſon of the many ill Characters to be met with in his Works. There is indeed a very ill Cuſtom to which *Caſaubon* is too much addicted; That, I mean, of never beſtowing a Man's Pains upon any Author, without lowering the Reputation of all beſides, to gain more Credit and Authority to that One; and however he might think fit to treat *Tacitus* upon this occaſion, we know that at other times he hath not been ſparing in Commendations of him. 'Tis true, his Hiſtory now extant relates the Actions of the Worſt and Wickedeſt Princes that perhaps ever were; and it is our great Misfortune, that thoſe other Books of it, which contain'd the Reigns of Emperours as eminently Good, ſuch as *Veſpaſian*, *Titus*, *Nerva*, and *Trajan* are loſt. But at this rate, no Hiſtory in the World, no not even that of the Bible it ſelf, can eſcape Cenſure, if the expoſing Ill Examples to publick View muſt be thought to deſerve it: For all treat of Bad as well as Good Men, and require a Reader's Judgment and Care to diſtinguiſh between that part of the Account which ought to be imitated, and that which ought to be avoided. I cannot abſolutely deny, but in the Times of *Tertullian*, there might be reaſon to apprehend ſome Danger from the bitter Invectives of Pagan Writers, becauſe the World was not then cleanſed from Errours, as now (bleſſed be God) by his Grace it is. But

I can by no means be brought to think, that any Miſchief is capable of being done by them now; when every body ſure is proof againſt ſuch Calumnies, and not in a condition to receive ill Impreſſions from any thing, which the Infidelity they liv'd in then might put them upon writing againſt the Goſpel and its Doctrines.

Indeed, without taking all this Pains, *Tacitus* might have been left to ſtand upon his own Legs; the general Eſteem of his Works being more than enough to bear down all the Authorities we have been conſidering, though no Arguments from the Reaſon of the thing had been brought to confute them. But if it were neceſſary to balance one Authority againſt another, beſides the univerſal Conſent and Approbation of Learned Men, I am able to produce Two, of weight ſufficient to caſt the Scale clearly on the other ſide: The firſt is that of *Tacitus* the Emperour, who, in that higheſt Elevation this World is capable of, did, at Two hundred Years diſtance after this Hiſtorian's Death, glory in the ſame Name, and valued himſelf upon his Deſcent from ſo Great and Worthy an Anceſtor. As Marks of the Honour he bore to his Memory, Statues of him were by his Order ſet up in the Libraries, and Ten Tranſcripts of his Books made conſtantly (*f*) every Year, that ſo they might be preſerv'd, and handed

(*f*) How little effect this Order had, is plain from the great part of *Tacitus* his Works now loſt: Nor indeed was there time for any great good to come of his intended Reſpects, for *Tacitus* reign'd but Six Months.

handed down from one Age to another, as we find they are now to ours. The ſecond is, the Great Duke *Coſmo de Medicis*, whoſe Memory will always live in Honour, as long as Politics and Good Government (to ſpeak in the Language of his own Country) continue to be cultivated and reſpected. This Prince ſingled *Tacitus* out from the reſt of the Hiſtorians, as the Perſon moſt capable at once of forming his Judgment, and giving his Curioſity the moſt ſolid Satisfaction. But to the Suffrage of Princes and Emperours, we may indeed add the general Voice of Mankind; For what can be a greater Teſtimony in his Honour, than the Pains all Nations have taken to tranſlate *Tacitus* into their own Language?

Beſides his *Annals* and *Hiſtory*, he hath left us a Treatiſe concerning the different Sorts of People who inhabited *Germany* in his Time, and their reſpective Manners and Cuſtoms; as alſo the Life of his Father-in-Law *Agricola*. Some there are who father upon him the little Tract concerning the Cauſes of the Corruption and Decay of Latin Eloquence; which others rather think to be *Quintilian*'s: But *Lipſius* ſeems to go upon better grounds, when he thinks it cannot belong to either of them. As for the little Collection of *Facetiæ*, which *Fulgentius Planciades* quotes under *Tacitus* his Name, they are ſo manifeſtly ſuppoſititious, that ſcarce any body but that wretched Grammarian was ever impos'd upon by them. The genuine Compoſitions of *Tacitus*

citus, do very eaſily diſtinguiſh themſelves both by their Matter and their Form: By the former of which, in agreement with *Scaliger*, I am to underſtand the Diction, or Manner of the Author; and by the latter, the Subſtance of Things treated of. He is particularly remarkable for inſerting Speeches upon all occaſions; ſometimes only obliquely, and hinting the principal Arguments; ſometimes directly, and in form? but always aptly and judiciouſly, ſuitable to the Occaſion, the Place, and the Party concern'd. Though his Stile be extreamly conciſe, and Brevity the thing he ſeems chiefly to affect, yet does he frequently interweave with his main Buſineſs many entertaining Digreſſions, ſuch as that concerning the God *Serapis* in the Fourth Book of his Hiſtory, and that other ſtrange one concerning the Jewiſh Religion, and their Lawgiver *Moſes*, which we had occaſion to paſs our Cenſure on before. He thought, it ſeems, very truly, that as no Traveller would grudge ſometimes to go a little out of his Way, for the ſight of a Place extreamly well worth his Pains, or ſomewhat peculiar to the Country he is paſſing through; ſo theſe little Excurſions, which pleaſe and refreſh the Reader, are no Tranſgreſſions of the Laws of Hiſtory, when ſeaſonably indulged.

Even *Thucydides* and *Saluſt* are not more Sententious than he; which yet is ſo artfully manag'd, that there is no appearance of Oſtentation; but every Maxim he lays down, flows naturally

turally from the Subject he is treating of; and reſembles that Luſtre and Beauty of the Stars, which are ſaid to be made out of the very Subſtance of that Firmament they adorn. Here you ſee nothing foreign, nothing affected, nothing forc'd or far-fetch'd, nothing ſuperfluous; but every Thought ſo pertinent, ſo well fitted, that no Man can diſpute the Right it hath to that Place, or think any other would better become it. And which is ſtill more, here you do not learn barely the Events of Things, but the very Reaſons and Progreſs of thoſe Events; the ſecret Springs of each Action, and all the Motives and Contrivances by which it was carry'd on. And here a Man may ſay with great Reaſon, with regard to Hiſtory, what the Poet does in the caſe of Huſbandry:

Felix qui potuit rerum cognoſcere cauſas.
Virg. Georg. L. 2.

Happy the Man, who ſtudying Nature's Laws,
Through known Effects, can trace the ſecret Cauſe.
Mr. *Dryden.*

And if the Notion ſome Philoſophers have advanc'd concerning the Sea be true, That its Waters nearer the bottom are much freſher than thoſe about the top; it is undoubtedly a Truth of much greater evidence, that a Hiſtory which contents it ſelf with an Account of Matter of Fact only, and preſents only with the Out ſide and Surface

Surface, as it were, of Things, cannot pretend to either the Pleasure or the Profit, which arises from a Discovery of the mysterious Causes, and the several Counsels and Debates upon which each Action mov'd. This reaches the very bottom of the Matter; and every Man can justifie the vulgar Proverb here, That the deeper you go, the sweeter and more delicious you find the Entertainment.

But one particular Character there is, which raises the Merit and Reputation of *Tacitus* above other Writers; that I mean of ordering Matters so, that a Man may oftentimes receive as much Information from what he does not say, as from what he does. This instructive Silence is an Excellence which others have observ'd before me: And a very peculiar one it is, when (to speak in Terms of Arithmetick) his very Blanks are as considerable as his greatest Summs. So that here you are directed to form a Notion of Men every way; because whether he give Characters, or whether he give none, all is done with mature Consideration, exact Justice, and accurate Judgment. 'Tis thus that the Ancients extol the Skill of that Eminent Painter *Timanthes*, in whose Pieces there was a great deal more for the Thought to work upon, than lay open to the Eye of the Beholder. And this great Wisdom and Depth, is indeed very agreeable to that ripeness of Age and Judgment, in which he apply'd himself to Writing: For we are assur'd from himself,

ſelf, that this Work was begun after *Nerva*'s, and in *Trajan*'s Reign, at which time he muſt have been pretty far (*g*) advanc'd in Years.

(*g*) See *Note* (*b*).

The Reader who is deſirous of a more particular Character of *Tacitus* his Writings, may find it to good Advantage in the Second Volume of *Muretus* his XIII. XIV. and XV. Orations. The Paſſages were thought too large to be inſerted here.

THE

A Chronological TABLE OF THE Annals and Hiſtory OF *Cornelius Tacitus.*

The Firſt Book of the Annals contains the Hiſtory of almoſt two Years,

Sextus Pompeius and *Sextus Apuleius*, *C. Julius Druſus Cæſar* and *C. Norbanus*, } Conſuls.

The Years from the Incarnation of our Lord.	The Years from the Building of *Rome*.
16.	767.

THE *Emperor*, Auguſtus, *died at* Nola, *in* Campania, *the Nineteenth Day of* Auguſt.

Claudius Tiberius Nero, *the Son-in-law of* Auguſtus, *ſucceeded him, who began his Reign with the Murder of* Agrippa Poſthumus.

The Conſuls Sex. Pompeius, *and* Sex. Apuleius *are the firſt that took the Oaths of Fidelity to* Tiberius.

Germanicus *appeaſes a Sedition in the Army, by pretending to ſend away his Wife* Agrippina, *and his Son* Caligula.

Julia, *the Daughter of* Auguſtus, *formerly baniſhed*

Anno Ch.	An. U. C.	
		niſhed by her Father for her Lewdneſs, died through want of the Neceſſaries of Life.
17.	768.	Germanicus *defeated* Arminius, *or* Harman, *the General of the* Cheruſci, *and took his Wife Priſoner, the ſixth Year after the Defeat of* Quintilius Varus.
		A Temple built to Auguſtus *in* Spain.
		The Tax of the Hundredth Penny upon Commerce, impoſed after the Civil Wars, is confirmed.

The Second Book contains the Hiſtory of four Years.

Siſenna Statilius Taurus and *Lucius Scribonius Libo*, *C. Cælius Rufus* and *L. Pomponius Flaccus*, *Tib. Jul. Cæſ. Aug.* 3^io, and *Germanicus Cæſar*, *M. Junius Silanus* and *C. Norbanus Flaccus*,	Conſuls.

18.	769.	*THe Beginning of the* Parthian *War.* Germanicus *brings his Fleet into the River* Amiſia *or* Ems, *and paſſing over the* Weſer, *defeats* Arminius *and the* Germans.
		Germanicus's *Army ſailing through the* Amiſia *into the Ocean, is ſhatter'd by a Storm, and the greateſt part of it loſt.*
		The Accuſation and Death of Libo Druſus.
		The Aſtrologers and Magicians are baniſhed Italy.
		A Defence of Luxury.
		The Counterfeit Agrippa *is taken.*
19.	770.	Germanicus *Triumphs for his Victories over the* Cheruſci, Chatti *and other Nations of* Germany, *betwixt the* Rhine *and the* Elb.
		The Tax of the Hundredth Penny is abated by Tiberius, *and made the Two Hundredth.*

Twelve

	Anno Ch.	An. U. C.
Twelve Cities of Asia *perished by an Earthquake.*		
Tacfarinas *the* Numidian, *begins a War in* Africk.		
Germanicus *goes into* Asia.	20.	771.
Germanicus *visits* Egypt *as far as* Syene *and* Elephantina.	21.	772.
Maroboduus *the King of the* Marcomanni, *lives at* Ravenna *in* Italy *eighteen Years.*		
Germanicus *is poysoned by* Piso.		
Livia, *the Wife of* Drusus, Tiberius's *Son, and Sister of* Germanicus, *is delivered of Twins.*		
Arminius *the General of the* Cherusci, *dies in the thirty seventh Year of his Age.*		

The Third Book contains the Actions of three Years.

M. Valerius Messala and
M. Aurelius Cotta,
Tiber. Jul. Cæs. Augustus 4°, and
C. Jul. Drusus Cæsar 2°,
C. Sulpicius Galba and
D. Haterius Agrippa,
} Consuls.

The Grief and Mourning for the Death of Germanicus.	22.	773.
Nero, Germanicus's *Son, is made High Priest, and Marries.*		
Julia *the Daughter of* Drusus.		
Saluſt *the Nephew of* Saluſt *the Historian dies.*		
Tiberius *retires into* Campania.	23.	774.
It is debated whether the Governours should carry their Wives with them into the Provinces.		
The Cities of Gaul *labouring under the Burthen of excessive Debts rebelled, being headed by* Sacrovirus *and* Florus.		
A Debate arose about restraining Luxury.	24.	775.
Caius Silanus *accused.*		

Anno Ch. | An. U. C. *A Comparison betwixt* Anteius Capito, *and* Labeo Antistius *the Lawyer.*

The Fourth Book contains the Actions of near six Years.

C. Asinius and *C. Antistius*, *Cornelius Cethegus* and *Visellius Varro*, *Cossus Cornelius Lentulus* and *M. Asinius Agrippa*, *Cn. Lentulus Getulicus* and *C. Calvisius*, *M. Licinius Crassus* and *L. Calpurnius Piso*, *Ap. Junius Silanus* and *P. Silius Nerva*, } Consuls.

23. 776. JUnia *the Wife of* C. Cassius, *dies the sixty fourth Year after the* Philippick *War.*

Ælius Sejanus, *the Præfect of the Prætorian Bands, debauches* Livia *the Wife of* Drusus, Tiberius's *Son, and procures* Drusus *to be poisoned by his Physician* Eudemus, *which Wickedness was discovered eight Years after.*

The Condition of the Roman *State that Year is described.*

A Temple built to Tiberius *in* Asia.

26. 777. C. Silius *being oppressed with false Accusations, prevents his Sentence of Condemnation by a voluntary Death.*

Cassius Severus *after his Banishment, draws upon himself a severer Punishment.*

Tacfarinas *the* Numidian *is conquered.*

Q. Vibius Serenus *being accused of Treason by his own Son, is banished.*

27. 778. Cremutius Cordus *the Historian is accused for Praising* Brutus *and* Cassius, *and puts an end to his own Life.*

Se-

	Anno Ch.	An. U. C.
Sejanus *demands* Livia *in Marriage.*		
L. Domitius, Nero's *Grandfather, dies.*		
L. Antonius *dies.*		
Pontius Pilate *is ſent Governour into* Judæa.	28.	779.
The Triumph of Poppeius Sabinus *for the Conqueſt of the* Thracians.		
Domitius Afer *the Orator.*		
Agrippina *the Wife of* Germanicus *offends* Tiberius.		
Tiberius *leaves* Rome, *whence he was abſent eleven Years to the Day of his Death.*		
Coceius Nerva *the Lawyer, accompanies* Tiberius.	29.	780.
The Amphitheatre at Fidenæ *fell, where fifty thouſand Perſons periſhed.*		
Tiberius *hides himſelf in the Iſle of* Capreæ.	30.	781.
Titius Sabinus, Germanicus's *Friend, is villanouſly betray'd and put to Death.*		
Julia *the Grand-daughter of* Auguſtus, *dies in the Iſle* Trimerus, *on the Coaſt of* Apuleia, *whither ſhe had been baniſhed twenty Years before for Adultery.*		
The Friſii *defeat the* Romans.		
Agrippina, *the Daughter of* Germanicus, *is married to* Cn. Domitius, *the Father of* Nero.		

The Fifth Book contains the Actions of three Years, moſt of which are loſt.

C. Rubellius Geminus and *C. Rufius Geminus,* *M. Vinucius Quartinus* and *L. Caſſius Longinus,* *Tiber. Jul. Cæſ. Auguſtus* 5°, and *L. Ælius Sejanus,* } Conſuls.	31.	782.

LIvia *the Wife of* Auguſtus, *and Mother of* Tiberius, *dies fifteen Years after the Death of* Auguſtus: *Her Grand-ſon* Caligula *praiſes her in a Funeral Oration.* Ti-

Anno Ch.	An. U. C.	
		Tiberius *begins to exerciſe the greateſt Cruelties towards the Houſe of* Germanicus.
		In theſe two Years Agrippina, Germanicus's *Wife, and her Son* Nero, *are baniſhed to the Iſlands.*
		Druſus *is kept a Priſoner in the moſt ſecret part of the Pallace.*
		* * * * * * * A great Chaſm in the Hiſtory, the Occurrences of almoſt three Years are wanting.
		Sejanus *falls, and his Children are puniſhed.*
		The Counterfeit Druſus *is taken.*

The Sixth Book contains the Hiſtory of about ſix Years.

Cn. Domitius and *M. Furius Camillus,* *Ser. Sulpicius Galba* and *L. Cornelius Sulla,* *Paulus Fabius Perſicus* and *L. Vitellius,* *C. Ceſtius Gallus* and *M. Servilius Rufus,* *Q. Plautius* and *Sex. Papinius,* *Cn. Acerronius* and *C. Pontius,*	Conſuls.

34.	785.	TIberius's *abominable Luſts.* *Many Noble Men, Friends of* Sejanus, *are put to Death.*
		M. Terentius *juſtifies his Friendſhip with* Sejanus.
		L. Piſo *the High Prieſt, eighty Years old, dies peaceably.*
35.	786.	Druſilla, *the Daughter of* Germanicus, *is married to* L. Caſſius, Julia *to* M. Vinicius.
		Uſuary is taken into Conſideration, and Uſurers are proſecuted. Laws relating to Uſury.

	Anno Ch.	An. U. C.
C. Caligula *marries* Claudia *the Daughter of* M. Sillanius.		
Tiberius's *Preſage of* Ser. Galba.		
His Tryal of the Aſtrologer Thraſyllus.		
Druſus *the Son of* Germanicus, *and* Afinius Gallus *are ſtarved to death.*		
Agrippina *the Wife of* Germanicus, *is ſtarved to Death.*		
Cocceius Nerva *ends his Life by a voluntary Death.*		
A Phœnix is ſeen.	36.	787.
The Poet Mamerius Scaurus *is accuſed.*		
The Parthian *Affairs.*	37.	788.
Poppæus Sabinus *dies.*		
The Parthian *Affairs.*	38.	789.
The terrible Death of Agrippa.		
The Death of Tiberius, *in the* 78th *Year of his Age, on the Calends of* April.	39.	790.
C. Caligula *ſucceeds him in the Empire.*		
******* Here is a Chaſm of ten Years, in which the Hiſtory of the whole Reign of *Caligula*, and the firſt ſix Years of *Claudius* are loſt.		

The Eleventh Book contains the Occurrences of two Years.

Ti. Claudius 4°, and *L. Vitellius* 3^io, *A. Vitellius* and *L. Vipſtanus.* } Conſuls.

VAlerius Aſiaticus *is overborn with falſe Accuſations.*

Italus, *the Nephew of* Arminius, *the Leader of the* Cheruſci, *by his Brother* Flavius, *is ſent into* Germany.	50.	801.
Meſſalina, *Wife to the Emperor* Claudius, *is put to Death.*		

The

Anno Ch.	An. U. C.	
		The Twelfth Book contains the History of six Years.
		C. Pompeius and *Q. Verranius*, *C. Antistius* and *M. Suilius Rufus*, *Ti. Claudius* 5°, and *Ser. Cornelius Orfitus*, *P. Cornelius Sulla* and *L. Salvius Otho*, *D. Junius Silanus* and *Q. Haterius*, *M. Asinius Marcellus* and *M. Acilius Ariola*, } Consuls.
51.	802.	CLaudius *Marries* Agrippina, *the Daughter of his Brother* Germanicus, *and Mother of* Nero.
		Seneca *is recalled from Baniſhment, and made Præceptor to* Nero.
		C. Caſſius, *the Lawyer, Governor of* Syria.
		Lollia Paulina *Baniſhed.*
52.	803.	Domitius Nero *Adopted by* Claudius.
		Agrippina, *to ſhew her Power to the ally'd Nations, procures ſome Veterans, and a Colony, to be ſent to the City of the* Ubii, *where ſhe was Born, which from her took the Name of* Colonia Agrippina, *now* Cologne.
		This was done 40 *Years after the Defeat of* Varus.
		Charactacus, *King of* Britain, *is taken by the* Romans, *under their General* P. Oſtorius, *in the* 9th *Year of the* Britiſh *War.*
53.	804.	Agrippina *was Daughter, and Siſter, and Wife, and Mother to the Emperor.*
		Nero *is admitted to be of Age.*
		A Famine began under Claudius, *of which there is mention made in the* Acts *of the Apoſtles,* Chap. xi. Qua-

	Anno Ch.	An. U. C.
Quadratus *Governour of* Syria.		
The Aſtrologers Baniſhed, and a Decree of the Senate againſt the Lewdneſs of Women.		
Fœlix, *Governor of* Judea, (*Brother of* Pallas, *a Freed-man,*) *who is mention'd in the* xiv *Chap. of the* Acts *of the Apoſtles.*		
Ventidius Cumanus *Governor of* Galilee.		
Nero, *at ſixteen Years old, Marries* Octavia, *the Daughter of* Claudius, *and makes an Oration in behalf of the* Trojans, *and the Inhabitants of* Bolonia.	55.	806.
The Emperor Claudius *is Poyſoned by his Wife.*	56.	807.

The Thirteenth Book contains the Actions of four Years.

Nero Claudius, and *L. Antiſtius Vetus*, *Q. Voluſius*, and *P. Cornelius Scipio*, *Nero Claudius Auguſtus* 2^o, and *L. Calpurnius Piſo*, *Nero Claudius Auguſtus* 3^io, and *Valerius Meſſala*,	Conſuls.

NEro *begins his Reign well.*	57.	808.
He removes Pallas *the Freed-man.*		
He procures his Brother, Britannicus, *to be Poyſoned.*		
Nero's *Lewdneſs.*	58.	809.
Pomponia Græcina *accuſed of Chriſtianity, or of Judaiſm.*	59.	810.
Nero's *Amphitheatre.*		
Proviſion is made for the Security of Maſters againſt the Attempts of their Slaves.		
Artaxata, *the capital City of* Armenia, *is taken by* Domitius Corbulo.	60.	811.
The Cincian Law, againſt mercenary Pleading, or againſt thoſe who plead Cauſes for Reward.		

Anno Ch.	An. U. C.	
		Sabina Poppæa, Nero's *Wife, who had every thing but Vertue.*
		Nero *hath Thoughts of remitting all Taxes.*
		A Design of joyning the Rivers Moselle *and the* Arar.
		The Catti *beaten by the* Hermunduri.

The Fourteenth Book contains the Actions of four Years.

C. Vipsanius, and
L. Fonteius Capito,
Nero Cladius Augustus 4°, and
Cossus Corn. Lentulus,
C. Cæsenius Pætus, and
C. Petronius Turpilianus,
P. Marius Celsus, and
L. Asinius Gallus,
} Consuls.

61.	812.	NERO's *Incest with his Mother* Agrippina.
		Agrippina's *Death.*
		Nero *a Fidler and a Poet.*
		Domitius Afer, *the Orator, dies.*
62.	813.	*The Olympick Games instituted at* Rome.
		A Comet.
		Domitius Corbulo, *the* Roman *General, possesses himself of* Armenia.
		Laodicea, *not far from* Coloſſis, *is ruined by an Earthquake.*
63.	814.	*Seventy thousand* Romans *slain by the* Britains.
		London *famous for its Merchants and Trade.*
		The Britains *a while after are beaten by* Suetonius Paulinus.
64.	815.	Burrus, *Captain of* Nero's *Pretorian Bands, and* Seneca's *great Friend, dies.*
		Seneca *is aſperſed with Calumnies.*
		Muſonius *the Philoſopher.*
		Perſius *the Poet dies* Novemb. 14th.

Nero

	Anno Ch.	An. U. C.
Nero *puts away* Octavia, *and takes* Poppæa *again.*		
The Death of Pallas *the Freed-man.*		

The Fifteenth Book contains the History of ſomewhat more than three Years.

C. Memmius Regulus, and *Verginius Rufus*, *C. Lecanius Baſſus*, and *M. Licinius Craſſus*, *P. Silius Nerva*, and *Atticus Veſtinus*, } Conſuls.

A War with Vologeſes, *the King of the* Parthians, *in which* Domitius Corbulo *is the* Roman *General.*	65.	816.
Poppæa *hath a Daughter.*		
Tiridates *is conſtituted King of* Armenia, *being placed before* Nero's *Statue.*		
The Conflagration of Rome *continues ſix Days.*	66.	817.
The Chriſtians are falſly charged with it.		
Nero's *new Houſe.*		
A Conſpiracy againſt Nero.		
Lucan, *the Poet, dies with courage.*		
The Conſul Lateranus *is put to Death.*		
Seneca *receives his Death with great Conſtancy*, April 30th.		

Anno Ch.	An. U. C.	
		The Sixteenth Book contains the Actions of one Year.
		C. Suetonius Paulinus, and *L. Pontius Teleſmus*, } Conſuls.
		POppæa *big with Child, dies of a Kick which ſhe receives from her Husband* Nero *in his Rage.*
		A great Plague rages at Rome.
68.	819.	Oſtorius Scapula *is deſtroyed by Calumny.*
		Nero *puts to Death* Bareas Soranus, *and* Thraſeas.
		He ſets the Diadem on the Head of Tiridates, *King of* Armenia.
		****** The Hiſtory of the remaining part of this Year, and of the two following Years, *viz.* 820, 821, is wanting.
		The Firſt Book of the Hiſtory contains the Actions of a few Months.
		Ser. Sulpicius Galba, and *T. Vinius*, } Conſuls.
		JUlius Vindex *Governor of the* Gauls, *and* Galba *revolt.*
		The Senate declare Nero *a publick Enemy, who at laſt kills himſelf.*
71.	822.	*The Emperor* Galba *is ſent for from* Spain.
		Galba *Adopts* Piſo.
		Piſo *is Slain the fourth Day after his Adoption.*
		Galba *reſumes five hundred and fifty Tuns of Gold of what* Nero *had given away.*
		Otho *Emperor.*

Otho

Anno Ch. | Aq. U. C.

Otho *kills* Galba.
Aulus Vitellius *is choſen in* Germany.
Vitellius *marches towards* Italy.

The Second Book. The Occurrences are of the ſame Year, but new Conſuls.

A Counterfeit Nero *in* Aſia.
Vitellius *enters* Italy.
He defeats Otho *in a Battle.*
The Death of Otho.
Veſpaſian *is encouraged to take upon him the Empire.*

The Third Book contains the Hiſtory of the ſame Year.

Lucilius *and* Cæcinna *deſert* Vitellius.
Vitellius's *Forces are defeated by* Veſpaſian's.
Cremona *deſtroyed.*
Vitellius *is taken and put to Death.*

The Fourth Book. Part of the Occurrences are of the ſame Year; part in the Conſulſhip of

Veſpaſian Aug. 2°, and *Ti. Flavius Veſpaſian,* } Conſuls.

The Senate for Veſpaſian.
Helvidius Priſcus.
Comotions in Germany.

Ce-

Anno Ch.	An. U. C.	
72.	823.	Celer *condemned.* Veſpaſian *cures a Blind and a Lame Man.*

The Fifth Book contains the Hiſtory of that ſame Year.

TItus *Beſieges* Jeruſalem.
A very falſe Account of the Jews, *and their Rites.*
The Prodigies preceeding the Deſtruction of Jeruſalem.
A War in Germany.

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THE ANNALS OF *Cornelius Tacitus.*

Book I. Vol. I.

By Mr. *DRYDEN.*

ROME was govern'd at the firſt by [a] Kings. [b] Liberty and the Conſulſhip were introduc'd by *Lucius Brutus*: the [c] Dictatorſhip was granted, but

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. When once the Regal Power begins to degenerate into Tyranny, the People aſpire to Liberty; and when once a *Brutus* appears, that is, a Head who is capable to give it, they ſeldom fail to ſtake off the Yoke, not only of the King, who Tyrannizes, but alſo of the Regal Power, for fear there come another King, who might Tyrannize alſo. *Occultior non Melior.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

a *Kings.*] viz. *Romulus* its Founder, who, according to *Tacitus*, rul'd with Abſolute Power; *Romulus ut libitum imperitaverat. Ann.* 3. *Numa*, who Eſtabliſh'd a Form of Divine Worſhip, with High-Prieſts, South-Sayers, and Prieſts, to perform the Ceremonies of the Sacrifices, *Numa religionibus & divino jure populum devinxit, Ibid. Tullus Hoſtilius*; who

but *as neceſſity requir'd*; and for ſome time: And the

HISTORICAL NOTES.

taught the Romans the Art of making War, and for this purpoſe Inſtituted Military Diſcipline. *Ancus Martius*, who adorn'd the City, and Peopled it with the Sabines, and the Latins, whom he had Conquer'd, and Built the City of *Oſtia*, to be a Port for the Romans. *Tarquin* I. who built the *Cirque*, and diſtinguiſhed the Senators and the Knignts, by exterior marks of Honour, ſuch as the *Ivory Chair*, call'd in Latin, *Cella Curulis*; the Gold Ring; the Purple Robe, call'd *Trabea*; the *Pretexta*, or the Robe edg'd with Scarlet. *Servius Tullius*, who, according to *Tacitus*, was the Chief Law-giver of the Romans, *Præcipuus Servius Tullius ſanctor legum fuit, Ann.* 3. took into the City the *Quirinal*, the *Eſquiline*, and the *Viminal* Hills, and caus'd his Laws to be engraven on Tables of Stone; and *Tarquin*, Sirnam'd, the Proud, who having aſcended the Throne by Inceſt, and by the Murder of *Servius Tullius*, whoſe two Daughters he had Married, and endeavouring to maintain himſelf in it by Violence and Terror, was, with his whole Family, expell'd *Rome*,

b Liberty.] *Tacitus* always oppoſes Liberty to Regal Power, *Res diſſociabiles, principatum & libertatem. In Agricola. Haud facile libertas & domini miſcentur*, Hiſt. 4, a Maſter and Liberty are incompatible. *Tarquinius Priſcus*, ſays he, *Lib.* 3. *of his Hiſt.* had laid the Foundation of the Capitol, and afterwards *Servius Tullius* and *Tarquin* the Proud, built it; one with the Gifts of the Allies, and the other with the Spoils of the Enemies, but the Glory of finiſhing this great Work, was reſerved for Liberty: As for *Junius Brutus*, he was not only Author of the Conſulſhip, but alſo the firſt who Exercis'd it, and with ſo great Zeal for his Country, that not being content with having baniſhed *Collatine* his Collegue, only becauſe he was of the Royal Family of the *Tarquins*, he caus'd his own Sons to be beheaded, who endeavoured to reſtore them to the Throne. The two Magiſtrates, on whom was transferr'd the Authority which the Kings had, were call'd *Conſuls*, to ſignifie that they ought to aſſiſt the new Common-Wealth with their Counſels, and not to Govern it according to their humour, as the Kings had done.

c Dictatorſhip.] The Dictator was a Sovereign Magiſtrate, but whoſe Power laſted no longer than the Danger laſted, which threatned the Common-Wealth; ſo that he was no more than the Truſtee of the Sovereign Authority. The firſt whom the Romans created was in the War againſt the Latins, who had given the *Tarquins* Protection, his Name was *Titus Lartius*, or *Largius*. He was call'd Dictator, *ab edicendo*, or *ab edictando*, *i.e.* becauſe he had authority to make Edicts; or becauſe he was not choſen by the Suffrages of the People, nor by the Scrutiny of the Senate, as other Magiſtrates were; but only *Dictus* named by the Conſul, and afterwards proclaimed by the People. He was therefore named by the Conſul, ſaith *Machiavel, Ch.* 34. *Lib.* 1. *of his Diſcourſes*, becauſe, as the Creation of a Dictator was a ſort of a Diſhonour to the Conſul, who from being chief Governor of the City, became thereby ſubject, as the reſt, to a Superior Power, the Romans would have him choſen by the Conſuls themſelves, to the end that as often as the City ſhould ſtand in need of one, they might be the more willing to chuſe him, and to have the leſs reluctance to obey him; the

Wounds

the Authority of [b] the [d] Decemvirate continu'd only for two Years'. The Conſular Power of the [e] Military

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. The ſureſt way to preſerve Liberty, ſaith *Livy*, is not to permit the Magiſtracy, wherein the Supreme Authority is lodg'd, to be of long duration. There is no place in the World, where this Maxim is ſo well obſerved as at *Venice*; and it may be this is the chief Cauſe which hath made it out-live ſo many Ages, and ſo many States, which were more powerful than theirs, and not ſurrounded with ſo many dangerous Neighbours. *Machiavel* ſaith, that the ſhort Duration of the Dictatorſhip, hinder'd the Dictator from tranſgreſſing the Bounds of his Duty. *Diſcourſes*, lib. 1. ch. 34.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

Wounds which we voluntarily give our ſelves, being far leſs ſenſible, than thoſe which others give us. He had power to depoſe the Conſuls, witneſs Q. *Cincinnatus*, who depoſed the Conſul *Minutius*; he ſuſpended the Functions of all the Magiſtrates, except the Tribunes of the People, who ſometimes had the better of him. At firſt, the Dictatorſhip was conferr'd only on the Nobles, but afterwards the Commons were admitted to it, as well as to the Conſulſhip. The Dictatorſhip, ſaith *Machiavel*, deſerves to be reckon'd amongſt thoſe things, which contributed moſt to the advancement of the Roman Empire. For in Republicks, which are always ſlow in their motions. (becauſe no Magiſtrate can diſpatch any buſineſs ſingly, and one having need of anothers agreement in their opinions, the time inſenſibly ſlips away.) The ordinary remedies are very dangerous; when they are to provide againſt ſome preſſing Evil, which doth not give time to wait for the Conſultation of many; whence I conclude, that Common-Wealths, which in preſſing dangers have not recourſe either to a Dictator, or ſome other Magiſtrate of the like Nature, will certainly run a-ground upon ſome ſudden accident. Heretofore the Dutchy of *Brabant* created a *Ruwart*, or a Protector, on whom the Province conferr'd an Abſolute Power for the time. The Prince of *Orange* got himſelf choſen *Ruwart*, *Anno* 1577. *Cabrera*, c. 24. l. 11. *of his Philip* II. *and Strada lib.* 1. *dec.* 1.

d Decemvirates.] Ten Men who govern'd the Common-Wealth inſtead of Conſuls. It was under them that the XII Tables were compos'd, *i. e.* a Compilation of the beſt Laws of *Greece*, but particularly of *Athens*, whoſe Polity was eſteem'd the moſt Excellent. For all thoſe which the Kings had made were aboliſh'd in hatred of Monarchy. The firſt year each made his Table according to the ſeveral matters, which fell to their lot, and the Year following, they made two more in common, to ſupply what was wanting in the ten former. But as they were endeavouring to perpetuate their Government, which began to degenerate into Tyranny, the Decemvirate was aboliſhed for Ever, and the Conſulſhip reſtored. The Decemvirs had greater Authority than the Dictator, for the Dictator could make no alteration in the ancient Laws of the City, nor do any thing which was prejudicial to the State, the Tribunes of the People, the Conſuls and the Senate, who ſtill ſubſiſted, put a Bridle upon him, which kept him from breaking out of the right way, ſaith *Machiavel*; on the contrary the Con-

[e] Military Tribunes remain'd in force but for a little ſpace[1]. Neither was the *Arbitrary* Dominion of *Cinna*, or that of *Sylla*, of any long continuance[2]. The Power of *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, were ſoon transferr'd to *Julius Cæſar*; and the Arms of *Marc Anthony* and *Lepidus*, gave place to thoſe of *his Succeſſor*, *Auguſtus*. Then it was, that

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. All Power that is Eſtabliſhed by Sedition, as was that of theſe Tribunes, can never ſubſiſt long.

2. Nothing is ſo weak and ſo obnoxious to a reverſe of Fortune, as a Power, which hath neither Right nor Reaſon for its Foundation. *Cinna* was ſlain in a Sedition by his own Soldiers. and *Sylla* conſtrain'd to renounce the Dictatorſhip. Upon which *Cæſar* ſaid pleaſantly, that *Sylla* could not Read, ſeeing he knew not how to Dictate.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

ſulſhip and the Tribuneſhip having been aboliſh'd by the Creation of the Decemvirs, to whom the People transferred all their Rights, theſe Ten, who had their hands at liberty, there remaining no appeal from them to the People, had an opportunity of becoming inſolent.

[e] *Military Tribunes.*] The Patricii, or the Nobles being at diſcord with the People, who would have the Commons admitted to the Conſulſhip, as well as the Nobles, found an Expedient to create Military Tribunes in the room of the Conſuls: ſo that, as often as the People and the Nobility could not agree in the Election of the Conſuls, they created Military Tribunes, who exerciſed all the Military Functions. A Teſtimony, ſaith *Machiavel*, *Diſcourſe l.* 1. *c.* 34. that it was rather the Name of Conſul that they hated, than the Authority of the Conſulſhip. And this Cuſtom laſted about 80 Years, not in a continu'd Succeſſion, for there was ſometimes of Conſuls, and ſometimes of Tribunes. *Tacitus* ſays nothing here of the Tribunes of the People, who held notwithſtanding a conſiderable Rank in the ancient Common-Wealth, as having been inſtituted to moderate the Power of the Conſuls, and to protect the meaner ſort againſt the Inſolence of the Great ones; beſides, their Perſons were Sacred and Inviolable. They were inſtituted fifty years before the Creation of Military Tribunes, when the People jealous of the Power of the Nobles, and weary of their Inſults, retired to the *Cruſtumerin* Hill, call'd afterward the Sacred Hill, becauſe of the happy accommodation of this quarrel. There was at firſt but two Tribunes of the People, but a little while after there was four other; and in proceſs of time they were multiply'd to ten, and the Nobility excluded from this Office, which was not obſerved in following times. C. *Licinius Stolo*, and *Sextius Lateranus* put a ſtop to the Elections of Conſuls, for the ſpace of five years, and by theſe means the Senate was forced to admit *Plebeans* to the Conſulſhip, which was conferr'd upon them the firſt time in the Perſons of *Sextus* and *Licinius*. *Sylla*, the ſworn Enemy of the Common People, had much humbled theſe Tribunes, but after his Death they reſumed all their Authority.

f. Prima

that the Civil Wars having exhauſted the Forces of the Common-wealth, *Auguſtus Cæſar* aſſum'd the Government, under the *Modeſt* Title of Prince[e] of the Senate[f].

But all the good or adverſe Fortune, which happen'd to the Ancient Republique of the Romans, has already been

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Ambition and the Quarrels of Great Men, are the Shelves on which the Liberty of Common-Wealths are always ſplit; for the State is weakned in Proportion, as particular Perſons fortifie themſelves by Arms, under pretence of revenging their Injuries, or of ſecuring themſelves againſt the Reſentments of their Enemies, or the Violence of theſe that are ſtronger. And as the People ſuffer themſelves in the end to be the Prey of their Diſſentions, they are conſtrain'd to receive an abſolute Maſter, that they may have Peace; Thus *Tacitus* had good reaſon to ſay, that the Factions of Citizens are much more dangerous in Common-Wealths, and that Regal Power came not into the World but ſince Equality and Modeſty went out of it, *Periculoſiores ſunt inimicitiæ juxta libertatem.* In Germania. *Poſtquam exuit æqualitas, & pro modeſtia ac pudore ambitio & vis incedebat, provenere dominationes.* Ann. 3. To conclude, *Tacitus* ſeems to obſerve here, that *Rome* was never at reſt, after the Expulſion of its Kings, until it return'd to the Government of a Single Perſon, as to its firſt principle; for in *Tully*'s Opinion it was not the Regal Power, but the Abuſe of Regal Power which the Roman People hated, 3 *de Legib.*

2. A new Prince ought always to wave odious Titles, for beſides that; Authority is not in Titles, thoſe which he accepts give Men occaſion to judge of the good or bad diſpoſitions which he brings with him to the Government. It is natural to believe, that a Prince who voluntarily aſſumed a Title which ſhocks his Subjects, will take no great care to be belov'd, and will make it his principal Maxim, *Oderint, dum metuant.* Pope *Paul* II. gave People an ill opinion of his Pontificate from the Day of his Exaltation, by being deſirous to take the name of *Formoſus.* And indeed, his Vanity which ſprang thence, made him to do many things unbecoming a Pope, for according to *Platina*'s Relation, he Painted and Dreſs'd like a Woman.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

f Prince of the Senate.] He had yet no Superiority over the Senators, who was equal to him in every thing, except Precedency, and for this Reaſon *Dio* calls him πρώτον γερουσίας, *i. e.* the firſt of the Senate. This Title was in uſe under the ancient Common-Wealth. The firſt who was honour'd with it, was *Fabius Ambuſtus*, about the Year of *Rome*, 435. The Conſuls were more than the Prince of the Senate, for they were Princes of the People.

been related, by great Authors[1]. Neither were there wanting Famous Wits to transfer the Actions of *Auguſtus* to *future Ages*, till they were hinder'd by the Growth of Flattery[2]. During the Reigns of *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, *Claudius*, and *Nero*; their ſeveral Actions were falſify'd through fear, while they were yet living; and after their Deceaſe, were traduc'd through the recent hate *of their Hiſtorians*[3].

For which reaſon, I ſhall only give you here a Summary Account of thoſe Actions which were perform'd by *Auguſtus* in the latter part of his Life; and afterwards the Hiſtory of *Tiberius*, and of the three ſucceeding Emperors: the whole without Partiality or Prejudice; to neither of which I can have a Motive[4].

After

Politick Reflections.

1. They who relate only theſe things which make for the Honour of their Country, and ſuppreſs the reſt, are good Citizens, but very bad Hiſtorians,

Dum patriam laudat, dum damnat
Poggius hoſtes,
Nec malus eſt civis, nec bonus
hiſtoricus.

In *Tacitus*'s Opinion, Hiſtory is always better written by the Subjects of a Republick, than by thoſe of a Monarchy, becauſe Flattery reigns leſs in Republicks.

2. Flattery increaſes in proportion as Government is Eſtabliſh'd. It began under the Reign of *Auguſtus*, but it was at its height under that of *Tiberius*: To ſee the Extravagant Progreſs which it made in a little time among Writers, we need only compare the Hiſtory of *Paterculus*, with that of *Livy*. This was written under a Common-Wealth, the other under a Monarchy. If *Auguſtus* call'd *Livy* Pompeian, he would certainly have call'd *Paterculus* Tiberian.

3. The Hiſtory of bad Princes is never Written faithfully, not during their life, becauſe they are fear'd, nor after their Death, becauſe they are calumniated. And beſides, thoſe who have made their Fortunes under them, believe that it is permitted to them to lye by way of gratitude. So that Poſterity are equally deceived by both, *Ita neutris cura poſteritatis inter infenſos, vel obnoxios.* Hiſt. 1.

4. They who undertake to write Hiſtory ought to indulge neither to the Love nor the Hatred which they have towards the Perſons they are to ſpeak of; Neither their Animoſities, nor their Acknowledgments ought to paſs from their Heart to their Writings; they ſhould ſet themſelves above Hope and Fear, that they may be at Liberty to ſpeak Truth. Every one ſaith *d'Aubigne* proteſts at his ſetting out to make up his wants of Abilities, by an exact Fidelity, every one boaſts of Liberty, and of laying his paſſions at his Feet, even ſuch a one who in the very beginning ſhews, that his Pen and his Conſcience are ſold to Favour. *Preface of his Univerſal Hiſtory.*

1. When

After the Death of *Caſſius* and *Brutus*, when there were none remaining to take up Arms for Liberty; the Younger *Pompey* being defeated in *Sicily*, *Lepidus* diſpoſſeſs'd of his Command, and that *Marc Anthony* had loſt his Life together with his Power, *Auguſtus*, the only Survivor of the three Competitors, and Heir of *Cæſar*, laying down the Title of Triumvir[1], took up the *leſs invidious* Name of Conſul; and pretended to ſatisfy himſelf with the Tribunitial Power, thereby to protect the People[2] in their Rights and Privileges; but when he had once gain'd the Soldiery to his Intereſt, by rewards[3], the People by *Donatives* and plenty of Proviſions[4], and allur'd all in general, by the Mildneſs of his Government; He began by degrees to incroach upon them, and to draw into his own hands, the Authority of the Senate, of the Magiſtrates, and Laws: none daring to oppoſe him, the moſt violent of his Enemies being either ſlain in Battle, or cut off by Proſcriptions, and the remaining Nobility, the more ready they were to enter into Servitude, the more ſure of Honours and Preferment. Beſides, that they who found their account in the Change of Government, were more willing to ein-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. When a Prince ceaſes to be Cruel, and grows Merciful, all the Evil that he hath done, is attributed to Neceſſity, and the Unhappineſs of the Times, and all the Good that he doth to his own Nature. *Auguſtus* effaced all the Footſteps of his Triumvirate, by quitting the Title of Triumvir; and it may be ſaid, that his Clemency did the Roman Common-Wealth more miſchief than his Triumvirate, ſeeing it made the People tame for Servitude, by making them love him for a Maſter, whom they before abhorr'd as a Triumvir.

2. They who have oppreſs'd the Liberties of Common-Wealths, have almoſt all of them begun by defending it; for the People accuſtom themſelves inſenſibly to obey him who knows how to deceive them, under the ſpecious Title of a Defender. It was by this fine Name *Pagano della Terra* made himſelf Lord of *Milan*, and the Duke of *Atenes*, of *Florence*.

An Army hath always a greater love for the Gifts which are beſtow'd on them, and the Licentiouſneſs which is allow'd them, than for the publick Liberty. *Donis corrumpebatur*, ſays *Livy*, *malebat licentiam ſuam, quam omnium libertatem.*

4. The Common People love their Bellies better than their Liberty.

embrace the Present Slavery, with an assur'd prospect of Ease and Quiet, than to run the Hazard of new Dangers for the recovery of their Ancient Freedom [f]. Neither were the Provinces any ways unwilling to admit these Alterations, as being weary'd out with the continual dissentions of the Senators among themselves, and the Covetousness of their Magistrates, against whom it was in vain to seek the Protection of the Laws: Which either through Force, or Cabals, or Bribery, were become of no effect.

As for the rest, *Augustus* to strengthen his Authority, advanc'd *Claudius Marcellus*, the Son of his Sister, and yet very Young, to the Dignity of the Pontificat, and that of *Edile* [g]. And also honour'd with two Successive Consulships *Marcus Agrippa*, a Man of mean Parentage [h], but an expert Soldier, and the Companion of his Victories; and not long after, *Marcellus* being dead he Marry'd him to his Daughter *Julia*. He also gave *Tiberius*

Politick Reflections.

1. It is as dangerous to attempt to restore Liberty to a People who desire to have a Master, as to endeavour to bring a People under Subjection, who desire to live free: Infine, it is to preserve the shadow and appearance of Liberty, to obey those willingly who have the power to force us to it, *Libertatis servaveris umbram*, says *Lucian*, *si quæquid jubeare, velis*.

2. The Prince who would be well served ought to honour Virtue wheresoever it is found, and to look upon him as the most Noble, who is the best able to assist him to govern well. A single Person, saith *Comminæ*, is sometimes the Cause of preventing great Inconveniencies to his Master, although he be not of Noble Birth, provided that he has only Sense and Virtue. *Ch. 5. Lib. 5. of his Mem.* *Cabrera* says, that *Philip* the II. in conferring Offices and Military Honours, preferred Spill'd Blood to Hereditary Blood, *Ch. ult. Lib. 2. of his History*.

Historical Notes.

g Ædile Curule.] That is to say an Ædile, for there were Ædiles taken out of the Common People, who were not permitted to ride in the City with a Chariot, or to sit in an Ivory-Chair. But this distinction which was odious to the People, was afterwards abolished, and all the *Ædiles* were *Curules*: They had the oversight of the Government of the City of Publick *Games*, and of the Reparation of the Temples, and of all things relating to the Worship of the Gods.

h Prætexta.]

rius Nero, and *Claudius Druſus*, the Command of Armies, though but the Sons of his Wife *Livia*, and that his own Family was yet flouriſhing with Heirs. For he had already adopted into the *Julian* Family *Cajus* and *Lucius*, his Grandſons by *Agrippa* and his Daughter: And had earneſtly deſir'd, though with a ſeeming repugnance, that they ſhould be made Princes of the Youth, and deſign'd Conſuls, while yet they wore the Pretext Robe [h]. In a ſhort time after *Agrippa*'s Death, his Sons follow'd him, either through the Force of an immature deſtiny, or through the Treachery of their Mother-in-Law *Livia* [i]. One of them as he was going into *Spain*, to command the Armies there; and the other as he was returning from *Armenia*, and ill of a Wound, *which he had receiv'd*. And as *Druſus* was not long e'er this deceas'd, *Tiberius* only was remaining: Who from thence-forward, was regarded as Succeſſor to the Sovereignty. *Auguſtus* adopted him [1]; and made him his Collegue in the Empire, and the Tribunitial Power: He ſent him alſo to make his Publick Appearance in all the Armies, that he

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. It is enough to gueſs, that a Prince does not Refuſe a thing in good earneſt, becauſe he makes no reſiſtance to accept it, when it is offered him again with greater importunity. The more Popes affect to ſhew in the beginning of their Pontificate, little inclination to call their Relations to the Adminiſtration of Affairs, the more the Cardinals, the Ambaſſadors and the Courtiers are importunate to perſuade them to that which they knew they deſire, *Vid. Reflection 6. of Ch. 7.*

2. The Death of Princes is frequently imputed to thoſe, who have the greateſt Advantage by it. As *Livia* deſir'd to reign, even after *Auguſtus*'s death, ſhe was ſuſpected to have poyſon'd *Lucius* and *Caius*, to make way for her Son. *Henry* Duke of *Orleance*, and *Catherine de Medicis*, his Wife, were ſuppoſed to be the true Authors of the Death of the Dauphine of *France*, becauſe his Death ſecured the Crown to them.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

h Prætexta.] A Robe edg'd with Scarlet, which Children of Quality wore from the time of the Reign of *Lucius Tarquinius*, Sirnamed *Priſcus*, or the Old, they left it off at 17 years of Age.

i According to *Paterculus*, *Tiberius* was adopted by *Auguſtus* in the Conſulſhip of *Ælius Catus*, and of *Caus Sentius*, the 27th of *June Anno Rome*, 754. *Hiſt.* 2. *Ch.* 103.

Brutus

he might be known to the Soldiers, and all this at the open Sollicitations of *Livia*; who now no longer manag'd her affairs by Intrigues and ſecret Artifices, as formerly ſhe had done. For ſhe had gain'd ſo great an Aſcendant over her Husband, now in his declining Age, that to ſatisfie her deſires he had baniſh'd *Agrippa Poſthumus*, his only remaining Grandſon, into the Iſland of *Planaſia*. This Youth, 'tis to be confeſs'd, had been ill Educated, was of a rude Behaviour, and valu'd himſelf too brutally on his ſtrength of Body: but otherwiſe, was free from any apparent Vice. The Emperor had alſo plac'd

Politick Reflections.

1. It is rarely ſeen, that a Prince growing old, maintains his Authority to the laſt. *Taeitus* ſaith, that the Power of an Old Man is precarious, *precarium ſeni imperium, & brevi traſiturum. Hiſt.* 1. For under the colour of relieving his Old Age, his Wife, or his Son, or his Miniſters aſſume the Government. Duke *Philip* being grown Old, *Commines* ſaith, that his Affairs were ſo manag'd by the Lords of *Croy* and of *Chimay*, that he reſtor'd to the King the Cities upon the River of *Some*, at which the Count his Son was much troubled, for they were the Frontiers of their Lordſhips. The Count call'd a great Council in the Biſhop of *Cambray*'s Palace, and there declar'd the whole Houſe of *Croy* mortal Enemies to his Father and himſelf: inſomuch that they were all of them forc'd to fly. Theſe proceedings were very diſpleaſing to Duke *Philip*, but his great Age made him bear it with patience, *Ch.* 1. & 2. *Lib.* 1. *of his Memoirs.* That which alſo adds much to the Diminution of the Authority of an old and infirm Prince, is, that there being no more to be hop'd for from him, he is abandon'd by his Servants.

Historical Notes.

BRUTUS and *CASSIUS.*

Paterculus ſaith, that never any Perſons had ſo favourable a Fortune in the beginning, as *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, nor ſo ſhort liv'd a one; *Brutus* was but 37 years old when he died; *Caſſius* was a better Captain, *Brutus* a better Friend; the one had more Vigour, the other more Honeſty. And as it was more advantageous to the Common-Wealth to have *Auguſtus* for its Maſter than *Anthony*, it would likewiſe have been more agreeable to obey'd *Brutus* than *Caſſius*. They both kill'd themſelves; the latter frighted by a Company of People who came to bring him News of the Victory, believing that they were Enemies; the Former a few days after in deſpair.

Young

plac'd *Germanicus*, the Son of *Druſus*, at the Head of Eight Legions, which were quarter'd towards the *Rhine*[1], and had commanded *Tiberius* to adopt him for his Son; that he might thereby ſtrengthen the Succeſſion[2]; tho' *Tiberius* at that time, had a Son alſo of his own, then of Age, and capable of Publick Buſineſs.

He

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. It may be this was not ſo much to oppoſe the Incurſions of the Germans, as to put a Check upon *Tiberius* if he ſhould make an attempt upon the Authority of *Auguſtus*.

2. Adoption doth not only ſerve to multiply the Heirs of a Prince, who is too old for Procreation, but alſo to ſecure him from the reproach of Old Age, and incapacity to govern, when it is ſeen, that he makes a good Choice: And this was *Galba*'s meaning in what he ſaid when he adopted *Piſo*; as ſoon as the Senate and the City ſhall hear of thy adoption, they'll no longer think me old. *Audita adoptione deſinam videri ſenex. Tac. Hiſt.* 1.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

Young *POMPEY*.

This young Man having poſſeſſed himſelf of *Sicily*, formed an Army of the broken remains of that of *Brutus*, and of multitudes of Slaves, Fugitives, and proſcribed Perſons, who flock'd to him. For although he was not much like his Father, and was not Valiant but in a Heat and in a Paſſion, any Leader was fit for People who had nothing to loſe. When he infeſted the Seas by his Pyracies, *Auguſtus* and *Anthony* were oblig'd to make Peace with him to quiet the People of *Rome*, who were no longer able to bear the Scarcity of Proviſions, which was cauſed by the Robbery of *Pompey*'s Fleet. *Sicily* and *Greece* were yielded to him by this Treaty. But this turbulent Spirit being not content to keep within thoſe bounds, *Auguſtus* declared War againſt him. In the beginning of which *Pompey* was ſucceſsful, but *Auguſtus* in the latter end, for he forced him to fly into *Aſia*, where he was ſlain by the Command of *Anthony*. *Paterc. Hiſt.* 2. *Chap.* 72, 73. and 79.

The Triumvir *LEPIDUS*.

After the deſeat and flight of Young *Pompey*, *Lepidus*, who was come into *Sicily* with twelve Legions, incorporated with his Army *Pompey*'s Troops. Being therefore at the head of above twenty Legions, he had the boldneſs to ſend *Auguſtus* word, that *Sicily* belong'd to him by right of Conqueſt, although he had only been the Spectator of another's Victory, and which he had alſo a long time retarded, by giving advice upon every occaſion, contrary to that, which all the reſt approved. *Auguſtus*, notwithſtanding he was unarm'd, entred *Lepidus* his Camp, and not regarding the Arrows which the other cauſed to be ſhot at him, he ſeiſed the Eagle of a Legion. *Lepidus* abandon'd by his Soldiers, and fortune which raiſed him to a degree of power which he no ways deſerved, was forc'd to throw himſelf at *Auguſtus* his feet, who gave him his Life and his Eſtate.

MARK

He had now no other War upon his hands, but that of *Germany*, which he continu'd rather to blot out the Ignominy which he had receiv'd, by the Defeat of *Quintilius Varus*, than to extend the Bounds of the Roman Empire: or for any other important Intereſt. All things at *Rome* being in a ſettled Peace; the Magiſtrates ſtill retain'd their former names: The Youth being born after

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. *Arcanum novi ſtatus imago antiqui*, that is to ſay, the Art of a New Government is to reſemble the Old. For the People ought not to be ſenſible of a Change, for fear of an Inſurrection. After that *Philip* II. had taken poſſeſſion of *Portugal*, he left Cardinal Arch-Duke *Albert*, Vice-Roy there; ſo that as to Habit, ſaith *Cabrera*, King Cardinal *Henry* ſeemed not to be dead, *Hiſtory of Philip* II. *ſub fin.* It was poſſibly for the ſame reaſon, that *Philip* gave the Government of the Low-Countrys to the Dutcheſs of *Parma* his Siſter, conſidering that the Flemings having been accuſtomed to a Female Government for the ſpace of 46 Years, that *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, Dutcheſs Dowager of *Savoy*, and *Mary* Queen of *Hungary*, his Aunt, had govern'd them; it was probable that a Governeſs would be more agreeable to them than a Governor. *Herrera* ſaith, that *Philip* having recall'd the Arch-Duke *Albert* from *Portugal* (in 1592.) the Government of this Kingdom remained in the hands of five Adminiſtrators, becauſe that having promis'd the Portugueſe to give them always one of the Royal Family for their Governor; and being either not able, or not willing to do it at that time, he thought to make no Innovation by placing in the room of *Albert* five Portugueſe Lords, after the example of the King Cardinal *Henry*, who by his laſt Will had named five others, *Third Part of his Hiſt. Lib.* 10. *C.* 23. *Henry* IV. would make his Abjuration in the Church of St. *Denis*, to ſhew that he would follow the Religion and the Examples of the Kings, who were interr'd there. *Memoirs of the Chancellor* Chiverney.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

MARK ANTHONY.

This Triumvir having reſolved to make War on his Country, the Quarrel was decided by a Fight, which put an end to the Civil Wars. This Battle was fought near *Actium*, a Promontory of the Sea of *Albania*. After the two Fleets were engaged, Queen *Cleopatra* flying, *Anthony* choſe rather to accompany a Woman who fled, than his Soldiers who fought. Theſe brave Men however obſtinately maintain'd the Fight, and they deſpaired of the Victory; they held it out a long time, being willing to die for a Deſerter. But in the end *Auguſtus* having ſoftned them by his Remonſtrances, they threw down their Arms, and yielded the Victory to him who merited it as much by his Clemency, as by his Valour.

k *Tiberius*

after the Battle of *Actium*, and the Elder ſort, during the Civil War, few were now remaining of thoſe which had ſeen the times of Liberty; All things had another face. Nothing of the Form or Force of the Ancient Government was left. Equality and Freedom were at once diſtinguiſh'd; the Common Intereſt was to obey and ſerve the Prince, at leaſt, before he grew ſubject to the Decays of Age, and cou'd attend with Vigour to the Cares of Government, and to the Fortunes of his Family. But when he was infeebled with Years and Sickneſs, and his end was viſibly approaching; the Minds of Men were alter'd by the proſpect of a Change. Some few cry'd up the Advantage of Publick Freedom: Many were fearful of an impending War, which was earneſtly deſir'd by others. But the greater Part employ'd their time in various Diſcourſes of future Matters[1].

"*Agrippa*, they ſaid, was fierce by Nature, and exaſperated by the Diſgraces which he ſuffer'd[2]; beſides, that he was wholly unacquainted with Affairs, and incapable of ſuſtaining ſo great a Weight. *Tiberius* was indeed mature in Years, and experienc'd in Warfare; but had inherent in him, the Severity and Pride of the Claudian Family, which he cou'd not ſo perfectly

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. When a Prince begins to break and grow infirm, all People turn their Eyes towards the Riſing Sun, that is to ſay, towards his Succeſſor, if there is an Heir apparent, as in Hereditary States there is: but if the Succeſſors be uncertain, as in Elective Kingdoms, then every one reaſons upon the good or bad Qualities of the ſeveral Pretenders, and deſtines to the Throne him that is moſt agreeable to himſelf. *Multi*, ſaith *Tacitus*, *occulta ſpe, prout quis amicus vel cliens, hunc vel illum ambitioſis rumoribus deſtinabant*, *Hiſt.* 1.

2. It has been often obſerved, that Princes who come from Exile to a Throne, have been cruel,

——*Regnabit ſanguine multo,*
Quisquis ab exilio venit ad imperium. *Apud Suet, in Vita Lib.*

and likewiſe thoſe who have been deſpiſed or ill-treated under the Reign of their Predeceſſor. When once *Lewis* XI. was crowned and knew his Power, he thought of nothing but revenge. *Hiſt. Memoirs*, *Lib.* 1. *Ch.* 12.

1. It

" perfectly diſſemble, but that ſome ſigns of Cruelty " might be obſerv'd in his Nature and his Actions. " What was there to be expected from a Man, bred " from his Infancy [k], in the Imperial Houſe, and *amidſt* " *Arbitrary Power*, loaded with Honours and Triumphs " in his Youth [l], and during his retreat at *Rhodes*, which " was, in effect, but a ſpecious Exile; feeding his " thoughts with the hopes of Vegeance, forming him- " ſelf to the Practice of Diſſimulation, and conſuming " the reſt of his time in Luxury [2]. His Mother of a " Violent and Imperious Nature, according to the Sex " themſelves, ſubjected to the Slavery of a Woman; " beſides, two Youths, who at preſent were chargeable " to the Common-Wealth, and wou'd tear it piece-meal " after the Emperor's Deceaſe.

While theſe things were in agitation, the Health of *Auguſtus* was impairing daily; and there wanted not ſome, who ſuſpected the Impiety of his Wife by *Poiſon* [3]. For, ſome Months before, there had been ſpread a Rumour, that *Auguſtus*, attended by ſome of his moſt truſty Ser-

Politick Reflections.

1. It ought to be obſerved, ſaith the ſame Author, that all Men who have ever been great, or have done great things, began very Young. And this lies in Education.

2. Princes of the Humour of *Tiberius* can never be in worſe Company than with themſelves. The fierce and cruel Temper of Don *Carlos*, Prince of *Spain*, according to *Cabrera*, was owing to the Inclination which he had for Solitude. *C. 8. L. 1. of his Hiſtory.* For Solitude, ſaith he, makes young People Wild, Melancholly, Fantaſtical, Cholerick, and apt to form ill deſigns. That which none ſees none reproves; and conſequently temptation meets with no obſtacle. *l. 4. c. 2.*

3. It is uſual for People to impute the Death of Princes to Poyſon; as if Princes could not dye of Diſeaſes, or of Old Age; or that their Death muſt be render'd as myſterious as their Life.

Historical Notes.

k Tiberius was not three years old when his Mother was married to *Auguſtus*. *Tiberius*, ſaith *Paterculus*, Educated under *Auguſtus*, ſeaſon'd with his Divine Precepts, and endowed moreover with extraordinary Parts, diſcover'd very early ſomewhat which promis'd all that we behold in him at this day. *Hiſt. 2. Ch. 94.*

l The

Servants, and accompany'd only by *Fabius Maximus* his Friend and Confident, had made a Secret Voyage to the Iſland of *Planaſia*, there to viſit Young *Agrippa*; that many tears had been mutually ſhed, with reciprocal teſtimonies of tenderneſs [1]; from which it might be gather'd, that there were yet ſome hopes of his being reſtor'd into the Family of his Grandfather [2]. *It was farther reported*, that *Fabius* had reveal'd this Secret to his Wife *Marcia* [3], and ſhe to *Livia* [3], who complain'd of it to *Auguſtus*: theſe things being come at length to the notice of the Emperor, and ſhortly after, *Maximus* being

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. *Auguſtus* being willing to repair the Error which he had committed in diſinheriting his Grandſon, made a greater by recalling him to the Succeſſion of the Empire, after he had taken *Tiberius* for his Colleague. For beſides that it was not in his power to undo what he had done, his Repentance which came too late, expos'd him to the Hatred and Revenge of *Livia* and *Tiberius*, who were no longer oblig'd to him for a Favour that he was ſorry he had done them. When any one will do ſo great a thing, ſaith *Commines*, he ought to conſult and debate it well, that he may take the ſafeſt ſide: For there is no Prince ſo wiſe, who doth not fail ſometimes, and alſo very often, if he lives long; and this would be evident from his actions, if he always ſpoke the Truth of them. *His Memoirs, l. 5. c. 13.*

2. *Cato* the Cenſor had good reaſon to ſay, that one of the three things whereof he repented, was, that he had told his Secret to a Woman; for, if you'l believe *Plautus*, none of that Sex have been Mutes. *Two or three contrary Examples*, ſaith a Modern Author, *are miracles, which do not make a Precedent. P. Bohours* keeping a Secret.

3. It is a general Cuſtom, ſaith *Commines*, more to endeavour to pleaſe thoſe whoſe future advancement we expect, than him who is already raiſed to ſuch a Degree, that he can aſcend no higher. *l. 6. c. ult.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

1. The Elder *Pliny* ſaith, that *Auguſtus* lamented his Grandſon *Agrippa*, after he had baniſh'd him, and that the Ambitious Deſigns of *Livia* and *Tiberius*, gave him anxious thoughts enough in the latter part of his life. *Abdicatio Poſthumi Agrippæ poſt adoptionem, deſiderium poſt relegationem.—Hinc uxoris & Tiberii cogitationes ſupremæ ejus curæ.* C. 45. L. 7. Laſtly, concludes he, this Divine *Auguſtus* died, leaving his Enemy's Son his Heir and Succeſſor. For *Tiberius* was the Son of *Claudius Nero* the High-Prieſt, who was the declared Protector of all the Malecontents after the Death of *Julius Cæſar*, and had raiſed the War in *Campania*, *Pater. Hiſtor. c. 75. Sueton* adds, that the Father of *Tiberius*, was ſo paſſionate for Liberty, that he propos'd in the Senate, that rewards might be decreed for *Cæſar's* Murderers. *In Tiberio.*

m *Paterculus*

ing dead, (*'tis doubtful whether by a Voluntary Death, or not,*) *Marcia* was heard at his Funeral amidſt her ſorrows to accuſe her ſelf, as the Cauſe of her Husband's Deſtiny [l]. But however it was, *Tiberius* was ſcarcely enter'd into *Illyria*; when he was ſpeedily recall'd by Letters from his Mother; and it is not known for certain, whether or no he found *Auguſtus* yet living [m] when he arriv'd at *Nola*. For *Livia* had order'd the *Corps du Guard* to be all under Arms at every Avenue of the Palace and the Town, and caus'd reports to be hourly ſpread

Politick Reflections.

1. Princes always deſtroy thoſe who have diſcover'd their Secrets, not only for fear of treachery, but alſo becauſe they are aſham'd to be deceived in thoſe they truſted. *Auguſtus*, who was a great diſcerner of Men, preferr'd *Fabius* before all the reſt of his Friends, and yet this Confident through imprudence diſcover'd his Secrets. Therefore Princes ought not to confide in any Perſon, no more than *Metellus*, who ſaid he would burn his Shirt, if it knew his ſecret deſign. By the way, 'tis fit to obſerve, that there is nothing more dangerous than to truſt a married Woman with a Secret, becauſe of her near relation to her Husband; for ſooner or later the Bed diſcovers all, eſpecially if 'tis the Woman's intereſt not to keep the Secret. Thus, we are not to wonder that *Livia*, knowing there was a deſign to ſet aſide her Son *Tiberius*, and to beſtow the Empire upon the Young *Agrippa* her Son-in-Law, ſacrificed without reſpect and pity, *Fabius* and *Martia* to the anger of *Auguſtus*, to prevent him recalling his Grandſon. In the laſt age Don *Antonio de Padilla* having diſcover'd to *Donna Anna* the Queen of *Spain*, that *Philip* II. had diſappointed her of the Regency, by the Will which he had made at *Badajoz*; this Princeſs, who thought her ſelf excluded for want of Love and Eſteem, did not ceaſe to make complaints, which ſoon after coſt Don *Antonio* his Life, *Cabrera in his Hiſtory Chap.* 3. *Lib.* 12. *and c.* 2. *l.* 13. He muſt never truſt a Secret to a Perſon who is infinitely below him; for ſuch is the caſe of Great Ones, that they reckon it a diſhonour to ſtand in awe of their Inferiors; and a ridiculous Folly to be afraid of diſobliging him, to whom they told a thing which may be for his advantage to reveal. *Antony Perez*, ſays, that the Tongue is that part of Man which the Ladies are moſt ſet againſt, becauſe of the Secret which they wou'd have kept, and which they are afraid ſhou'd be diſcover'd. Men have more reaſon to be cautious, but eſpecially they who live at Court, or who converſe with the Court Ladies, ought to be more jealous of a Womans Tongue, and even of their own Wife's, than of their moſt dangerous Enemies.

Historical Notes.

m *Paterculus* ſays, that *Tiberius* came to *Nola* before the Death of *Auguſtus*, and that they had alſo ſome diſcourſe together, *Chap.* 123.

n *Suetonius*

ſpread of the Emperor's amendment, till having all things in a readineſs, which the preſent Conjunction cou'd require. She declar'd at once the Death of *Auguſtus* [n], and the Acceſſion of *Tiberius* to the Empire [o].

The Reign of

TIBERIUS:

Beginning in the Year of *Rome*, 767.

1. THE firſt Action of the New Reign, was the Murder of *Agrippa Poſthumus* [1]; who unarm'd as he was, and wholly Ignorant of the deſign, was not without ſome difficulty ſlain, by a Centurion hardned in blood. *Tiberius* was ſilent of this matter in the Senate, feigning a Command from his Father *Auguſtus*, wherein he

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. A Prince who ſheds the Royal Blood, gives an Example of moſt dangerous conſequence. The Queen of *Naples*, *Joan* I. ſays *Ammirato*, when ſhe caus'd *Andrew* her Husband to be ſtrangled, taught *Charles* III. when he had it in his power to ſtrangle her alſo. And after he had taken from the Queen his Mother her Crown and Life, he alſo loſt his own Crown and Life, by the hands of the Hungarians who were taught by the example which he had given them. *Diſcourſe 7. of the 17 Book of his Commentary upon Tacitus.* There are many Politicians, ſays *Cabrera*, who ſay on the contrary, that 'tis difficult to keep in Priſon Princes of the Royal Blood, and that when they are dead they don't bite: which is the reaſon why *Charles* of *Anjou*, (that is *Charles* I. King of *Naples*,) put to death *Conradin*, the Nephew of *Manfrede* his Predeceſſor. But *Aragon* did not want Heirs, who happily recover'd the Kingdom, and who condemn'd to death the Son of *Charles*. And though

HISTORICAL NOTES.

n *Suetonius* ſays, that *Tiberius* wou'd not publiſh the Death of *Auguſtus* till he had cauſed the Young *Agrippa* to be aſſaſſinated. *In Tiberio.*

o At the Age of Fifty five years.

1 *Pai*

he had order'd the Officer of the Guard to murther the Young Man, immediately after his own deceaſe. 'Tis undoubted that *Auguſtus* had often, and that with bitterneſs, complain'd in the Senate, of his Manners; and had alſo exacted a Decree from them to authorize his Baniſhment. Yet he had never proceeded to ſo much cruelty, as to compaſs the Death of any of his Relations. Nor is it credible that he would command his Grandſon to be murder'd, to ſecure the ſafety of his Son-in-Law. The ſuſpicion fell more naturally on *Tiberius* and *Livia*, for haſtning the Death of a Young Man, obnoxious to the hatred of the firſt through fear of a Competitor °, and of the laſt, through the inbred malice

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

though this Sentence was not executed, (*for* Conſtance *the Eldeſt Daughter of* Manfrede, *and Wife of* Peter *III. King of* Aragon, *was more generous than* Charles *I.*) yet the innocent *Conradin* was reveng'd, by that mark of Infamy which his blood imprinted upon the Houſe of *Anjou*——— *Philip* II. provided for the ſafety and preſervation of Queen *Mary* of *England* his Wife, in oppoſing the execution of the Sentence of Death given againſt *Elizabeth*, his Siſter-in-Law; for the Prince who puts thoſe of his own blood into the hands of the Executioner, whets the Sword againſt himſelf. *Chap.* 10. *of Book* 1. *and* 5 *of Book* 2. *of his Hiſtory of Philip* II. *Henry* IV. would never conſent to the Death of *Charles* of *Valois*, Count of *Auvergne*, who conſpir'd againſt him, ſaying, that he ought to have a reſpect for the blood of Kings; and Mr. *Villeroy*, one of his Miniſters ſaid well to the ſame purpoſe, that when the Queſtion was put concerning the Life of Princes of the Blood, the Prince ought for Counſel to hear nature only. *Burnet* has declared, that the Death of the Queen of *Scotland* was the greateſt Blot of Queen *Elizabeth*'s reign. And I wonder that Pope *Sixtus* V. who knew ſo well how to teach others to give reſpect to Royal Majeſty, ſhould envy this Queen the Happineſs and Honour to have a Crown'd Head fall at her feet. And never was a Dream more full of inſtruction, than that Ladies, who uſually lay in the Chamber of Queen *Elizabeth*, and who the Night before that Execution, awak'd in a Fright, crying out, that ſhe ſaw the Head of *Mary Stuart* cut off, and that they would alſo have cut off the Head of Queen *Elizabeth* with the ſame Axe. *Lati Book* 3. *of part* 2. *of the Life of Sixtus* V.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

o. *Paul Piaſecki* ſays, in his Chronicle, that *Conſtance* of *Auſtria*, the Second Wife of *Sigiſmond* III. King of *Poland*, uſed all her Intereſt to get her Eldeſt Son *John Caſimir* to be choſen King, and her Son-in-Law and Nephew *Uladiſlaus* excluded, who being the Eldeſt Son of the King, according to the Law and Cuſtom of the Country, was to be preferr'd before all others. Another Polonian ſays, *Nec unquam committunt, quin hic eligatur, cui ipſo jure debetur ſucceſſio.* Kruſtanowic *in his deſcription of the Government of Poland.*

lice of Step-mother. When the Centurion, according to Military Custom, told *Tiberius* that he had perform'd his orders; his answer was, that he had given him no such Commission [2]; that the Officer should be answerable to the Senate for his offence, which coming to the knowledge of *Sallustius Crispus*, who was the confident of all his Secrets, and who had issued out those orders to the Centurion, He fearing that the Murther would be charg'd on him, and knowing that it was equally dangerous in his case, *either to confess the Truth, or divulge the Secret*, to approve himself, either Innocent or Guilty [3]; advis'd *Livia*, that care should be taken not to expose the Secrets of the Imperial House, or the Counsels of Ministers [4], or the Names of the Soldiers, whom he privately employ'd to execute his orders. For *Tiberius* would certainly weaken the Government, if he permitted his actions to be scan'd in the Senate [5].

Arbitrary

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. 'Tis the Custom of Princes in hurtful cases to throw the Odium upon their Ministers. *Anthony Perez*, who found it so by sad experience in the Murder of *John* of *Escovedo*, which *Philip* II. gave leave to be enquir'd into; says, that Princes are advis'd to keep a Council of State to clear themselves of all unlucky accidents. Queen *Elizabeth* imprison'd the Secretary who dispatch'd an Order to hasten the Execution of *Mary Stuart*, Queen of Scots, saying, that she was surpris'd when she sign'd the Warrant. *Leti.*

3. That Minister is unhappy, who is forc'd to accuse his Prince, to prove his own Innocence; or who must be Criminal, to make his Prince to be reputed Innocent. For if he keeps the Secret, the Judges condemn him; if he does not keep it, his Master sacrifices him as an unfaithful Servant. Besides, the Prince is always glad to rid himself of one who may be a Witness against him.

4. Princes would often want Counsel, if it was dangerous to give them Counsel. *Defuturos qui suadeant, si suadere periculum sit. Curt. Lib.* 7. When a Prince keeps a Secret, says *Cabrera*, we freely tell him every thing that may do him hurt; which often preserves his State and Person. *Philip* II. was ignorant of nothing, because every one told him what he knew; and 'twas certain he would never discover what ought to be kept secret. *Chap.* 3. *of the* 12 *Book of his Life.*

5. 'Tis the Destruction of a Republick and introduces a Monarchy to commit the Sovereign Power to one alone, and 'tis the Overthrow of a Monarchy to give this Power to many. This was the mistake of *Philip* II. after the death of *Lewis* of *Requesens*, Governor of the Low-Countrys, in committing the Administration of the Affairs of *Flanders* to the Council of State of that Country. For the People, when

Arbitrary Dominion being of that nature, that the Performance of a Command, from a ſingle Perſon, can be accountable but to him alone p.

II. In the mean time, at *Rome* the Conſuls, Senators, and Knights, endeavour'd to out-ſtrip each other in the race to Servitude. And they who were the moſt Noble and Illuſtrious, made the greateſt ſpeed; uſing ſo ſpecious a behaviour, that without ſhewing any exterior gladneſs for the Death of their late Emperor, or any diſcontent, for the Succeſſion of the New q, their Mourning was mingled with their Joy, and their Tears with expreſſions of Flattery. *Sextus Pompeius* and *Sextus Apuleius*, then

Politick Reflections.

they ſaw themſelves delivered from the Yoke of a Spaniſh Governor, were not afraid of a Power, which being divided among many, ſeem'd unto 'em a kind of a Republick. Beſides, the Intereſt and Advice of thoſe who were of this Council never agreeing, the People had a fair pretence not to obey, ſtanding neuter among ſo many Maſters, who did not know how to command. 'Tis almoſt impoſſible, ſays *Commines*, that many great Lords of the ſame Quality and Eſtate, ſhould be able to hold long together, unleſs there be one Superior to command 'em, and 'tis neceſſary that he ſhould be Wiſe and well Approved whom they muſt all obey. And a little after, he gives this reaſon for it. Becauſe, ſays he, they have ſo many things to diſpatch and agree among themſelves, that half of the time is loſt before they can conclude any thing. *The laſt Chap. of Book* 1. *of his Memoirs. Cabrera* ſays, that a Prince has need of Counſel and of Miniſters to aſſiſt him in the Government; for though he be an able Prince, yet he can't know every thing; but they muſt not be his companions in the Government, becauſe being only his Inſtruments, 'tis fit he ſhould uſe 'em as he pleaſes. *Chap.* 7. *of the firſt book of his Hiſtory.*

Historical Notes.

p *Mary*, Queen of *Hungary*, Siſter of *Charles* V. ſhew'd her ſelf of the ſame opinion, when taking her leave of the Low-Countrys, which ſhe had govern'd 23 years, ſhe uſed this Expreſſion: If I have fail'd in any thing, I may be excus'd, ſince I have done the beſt I could; but if any are diſſatisfied with what I have done, I regard it not, ſince the Emperor my Brother is ſatisfied, and my care was only to pleaſe him. *Brantome diſc.* 4. *of brave Women.*

q *Don John Antonio de Vera* ſpeaking of the Ceremony of the Abdication of *Charles* V. ſays, that they who aſſiſted at it gave publick teſtimony of their ſorrow, but however in ſuch a manner as, without diſpleaſing the Prince they received, ſhew'd what a Prince they loſt. *Epitome of the Life of Charles* V.

then Conſuls, were the firſt who took the Oath of Fidelity to *Tiberius*, and gave it afterwards in his name, to *Sejus Strabo*, Captain of the Pretorian-Guard, and to *Cajus Turranius*, Commiſſary-General of the Publick Proviſions: after theſe, to the Senate, to the Forces, and to the People. For *Tiberius* affected to begin all publick Functions from the Conſuls [1], as in the ancient Common-Wealth, and as if he were yet doubtful, whether or no, he would aſſume the Government. Even the Edict it ſelf by which he ſummon'd the Senate to the Court, was ſhort and modeſt, declaring, that he exercis'd this Right but only in vertue of the Tribunitial Power [2], which was veſted in him by *Auguſtus* [3]; and in order to deliberate on thoſe funeral Honours, which were to be paid to his Father, whoſe Corps, in the mean time, he would not forſake [4], and that all the part to which he pretended in the Publick Adminiſtration, was no more than

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Becauſe Liberty began with the Conſulſhip, he affected to propoſe all things by the Conſuls, to amuſe the People, and even the Senate, by an image of the ancient Republick. *Arcanum enim novi ſtatus imago antiqui.*

2. The Edicts of a Prince ought always to be ſhort, for they are Laws and Commandments, of which it belongs not to Subjects to examine the reaſons. 'Tis the buſineſs of a Doctor to alledge reaſons, but not of a Legiſlator, who ought to make himſelf obey'd by Authority and not by Perſuaſion. If reaſons were given to Subjects, they would examine them; and this Inquiry would carry 'em to Diſobedience when they did not think thoſe Reaſons good. The force of a Law, does not formally conſiſt in the Juſtice of it, but in the Authority of the Legiſlator; and therefore Kings, who are the Supreme Legiſlators, muſt be obeyed, becauſe they have eſtabliſh'd ſuch and ſuch Laws, and not becauſe their Laws ſeem juſt to us.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

r Under the ancient Republick, the Tribunes of the People had oftentimes aſſembled the Senate; ſo *Tiberius* acted popularly in convoking them. 'Tis true, the Tribunes had uſurp'd this Power, for in the beginning they could only *vetare, aut intercedere, i. e.* hinder or oppoſe; whereas the Conſuls had a right to command. *Conſules jubent.*

ſ. Becauſe *Auguſtus* dying at *Nola*, as *Tacitus* ſays, at the end of the Abridgment of his Life, he would in honour accompany his body to *Rome.*

than what was reducible to that Edict [1]. Yet after the Death of *Auguſtus*, it was his Cuſtom to give the word to the Prætorian Cohorts, to be attended by Soldiers, and no part of the State belonging to an Emperor, was wanting to him. Whether he walk'd the Streets, or went to the Senate, his Guards follow'd him. He had alſo written to the Armies in the ſtyle of Emperour and Succeſſor, and all without the leaſt Ambiguity or Heſitation, unleſs it were when he ſpoke in Senate [3]. The principal Cauſe of his diſſimulation [4] was, that he fear'd *Germanicus* who commanded ſo many Legions, aſſur'd of ſuccour from all the Allies, and lov'd even to Idolatry, by the Roman People, would rather chuſe to enjoy the Empire in preſent, than to attend it *from his Death*. Neither was there wanting a mixture of Vain-Glory, in theſe proceedings, for he affected to have it thought, that he was Elected by the Common-Wealth [5], rather than introduc'd

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. He acted the part of a Republican in the Senate, becauſe that was the only place where there yet remain'd any ſhadow of the ancient Liberty.

4. 'Tis the Intereſt of Courtiers to diſcover the Sentiments of the Prince, in the beginning of his Reign, to know how to behave themſelves towards him; but 'tis the Intereſt of the Prince not to reveal or declare any thing in his affairs, that may exerciſe their Curioſity. For if they are before hand in diſcovering what is in his breaſt, he will never come to know what is in their hearts. *Lleva la ventaja*, ſays a Spaniſh Proverb, *el que vee el juego al compañero*.

5. In an Elective Empire the Prince ought always to declare, that he holds the Kingdom from them who have a right to Elect, though he obtained it by other means; for otherwiſe he will be accounted an Uſurper, and a declar'd Enemy to the publick Liberty, and by conſequence his Life will be always in danger. Nothing can be ſaid more judicious, nor more agreeable to a Republick, or to an Elective State, than that which *Galba* ſaid of his Election

HISTORICAL NOTES.

1. *John Freinſhemius* gives another ſenſe to this paſſage: *neque abſcedere a corpore, idque unum ex publicis muneribus uſurpare*; making *Tiberius* ſay, that by this aſſembling the Senate, he did not pretend to a Superiority over it, or over any Senator, but only to acquit himſelf of his duty to his Father: and that for the future he would not take upon him to give any more commands. And in the Examen of the Tranſlators of *Tacitus*, which

is

duc'd by the Artifices of a Woman[6], and the adoption of an old doting Man. It was afterwards diſcover'd alſo, that this Irreſolution which he ſhew'd, tended to ſound the Affections of the Great towards him; for he ſtudy'd their Countenance, and their Words, to make them guilty afterwards, whom he purpos'd to deſtroy.

III. The firſt time he came into the Senate, he would permit no other buſineſs to come on, than only what related to the Funeral of his Father[1]; whoſe Teſtament was brought thither by the Veſtals. By it *Tiberius* and *Livia* were declar'd his Heirs. *Livia* was adopted alſo into the Julian Family, and honour'd with the Title of *Auguſta*[u]. In the ſecond Degree were rank'd his Grand-Children,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

Election to the Empire. Under the reigns of *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, and *Claudius*, ſaid he, the Roman Common-Wealth has been as the Patrimony and Inheritance of one Family alone; but I who have been call'd to the Empire by the conſent of the Gods and of Men, can ſay, that I have reſtored Liberty to the Common-Wealth, becauſe Election has begun again in my Perſon; and that if the vaſt body of the Empire could be content to be govern'd by a ſingle Perſon, I ſhould be the Man, who would revive the ancient Common-Wealth.

6. In times paſt, the great Men thought it a diſhonour, to be obliged to Women for their Fortune, as if they had been preferr'd by their Favour, rather than by their own Merit. But at this day, we are not ſo nice in that reſpect. The *Ruelle* advances far more than the Sword.

1. The Prince who Honours and requires others to honour the Memory and Aſhes of his Predeceſſors, gives an example to his Succeſſors, which obliges them to pay him the ſame reſpect after his death. *Suetonius* relates, that 'twas ſaid, *Caſar* had ſecured his own Statues and Images from being broken, by reſtoring the Statues of *Sylla* and *Pompey*, which the People had thrown down during the Civil Wars. In

HISTORICAL NOTES.

is at the end of his Paraphraſe, he ſays, moſt Interpreters underſtand theſe words, *abſcedere a corpore*, of the Body of *Auguſtus*; but I underſtand 'em of the Body of the Senate. In which he has followed *Dati*, who renders them thus: *Ne voleva egli en cio partirſi dalla volonta de gli altera Senatori*: And *Rodolphus*, the Maſter, who interprets them in theſe terms, to be inſeparably united to the body of the Senate,

u. That is, with the Name of Empreſs, and with the Title of Majeſty which ſhe had not while her Husband was living.

Children, and their Deſcendants; in the third, the Greateſt of the Romans, not out of Affection, for he hated moſt of them, but out of Oſtentation[z], to be admir'd by Poſterity[x]. His Legacies exceeded not the common Rules, only he bequeath'd to the People four hundred Thouſand great Seſterces; to the moſt Inferior ſort thirty five Thouſand great Seſterces; to each of the Prætorian Soldiers (or Guards) a Thouſand ſmall Seſterces, and three hundred to every Legionary. After this, they ſpoke of the Honours which were to be render'd to

Politick Reflections.

In *Poland* the King elect is not crown'd till the dead King be buried: (*Piaſecki in his Chronicle.*) which is probably done out of reſpect to the dead, who ſurrenders not the Crown till he has received burial. For the King Elect, does not act as King, nor Seals the Letters he writes to Foreign Princes with the Arms of the Kingdom, till after his Coronation. *Philip* II. King of *Spain*, built and founded the Monaſtery of S. *Laurence* of the *Eſcurial*, to be the burying place of the Emperor *Charles* V. his Father, and of the Empreſs *Iſabella* his Mother, and all their Poſterity, as he expreſly declares in the act of the Foundation, reported by *Cabrera*, *Chap.* 11. *of book* 6. *of his Hiſtory.* Before he left *Portugal* he ſtaid three days at the Monaſtery of *Belem*, which is a little place of *Lisbon*, and cauſed to be interr'd the Bodies of the Kings *Sebaſtian* and *Henry*, and of twenty other Princes, the Children and Grand-Children of King *Emanuel*, which had been buried apart in divers Convents; being willing to make at leaſt this acknowledgment to twenty two Heirs, who had given place to him to ſucceed in this Kingdom. *Spaniſh Relation of the Interment of* Philip *in* Portugal. *Chap.* 16. *and* Conetagio, *Book* 9. *of the Union of* Portugal *and* Caſtile.

2. In Princes, Clemency is often an effect of their Vanity, or of their good Nature.

Historical Notes.

x We ſee here, ſays *Pagliari*, what ſlips ſometimes the Wiſeſt Men make. For if on the one ſide we conſider, that *Auguſtus* made himſelf to be lamented, and eſteem'd, by an unparellel'd demonſtration of Humanity, yet without contributing any thing of his own; his laſt Will will appear to be made with great Wiſdom and Policy, but if we examine more narrowly how he purchas'd the favour of the People, we ſhall find, that for a Prince of ſuch Underſtanding he committed a great Fault, becauſe by the bait of an apparent intail, he provoked the great Perſons concerned in it, to plot againſt his Poſterity, whom he had ſtrengthen'd by many Adoptions. For if theſe Noble Perſons were Politick Men, as 'tis probable, ſince *Auguſtus* miſtruſted them; 'tis not likely that they would be contented with an hope, which according to the ordinary courſe of Nature, could not take effect in ſome hundreds of years, *Germanicus* and *Druſus* with all their Children, being to ſucceed before ſhe. *In the thirty third of his Obſervations upon* Tacitus.

y, Who

to the Dead; and the Chief on which they inſiſted, were, that the Funeral State ſhould paſs through the Triumphal Gate, which was firſt adviſ'd by *Gallus Aſinius*. That the Titles of the Laws which had been Inſtituted by him, and the names of the Nations which he had vanquiſh'd, ſhould be carried before the Body, which was propos'd by *Lucius Arruntius*. But *Meſſala Valerius* adding, that the Oath of Fidelity to *Tiberius*, ſhould be annually renew'd; *Tiberius* (*interrupting him on the ſudden*) ask'd, if it were by his Order, that he had thus ſpoken? And *Meſſala* replying, that it was of his own head, adjoin'd farther, that in all things which concern'd the Publick Good, he would never take any Man's opinion but his own, though in ſo doing he ſhould make *Cæſar* himſelf his Enemy. This was the only remaining kind of Flattery. The Senators with a General Cry, demanded, that the Imperial Corps ſhould be carried to the Pile on their Shoulders only. But *Tiberius* diſpens'd with that Office rather out of Vanity, and to do himſelf honour in the refuſal, than out of real Modeſty. After this he publiſh'd an Edict to the People, warning them not to diſturb theſe Funerals, as they had done thoſe of *Julius Cæſar*, with their exceſs of Zeal, and not obſtinately to perſiſt in their deſire, that the Body ſhould be burn'd in the Market-place, and not in the Field of *Mars*, which was the place decreed *for that Ceremony*. On the day of the Funeral Solemnity, the Soldiers were order'd to be under Arms. Thoſe who had either ſeen themſelves, or had heard from their Fathers of that day, whereon *Julius Cæſar* the Dictator had been ſlain, when the ſharpneſs of their Slavery was yet freſh upon them, and their Liberty, with an ill Omen juſt reſtor'd, much deriding the ſuperfluous care now us'd by *Tiberius* on this occaſion; for even at that time, as there were ſome who judg'd his Death an impious action, ſo there were others [y] who extoll'd

HISTORICAL NOTES.

[y] Who call'd *Cæſar*, Tyrant, to authoriſe this Murther as Lawful. *Ita enim appellari Cæſarem facto ejus expetebat*, ſays *Paterculus*, Book 1. Ch. 58. ſpeaking of *Brutus*.

[z] Counting

extoll'd it as a glorious Justice [3]. But in the present case, here was an old Emperor, *quietly* gone out of the World, who had been settled in a long course of Sovereignty of 44 years [2], and who had establish'd the Succession against the Common-Wealth, by a large Provision of Heirs, and those in power; he, it seems, must have a Guard of Soldiers about his dead body, to secure it from disturbance at his Funeral.

IV. This afforded no small occasion of discourse concerning *Augustus* himself. The greater part of the Assistants

Politick Reflections.

3. The actions of great Men may be taken by two handles, some commend, others blame them. They receive divers names, according to the different inclinations of Persons who pass a Judgment of 'em. *Catoline* was blamed for what he would have done, and *Cæsar* was commended for what he did. When there are Parties, every one judges according to the Affection and Interest of that side he is of. The Doctors of the League durst compare *Clement* the Jacobin, who assassinated *Henry* III. with *Ehud* who delivered the Children of *Israel* out of bondage, by killing *Eglon* King of *Moab*. The Spaniards put into their Martyrology *Baltazar* of *Guerard*, who kill'd the Prince of *Orange* at *Delf*, whereas the Hollanders and Protestants have made him a Devil incarnate. In the 14 Book of the Second Part of the History of *Anthony* of *Herrera*, there are two Chapters (the 9. and the 10.) which make a panegyrick upon this *Guerard*, whose death he calls a Martyrdom. I admire amongst others these words: *Considerando, como avia de executar su intento, y estando firme con el exemplo de nuestro Salvador Jesu-Christo, y de sus Santos, &c. i. e.* *Guerard*, considering, how he ought to proceed to the Execution of his design, and continuing firm in his resolution, after the Example of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and his Saints, went the 10th of *July* to find the Rebel, *&c.* as if Jesus Christ and his Saints had given any example of murder! The Inquisition of *Spain* let this pass, as if they approved it. Moreover, this shews how much Men love their own Opinions, and how rash they are to believe things holy or wicked in the fight of God, as their passion moves them. Upon this occasion I shall observe, that the History of the Reformation of *England*, by Dr. *Burnet*, is full of this partiality, every where calling all those Rebels and Superstitious who would not acknowledge *H.* VIII. to be head of the Church of *England*, nor consent to the Laws which he made concerning Religion; nor to those which were made in the Reign of his Son *Edward* VI. and on the other side, giving the Glorious Title of Martyrs to the Protestants who suffered under the Reign of Q. *Mary*, the Sister of *Edward*, who restor'd the Catholick Religion in *England*.

Historical Notes.

2 Counting from the Death of *Anthony* the Triumvir.

a The

ſiſtants vainly admiring, that he ſhould happen to die on the ſame day on which he firſt aſſum'd the Empire [a]: that he died at *Nola*, in the ſame Houſe and Chamber, wherein his Father *Octavius* [b] had finiſh'd his Life. The number of his Conſulſhips was extoll'd likewiſe, which equall'd thoſe of *Valerius Corvinus*, and *Caius Marius* [c], both together, that had enjoy'd the Tribunitial Power, without Intermiſſion, 37 Years; had been ſaluted Emperor [d] one and twenty times: Beſides, a multitude of other Honours which had been heap'd upon him, or invented for him. But the Politicians examin'd the conduct of his Life, after another manner. Some ſaid, that his filial Piety to *Cæſar*, the neceſſity of Affairs, and the importance of the Laws had hurry'd him into a Civil War [1]; which cou'd not poſſibly be manag'd with the Forms of Juſtice; though the Cauſe was honeſt. That he had conſented to

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. We muſt not always aſcribe to Princes the Cauſe of publick Evils; for ſometimes the Times contribute more to them than the Men. A Prince, who at his acceſſion to the Throne, finds the Kingdom in diſorder, and upon the brink of ruine, muſt of neceſſity uſe violent Remedies to give Life again to the Laws, to root out diſſentions, and to ſet the Government upon a right foot.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

a The 21. of *September*, compleat 20 years old, except one day, according to *Paterculus*, *Hiſt.* 2. *Chap.* 65.

b. At the Death of Cardinal *de Richelieu*, the Pariſians obſerv'd almoſt the ſame, for he was born and died in the ſame Houſe: that he received Baptiſm and Extreme Unction in the ſame Pariſh. *Hiſtory of Cardinal* de Richelieu, *Book* 6. *Chapter the Laſt.* *Conſtagio* and *Cabrera* have likewiſe obſerv'd, that *Henry* Cardinal King of *Portugal*, died the ſame hour in which he was born 68 years before.

c. *Paterculus* ſays, that he was Conſul eleven times, and refuſed to be Conſul any more. *Book* 2. *Chap.* 89. Now *Marius* had been Conſul ſeven times, and *Corvinus* ſix.

d. That is, Victorious General, or Great Captain. *Tacitus* ſays, that 'tis an honour which Armies formerly gave to their Captains, when they were over-joy'd for having gain'd a Victory. So that, at the ſame time, there were many Emperors, who did not take place of one another. *At the end of the* 3 *Book of his Annals.*

e 'tis

to many violent proceedings of *Anthony* and [e] *Lepidus* [2], becauſe he had need of their aſſiſtance, to revenge the Murther of his Father. That *Lepidus* being grown Effeminate by the Sloath of a Private Life, *Anthony* drown'd in his debauches, and the Common-Wealth torn in pieces by the Diſcord of her Citizens, there was no other Remedy left in Nature, but the Government of a ſingle Perſon; which notwithſtanding, *Auguſtus* had never taken up the Title [f] of King [3], or of Dictator [4], but contented himſelf to be call'd Prince of the Senate; That the Empire was owing to him, for being ſurrounded by the Ocean [g], and remote Rivers [5]; That the Provinces

Politick Reflections.

2. Sometimes Princes ſhut their Eyes, that they may not ſee the Oppreſſions and Crimes they would be obliged to puniſh, if their Eyes were open. There are times when rigour wou'd be prejudicial to their Affairs, and particularly in the midſt of a Civil War, when 'tis dangerous to encreaſe the Number of Male-Contents.

3. A Prince ought to forbear to aſſume new Titles and Honours; for inſtead of gaining by the new Power he pretends to, he runs the riſque of loſing that which no body denied him. *Auguſtus*, a wiſe Prince, was cautious of taking the Title, which a Thought of only coſt his Predeceſſor his Life.

4. The Dictatorſhip being an image of the ancient Regal Power, *Auguſtus* would never accept it, to ſhew that he avoided whatſoever had made his Uncle odious. *Ovid* makes the reign of *Auguſtus* and *Romulus* to oppoſe each other, as Liberty and Sovereign Power. *Tu domini nomen*, ſays he to *Romulus*, *principis ille gerit*.

5. The greateſt Conteſts which happen among Princes, ariſe upon the ſubject of limits, eſpecially when their Lands lie one among the others, as thoſe of the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Mantua*

Historical Notes.

e. 'Tis true, ſays *Paterculus*, they reviv'd again the Proſcription which had been begun by *Sylla*, but this was not approved of by *Auguſtus*, though being ſingle againſt two he could not oppoſe the Fury of *Anthony* and *Lepidus*, joyn'd together.

f. *Paterculus* ſays, that *Cæſar* was become odious, from the day he aſſiſted at the Feaſt of the *Lupercalia*, when *Mark Anthony*, his Colleague in the Conſulſhip, put upon his Head a Royal Diadem; for *Cæſar* refuſed it in ſuch a manner as ſhewed, that though the Action was raſh, yet it had not much diſpleaſed him. *Hiſt.* 2. *Chap.* 56. Beſides, he happen'd to ſay before, that they muſt take care how they ſpoke to him for the future, and that he meant what he ſaid ſhould be a Law. *Suetonius in his Life.*

g. The Roman Empire was bounded on the Weſt, by the Ocean; on the North by the *Danube* and the *Rhine*; on the Eaſt, by the *Euphrates* and the *Tygris*; on the South, by the Mountain *Atlas*.

h. *Paterculus*

vinces, the Legions, and the Naval Force, were well united; the Citizens obedient to the Laws; the Allies in terms of dutiful reſpect, and the Town adorn'd with ſtately Buildings; that it was to be acknowledg'd he ſometimes made uſe of Severity and Force, but very rarely, and always for preſervation of the Publick Safety [h]. On the other ſide it was alledg'd, that the boaſted Piety of a Son to a Father, and the Neceſſities of a Common-Wealth, were only his pretext [i]; that through an inſatiable deſire of reigning, he being then a Youth, and of a private Fortune, had corrupted the Veteran Troops with Bribes and Donatives, had rais'd an Army, and debauch'd the

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

Mantua in *Montferrat*; of the King of *Spain*, and of the Dukedome of *Venice* in the *Milanese*; of the ſame Republick and of the Grand Signior in *Dalmatia*, and in the Iſlands of the *Levant*. On the contrary, when Kingdoms are divided by the Sea, by Mountains, or by ſtrong Forts, which hinder a Paſſage, Princes have leſs diſputes with one another.

6. The actions of great Princes have always been liable to the Peoples cenſure, how wiſe ſoever they may have been, the Speculative have ever been able to give probable reaſons for their conduct; nor do the Male-contents and the Envious, ever want matter to defame them. When *Philip* II. cauſed his Son Don *Carlos* to be arreſted, all the Courtiers ſpoke of it as their inclinations led them, for the Father or the Son. Some call'd him Prudent, and others Severe, becauſe his Sport and his Revenge met together. *Cabrera*, *Chap.* 22. *the* 7*th Book of his Hiſtory*. *Comines* paints *John* II. King of *Portugal* as a Cruel and Barbarous Prince, becauſe he kill'd his Coſin-German, the Duke of *Viſeu*, and cut off the Head of the Duke of *Braganze*, Brother to the Queen his Wife. (*Chap.* 17. *of the laſt Book of his Memoirs.*) On the contrary, *Mariana* ſays, that he was a lover of Juſtice, and the Great Men of the Kingdom hated him, becauſe he ſeiz'd the Criminals who withdrew for ſhelter into their Territories and Caſtles. And as for the Dukes of *Viſeu* and *Braganze*, who had both conſpired againſt the Perſon of the King and his Kingdom, I believe *Comines* would have agreed with *Mariana*, if he more narrowly examin'd this matter. *Chap.* 23. *of the* 14*th Book, and the* 11*th of the* 26 *Book of the Hiſtory*. Where by the way we may obſerve, that the Reſemblance between Vice and Virtue, often cauſes the Common People to confound and blend 'em together, giving to both the Name which belongs to its contrary.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

h. *Paterculus* ſays, that *Auguſtus* was reſolved to refuſe the Dictatorſhip when the People offer'd it to him. *Chap.* 89.

i. In

the Legions of *Decimus Brutus* then Conſul, under colour of reconciliation with *Pompey*'s party; that after he had extorted from the Senate, the Ornaments and Authority of a Prætor, and ſeiz'd on the Troops which had been commanded by *Hirtius* and *Panſa*, newly ſlain[i], either by the Enemy, or by the Treaſon of this young *Cæſar*, (for *Panſa* was thought to have been brought to his end by an envenom'd Plaiſter apply'd to his wound, and *Hirtius* was ſlain by the hands of his own Soldiers,) he cauſed himſelf to be created Conſul in ſpight of the Senate, and had turn'd thoſe arms againſt the Common-Wealth, which he had taken up againſt *Anthony*: The Proſcription of ſo many Citizens was charg'd on him; and the diviſion of the Lands[k] diſapprov'd even by thoſe to whom they fell. The Death of *Caſſius* and the two *Bruti*[l], muſt indeed be own'd for a juſt Vengeance on the Murderers of his Father[m]; though ſtill it had been more glorious for him, to have ſacrific'd his private hatred, to the Publick Intereſt: But the younger *Pompey* had been unworthily betray'd under the ſhadow of a pretended Peace;

Historical Notes.

i. In the War of *Modena* againſt *Anthony*, *Hirtius* and *Panſa* were Conſuls, and *Auguſtus* commanded there in quality of Prætor. *Anthony* was forc'd to fly and leave *Italy*.

k. That is, That theſe Lands belonging to the Community, could not be given to private Perſons, much leſs to the Soldiers, without wronging the Publick.

l *Marcus*, and *Decimus Brutus*, of whom the firſt kill'd himſelf, as I have already ſaid, and the other was killed by the command of *Anthony*. A puniſhment he juſtly deſerved for his ingratitude towards *Cæſar*, whom he was ſo hardy as to Murther, at the ſame time he received favours from him. He envy'd, ſays *Paterculus*, the Fortune of him who had made his, and after having taken away the Life of *Cæſar*, he thought it no injuſtice to keep the Eſtate he had received from him. *Hiſt. lib.* 2. *Chap.* 64. 'Tis fit to obſerve by the way, that of all the Murtherers of *Cæſar*, who were ſixty in number, there was not one of them who did not die a Violent Death, nor did any of them out-live him more than three years.

m *Hoc opus, hæc pietas, hæc prima elementa fuerunt,*
Cæſaris, ulciſci juſta per arma patrem. Ovid. l. 3. Faſt.

Cato the Cenſor meeting a Young Man who came for a Decree to diſgrace one of his Father's greateſt Enemies. *See there*, ſays he, *how a well-bred Child ought to offer ſacrifice to the Memory of his Father.*

n *Ruſus*

Peace; and *Lepidus* by a diſſembled Friendſhip: *Anthony* ſooth'd and lull'd aſleep, by the Treaties of *Tarentum*, and *Brunduſium*, and by his Marriage with the Siſter of *Auguſtus*, had paid with his Life the forfeit of that fraudulent Alliance. After this a Peace was of neceſſity to enſue, but it was a bloody Peace; and infamous for the puniſhment of the *Varro*'s, the *Egnatii* [n], and the *Julii* of *Rome*; to which ſucceeded the Defeats of *Lollius* [o] and *Varus* [p] in *Germany*: Neither did they ſpare his private Life in their diſcourſes. They reproach'd him for having forcibly taken from her Husband a Woman then with Child; and for having made a Scoff of Religion, by demanding of the Prieſts if it were lawful for him to eſpouſe her before ſhe was deliver'd [7]. They allow'd him

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

7. Princes often make Religion yield to their Intereſts, whereas their Intereſts ought to give place to Religion. Diſpenſations for marriages within the Degrees forbidden are become ſo common, that 'tis not any longer a matter of ſcruple to marry two Siſters, or two Brothers. *Philip* II. who, according to Hiſtorians, had ſo nice a Conſcience, was very near Marrying *Elizabeth* the Queen of *England*, and *Iſabel* the Queen-Dowager of *France*, both his Siſters-in-Law, and the latter alſo the Daughter of the Empreſs *Mary* his Siſter; and matching his Son, Don *Carlos*, with his other Siſter, *Joan* the Princeſs-Dowager of *Portugal*,

HISTORICAL NOTES.

n *Rufus Egnatius*, who, according to *Paterculus*, was in every thing more like a Gladiator than a Senator, having form'd a Cabal of Men like himſelf; he reſolved to kill *Auguſtus*; but his deſign ſucceeded no better than *Lucius Murena*'s, and *Fannius Cæpio*'s, He was puniſhed with the Accomplices of his Treaſon, by ſuch a Death as his deteſtable Life deſerved.

o *Marcus Lollius*, according to *Paterculus*, was more careful to enrich himſelf than to do his duty.

p *Quintilius Varus*, a Peaceable Man, but heavy, and more fit to command an Army in time of Peace, than to make War. He was ſo imprudent, ſays *Florus*, *Book 4. Chap. 12.* as to aſſemble the Germans in the midſt of his Camp to do them juſtice, as if he had been able to reſtrain the Violence of theſe barbarous People with a Serpent's Wand. He imagined, ſaith *Paterculus*, that they were plain honeſt People, who had little more than the Shape and voice of Men, and whom he could civilize by mild Laws, and tame by the Forms of Juſtice, thoſe, who could not be ſubdued by the force of Arms. *Segeſtes* gave him notice of the intended revolt of *Arminius*, but he would not believe it, thinking the Germans had as much good will for him, as he had for them; In the mean time his Army is Surpris'd and Maſſacred by people whom they butcher'd before like Sheep. Poor *Varus*, more couragious to die than fight, ſtab'd himſelf.

q *Dio*

him to have ſuffer'd the Luxury of *Quintus Atedius*, and *Vedius Pollio*[8], *his Minors*, and alſo of having given himſelf up to be govern'd by *Livia*[9], a heavy Burden to the Common-Wealth, and a worſe Step-mother to the Family of the *Cæſars*; That he had made himſelf a Fellow to the Gods, commanding Temples to be dedicated to him as to a Deity, with the Pomp of Images, Prieſts, and Sacrifices. That for the reſt, he had appointed *Tiberius* to ſucceed him[10], not out of any affection,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

gal, alledging for a Preſident *Moſes* and *Aaron*, who were the Sons of *Amram* by his Father's Siſter. *Henry* the Cardinal King of *Portugal*, as devout a Prieſt and Arch-Biſhop as he was, at the age of 67 years, was very earneſt to obtain a Diſpenſation to marry the Duke of *Braganza*'s Daughter, who was but 13 years old. Upon which *Cabrera* tells an odd Story; that Don *Duarte de Caſtelblanco* adviſed *Henry* to marry, and adviſed the Jeſuits, who govern'd him abſolutely, to make him take a Wife that was already with Child, there being no hopes, by reaſon of his Age and Infirmities, that he could otherwiſe have Children, *Lib.* 12. *Chap.* 14. *Paul Piaſecki* ſaith, that the Poles abhor inceſtuous Marriages, and the Diſpenſations that permit them; and that the Famous *John Zamoyski*, Great Chancellor of *Poland*, who to his Death oppoſed the Marriage of *Sigiſmund* III. with *Conſtance* of *Auſtria*, Siſter to his former Wife *Ann*, remonſtrating to *Clement* VIII. that ſuch a Marriage was repugnant to common honeſty, and that the Poliſh Nation would never ſuffer this Decency to be Violated by his breeding Mares. Inſomuch, that *Sigiſmund* was not able to procure the Diſpenſation he demanded, till after the Death both of the Pope and the Chancellor. *In his Latin Chronicle ad An.* 1604. I tremble, ſaith *Comminet*, ſpeaking of the Marriage of *Ferrand*, King of *Naples*, with the Siſter of his own Father, King *Alphonſo*, to ſpeak of ſuch a Marriage, of which Nature there have already been ſeveral in this Family within thirty years laſt paſt. *Memoirs*, *L.* 8. *Ch.* 14. Thus the Author of the Satyr *Menippe*, had reaſon to ſay, that the Houſe of *Auſtria* do as the *Jews*, and lie with one another like *May*-Bugs.

8. Princes are reproach'd, not only with their own Vices and Irregularities, but alſo with thoſe of their Miniſters and their Favourites. For people ſuppoſe they have the Vices which they tolerate in perſons who are in their Service or their Favour.

9. Where is the Difference, ſaith *Ariſtotle*, in being govern'd by Women, or by Men who leave the Management of affairs to Women? *Polit. Lib.* 2. *Ch.* 7.

10. A Prince, who voluntarily chuſes a bad Succeſſor, inſtead of augmenting, effaces the Glory of his Reign; for his Memory becomes as odious as his Succeſſor's perſon: To leave a good one, ſaith *Cabrera*, after the younger *Pliny*, is a kind of Roman Divinity, *Hiſt. Philip* II. *Lib.* 1. *Ch.* 8. If ſome of the better actions of the moſt moderate Princes are ill interpreted after their Deaths, as *Tacitus* ſheweth, by the Example of *Auguſtus*, whom they railed at with ſo much

Affection which he bore him, nor out of any Consideration for the Publick Good, but only to add a Lustre to his own Glory, by the Foyl of that Comparison; as having a perfect Insight into his Nature, and knowing him at the bottom to be Proud ¶ and ‖ Cruel. For not many

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

much Liberty, they have Hatred enough to bear, without loading themselves also with that, which the choice of an unworthy Successor draws upon them.

11. In Princes, the Vices of the Man don't unqualifie him for good Government. Thus *Augustus* made no scruple to demand the Tribuneship for *Tiberius*, although he knew he had many Personal Vices, because he knew he had the Virtues of a Prince to ballance them. *Commines*, after having observed in several places of his Memoirs all the Vices of *Lewis* the Eleventh, his Inquietude, his Jealousie, his Levity in Discourse, his Aversion to great Men, his Natural Inclination to Men of mean Birth, his Insincerity, his Cruelty, concluded notwithstanding, that God had made him wiser, and more virtuous in all things, than the Princes, who were contemporary with him; because, without flattering him, he had more of the Qualities requisite to a King, than any Prince that he had ever seen: *lib. 6. cap.* 10. And speaking of *John Galeas* Duke of *Millain*, he saith, That *he was a great Tyrant, but Honourable*, l. 7. c. 7. *Cabrera* speaking of Cardinal *Henry* King of *Portugal*, saith, That *he had the Virtues of a Priest, and the Faults of a Prince*; which was as much as to say, That he wanted the Qualities that are necessary to a King, *cap.* 24. *lib.* 12. of his *Philip* II. There have been, saith the same Author, Princes and Governours, who, notwithstanding great Vices, have been Venerable, for having had Qualities that deserve Reverence, as Eloquence, Liberality, Civility, the discernment of good and bad Counsels, the Art of governing Cities, and commanding Armies, and other Natural Virtues resembling Moral ones; whence arise great Advantages, which make the Persons, who are the Authors of them, highly Esteemed and Respected. It is for this Reason, that some have said by way of Proverb, *A bad Man makes a good King*. A severe Prince, who doth not violate Natural and Divine Laws,

HISTORICAL NOTES.

¶ *Dio* and *Suetan* don't differ much from *Tacitus*. *Suspicio*, saith the first, *quosdam tenuit, consulto Tiberium ab Augusto satis tum qualis esset cognescente, successorem ordinatum, quo magis ipsius gloria floreret*, Lib. 56. *Nec fuud ignoro*, saith the other, *aliquos tradidisse Augustum etiam ambitione tractum ut tali successore desiderabilior ipse quandoque fieret*: In *Tib. cap.* 23. So that *P. Boaistuan* censures all at once these three *Roman* Historians, when he speaks thus: "Is it probable, that *Augustus* preferred *Tiberius* to *Agrippa* and *Germanicus*, for no other Reason, but to acquire Glory by the comparison "which would be made of a cruel and arrogant Prince, such as *Tiberius* "was, with himself, his Predecessor. For although *Tacitus* puts this in the

many Years before, *Auguſtus* requeſting the Senate once more to conſer the Tribunitial Power on *Tiberius* [r], had caſt out ſome Words concerning his Humour, and the Oddneſs of his Manners, which ſeeming to Excuſe, did in effect Reproach them [12].

V. The Funerals of *Auguſtus* being ended, there was a Temple and Divine Worſhip decreed for him; and that

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Laws, is never called a Tyrant. The Imperious Majeſty of King *Francis* I. although it was exceſſive, was more uſeful than the Sweetneſs and Humanity of his Son, who authoriſed Vice and Licentiouſneſs, and who, by the Gifts and Favours which he conferred on Flatterers, converted the Publick Good into Private Intereſt, and left the People to the Mercy of Great Men, and never puniſhed the Injuſtice of his Officers: *cap.* 8. *lib.* 2. of the ſame Hiſtory.

12. This manner of Accuſing, while we Excuſe, is very much in faſhion with Courtiers, who, according to the *Ravarins* Proverb, have Honey in the Mouth, and a Razor under the Girdle.

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' Mouth of the *Romans*, 'tis viſible enough, that the Reflection is his own, " as well as that which he makes on the ſame *Auguſtus*, for having put in " his Will, amongſt his Heirs, the principal Perſons of *Rome*, of whom " the greateſt part were odious to him; that he had put them in, I ſay, " through Vanity, to make himſelf eſteemed by Poſterity. *Dialogue* 3. *de 'ſa maniere de bien penſer.* If this Reflection is *Tacitus*'s own, it ought to be attributed likewiſe to *Dio* and *Suetan*, who are eſteemed nevertheleſs true and well-informed Hiſtorians. And conſequently we may ſay of *Port Royalours*, what *Raphael dalla Torre* ſaid of *Strada*, on occaſion of the Cenſure of this Paſſage of Hiſtory, and many others, that he knew better how to accuſe *Tacitus*, than to juſtifie *Auguſtus*: For although *Suetan*, ſaith *Raphael*, declares in the place forementioned, that ſo miniſter an Opinion is not agreeable to the Goodneſs of *Auguſtus*, yet inſtead of confuting it by any Reaſon, he confirms it by the Knowledge which he owes *Auguſtus* had long before of the Evil Qualities of *Tiberius*. *Illa commenta (Livia) veteres quoſdam ad ſe Auguſti codicillos de acerbitate & intolerantia morum ejus è ſacrario protulit atque recitavit.* And by the Words which he ſaith *Auguſtus* ſpoke after the laſt Diſcourſe which he had with *Tiberius*, crying out, *Unhappy is the People of* Rome, *who are to fall under ſuch heavy Jaws.* *Suetan* therefore may ſay as much as he will, that he cannot believe, that ſo prudent a Prince could be willing to chooſe a Succeſſor of ſo Tyrannical a Temper to make himſelf the more regretted; but ſeeing he confeſſes, that *Auguſtus* knew the Ill-Nature of him that he choſe, he ought at leaſt to have given us ſome pertinent Reaſon to excuſe ſo bad a Choice: *cap.* 4. of his *Aſtrolabe of State.*

r He had exerciſed this Sovereign Power with *Auguſtus*, before his Retreat to *Rhodes*. *Paterculus Hiſt.* 2. *cap.* 99.

s *Suetan*

that being done, earneſt Supplications were addreſs'd to *Tiberius*; who, on his ſide, ſpoke ambiguouſly concerning the Greatneſs of the Empire, and the Diffidence he had of his own Abilities: Saying, "That nothing but "the Soul and Genius of *Auguſtus* could ſupport ſo great "a Burden of Affairs"; and that having ſuſtain'd ſome "part of them during the Life of the Emperour[2], he "was ſenſible by his own Experience, how difficult and "dangerous it was to charge his Shoulders with the "Weight of Government. That in a City, which a-"bounded with the Choice of great and able Perſons, "all Things ought not to be intruſted to the Manage-"ment of one; ſince Publick Functions were better "exe-

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1. The Prince who immediately ſucceeds a Predeceſſor who hath performed great Things, doth himſelf an Honour in exalting him, for beſides, that it is believed that the Eſteem that he hath for him will ſpur him on to the imitation of him, he becomes himſelf more wonderful and more venerable to his Subjects, when he equals him, or excels him. *Tiberius* was not inferior to *Auguſtus* in Underſtanding and Experience. The Day that *Charles* the Fifth had abdicated the Kingdom of Spain, his Son *Philip* ſaid in his Speech, That the Emperor laid an heavy Weight upon him; That he would not accept of a Crown which ſtood in need of the Prudence and Experience of his Imperial Majeſty, were it not to contribute to the Preſervation of ſo inſtructable a Life. Concluding, that he would endeavour to imitate ſome of his Virtues; ſince to imitate them all, was a Thing impoſſible for the moſt perfect Man in the World. *Cabrera*, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 3. of his Hiſtory.

2. It would be a great Advantage to the Children of Sovereign Princes, if their Fathers would themſelves take pains to inſtruct them, I mean thoſe who are to ſucceed them; for, from whom ſhall they learn the Art of Government, if not from him who Governs? And, how can they be able to Govern when they aſcend the Throne, if they have never been admitted to any Knowledge of the Affairs of their State? It muſt paſs through the Hands of intereſted Miniſters, who will make their Advantage of their Prince's Ignorance, to render themſelves more neceſſary, and who, to maintain themſelves in the Power they have gotten, will never let him ſee Affairs, but on that ſide which may give him a diſguſt of Buſineſs. On the contrary, a Prince who hath had ſome ſhare in the Government in his Father's Life-time, enters trained up and accuſtomed to act the difficult part of a King. I don't pretend to ſay, that a King ought to trouble himſelf to teach him a thouſand Things, which belong to the Office and Duty of a Præceptor. *Majus aliquid & excelſius a Principe poſtulatur.* But ſetting Jealouſie aſide, he cannot fairly diſpenſe with himſelf from teaching him certain

" exercis'd, when many join'd their Cares and Labours [3]. But there was more of Oſtentation, than of upright Meaning, in theſe Diſcourſes. And beſides, if *Tiberius*, whether by Nature, or by Cuſtom, ſpoke obſcurely even on thoſe Subjects, where he had no occaſion to diſſemble, his Words at this time became more intricate and doubtful, when he ſtudied altogether to diſguiſe his Thoughts. Then the Senators, who were all equally afraid of ſeeming to divine his Meaning, broke out into Tears, Complaints and Vows; holding out their Hands to the Gods, and to the Image of *Auguſtus*, and embracing the Knees of *Tiberius*, till he commanded a Regiſter [5] to be brought written by the Hand of *Auguſtus* [4], and containing a Particular of the Publick Revenues, with a Roll of the Names of Citizens and Allies, which ſerv'd in the Armies, of the Tributary Kingdoms, of the Conquer'd Provinces, of the Naval Strength, of the Impoſts, and all the Penſions and Expences which were charg'd on the Commonwealth. To which, *Auguſtus*, whether out of

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Maxims, which are as the Principles and the Springs of Government, and which *Tacitus* calls *Arcana Dominationis*. And as the Children of Sovereign Princes, ſaith *Cabrera*, have been accuſtomed to believe themſelves above the Laws, they have abſolute need of the Inſtructions of their Fathers; for beſides the Impreſſions which Blood and the Majeſty of Sovereign Power make upon them, there are none but their Fathers, who have the Authority to command them, and the Means to make themſelves obeyed: *cap.* 8. *lib.* 1. of his Hiſtory.

3. It is very neceſſary for a Prince, ſaith *Comines*, to have ſeveral Perſons of his Council; becauſe the wiſeſt ſometimes err, and they help to ſet one another right: *l.* 2. *c.* 2. The chief Point is to know how to chuſe them well, and to employ every one according to the Nature and Degree of their Abilities.

4. Although Princes have Secretaries, whoſe Hand might ſave them the trouble of Writing, it is ſo far from being beneath them to write themſelves Memoirs of this kind, which *Tacitus* calls *Dominationis Arcana*; that on the contrary, it would be

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[5] *Suetus* calls this Regiſtry, *Rationarium*, *i.e.* an Inventory, or a Journal.

[3] *Dio*

of Fear for the Empire, which had receiv'd ſo great a Blow in *Germany*, or out of Jealouſie, leſt ſome of his Succeſſors ſhould have the Glory of extending the *Roman* Conqueſts farther than himſelf, added the Advice of Reſtraining the Empire within the preſent Limits 5.

VI. In the mean time, the Senate ſtill deſcending to the moſt abject Supplications, it happen'd that *Tiberius* ſaid unwarily, He found himſelf uncapable of Governing the whole Empire, but if it pleas'd them to commit ſome part of it to his Adminiſtration, whatſoever it were, he would accept it. Then *Aſinius Gallus* laying

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be Imprudence in them to commit them to the Ears and Hand of another. There is no Secretary, nor Confident, whoſoever he be, that ought to be admitted to the Knowledge of theſe Secrets. A Prince, who is guilty of this Overſight, will become precarious to ſuch a Subject. *Edward* the Sixth, King of *England*, wrote himſelf the Journal of his Life, whereof the three laſt Years are extant. So that if this Prince, who died at Sixteen, had lived longer, and continued his Labour, he would have proved a very great Man. In *Portugal* they have an Office which they call *Eſcrivaan da puridade*, as much as to ſay, The Writer or Regiſter of the Confidence, or of the Secrets. And *Mariana* often makes uſe of this Word in this ſenſe, when he ſaith, *Communicar ſus conſejos y puridades*. As this is the moſt important place of the Kingdom, and which hath never been held by any other, but by the chief Miniſter, it is probable, that it was erected on purpoſe to write the Secrets of the King's Cabinet, and thence to prepare Memoirs of State. *John* the Second King of *Portugal*, and *Ferdinand* the Fifth King of *Arragon* and *Caſtille*, wrote them themſelves.

5. Whether this Counſel proceeded from Fear or Jealouſie, it was certainly good. Power is not always augmented in proportion as it is extended. It is often with a vaſt State, as it is with prodigious Ships, whoſe Burden hinders their ſailing. Beſides, there are Conqueſts, which are burthenſome becauſe they can't be preſerved. It was for this Reaſon, that *Edward* King of *England* would not hearken to the Propoſals of *Lewis* the Eleventh, who would have engaged him in the Conqueſt of *Flanders*, after the Death of the laſt Duke of *Burgundy*; anſwering, "That the Cities of *Flanders* were "ſtrong and great, and the Coun-"try not eaſie to keep after it was "conquered. *Memoires of* Com-"mines, *l.* 6. *c.* 2. The King of *Spain* would gain more by giving up to *France* the remainder of the *Low-Countries*, than by keeping it; for beſides, that this Country not only brings him in nothing, but coſts him a great deal, it would be much more Honourable to give it up voluntarily, than to loſe it by piece-meals after a ſhameful manner, as it were, by the Attachments of a Sergeant. *Penſees diverſes*, *ch.* or *ſect.* 40. This Counſel of *Auguſtus*, to ſhut up the Empire within its Limits, croſſed,

laying hold of the Word, *And what part of it, O Tiberius*, ſaid he, *wouldſt thou undertake?* He not expecting ſuch a Queſtion, and not having his Anſwer in a readineſs, for a while ſtood ſilent [1]: But having recover'd the uſe of his Reaſon, anſwer'd, "That it was unbecoming "of his Modeſty to chooſe a Share of it, when he had "rather diſcharge himſelf altogether of the Burden [2]. *Aſinius*, who diſcover'd in his Countenance, that he had ſtung him, replied, *That the Demand which he had made, tended not to the ſharing of that Power, which could not be divided, but to draw this Acknowledgment from his own Mouth, that the Commonwealth, being but one Body, could only be govern'd by one Soul.* Then, after he had prais'd *Auguſtus*, he deſired *Tiberius* to remember his own Victories in War, and his excellent Actions in Peace, during the ſpace of ſo many Years, wherein he had the Management of Affairs. But all this was not ſufficient to make him well with the Emperour [3], who bore him an an-

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ſaith *Ammirato*, the inviolable Maxim of the *Romans*, who were ever endeavouring by all ways poſſible to enlarge their Empire; but *Auguſtus* knowing by his own Experience the Evils that might enſue thence, thought it his Duty to leave this Counſel to his Succeſſors, to cut up the Root both of Foreign and Civil Wars. And if *Tacitus* gives the Name of Fear to this Advice, it is becauſe it is the part of a wiſe Man to fear that which deſerves to be feared, and to foreſee how many Dangers he expoſes himſelf to, who never ceaſes from invading others. *Commentary, lib.* 1. *diſc.* 6. and *lib.* 12. *diſc.* 1.

1. Nothing gives greater Offence to a diſſembling Prince, ſuch as *Tiberius* was, than to endeavour to ſound his Heart, or to let him ſee, that you perceive that he diſſembles. We ought never to put Princes upon explaining themſelves farther than they are willing; when they ſpeak obſcurely, it is a ſign that there is ſome Myſtery in it; and, conſequently, it is dangerous to enquire into it. The Marquis of *Aitone*, ſaith M. *de Montreſor*, went to viſit Monſieur, who kept his Bed, pretending to have the Gout, and knew well enough that his Highneſs acted a Part, but he made no diſcovery thereof by any outward ſhew, or by any particular Act to prevent his Retreat out of the Territories of the King his Maſter. *In his Memoirs.*

2. This Anſwer of *Tiberius* plainly ſhews, that Princes do not love to be replied upon, and that it is want of Reſpect towards them to put them to the Trial. Princes deſire to be thought ſincere, becauſe this conduces much to the obtaining their Ends; but they will not be ſo.

3. The Praiſes which a Subject gives his Prince, after he has given him

ancient Grudge, ſuſpecting him for having eſpous'd *Vipſania*, the Daughter of *Marcus Agrippa*, and formerly the Wife of *Tiberius* [t], as if by that Marriage he deſign'd to raiſe himſelf above the Condition of a private Life [t], and inherited the imperious Humour of *Aſinius Pollio* his Father.

VII. After this Speech, *Lucius Aruncius* likewiſe offended him by another, almoſt of the ſame Tenour: For though *Tiberius* had not any old Animoſity againſt him, yet he hated him for his Riches, for the Excellency of his Natural Endowments, and Moral Perfections; and for

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him Offence by Words, are never a Plaiſter ſo broad as the Sore. The Affronts offered Princes are irreparable, becauſe they impute the Reparations thereof to the Fear which the Offenders have of their Reſentment, and not to their Repentance.

4. A Prince never looks with a good Eye on him who hath married a Wife whom he hath divorced, whether he divorced her out of Averſion, or by Conſtraint; for if he did it out of Averſion, he looks on the Husband as a Perſon who hath taken her Part againſt him, or who knows the Secrets of the Family, whereof he may make an ill Uſe: If by Conſtraint, which was the caſe of *Tiberius*, he hates the Husband as a Rival, who hath enrich'd himſelf with his Spoils; or as an ambitious Perſon, who, by the advantage of his Marriage, hopes to advance his Fortunes. The Honour which *Aſinius* had of being Father-in-Law to *Druſus*, one of the preſumptive Heirs of the Empire, join'd with his ambitious Spirit, diſtinguiſhed him too much, not to raiſe Jealouſie in *Tiberius*. *Pinſecki* relates, that *John* Duke of *Filandia*, who was afterwards King of *Poland*, was impriſoned by King *Eric*, his Brother, with his Wife *Catharine*, Siſter to *Sigiſmond Auguſtus* King of *Poland*, becauſe he ſeemed to have compaſſed this high Alliance, to enable him to ſeize the Crown of *Suedeland*, as their Father *Guſtavus* had done. *In the beginning of his Chronicle.*

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t *Dio* adds a Reaſon, which is of yet greater weight. That *Aſinius* having married *Vipſania*, *Druſus* his Mother, he looked upon *Druſus* as his own Son. So that not being ſatisfied with having *Tiberius*'s firſt Wife, he alſo ſhared with him in his Prerogatives of a Father. It looked alſo as if he would have had a ſhare alſo in *Druſus*'s Heart, *Cum Druſum filii inſtar haberet*: Theſe are *Dio*'s Words, *lib.* 57. Laſtly, as *Tiberius* had always loved *Vipſania*, whom he had not divorced but to pleaſe *Auguſtus* who gave him his own Daughter; he could not endure that *Aſinius* ſhould enjoy this Lady, who had as many good Qualities, as *Auguſtus*'s Daughter had bad ones.

for the Reputation which they had gain'd him with the People, which was not inferiour to his Merit [1]. Besides, that *Augustus* in one of the last Discourses which he held, speaking of those, who would refuse the Empire, though capable of Ruling it; or who would be Ambitious of it, though uncapable of Governing; or who at once would be capable of Governing, and desirous of the Government; said, *That* Lepidus *would be worthy of it, without wishing for it; that* Asinius *would be desirous of it, without deserving it; that* Arruntius *neither was unworthy of it, nor would fail to lay hold of the first Occasion* [1], *to seize it* [2]. Concerning the two first of these, 'tis agreed on all Hands;

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1. Kings, saith *Salust*, are more afraid of Men of Virtue and Merit, than of ill Men. *Regiosi boni, quàm mali, suspectiores sunt, semperque his aliena virtus formidolosa est.* In *Catilina*. *Tiberius* was well perswaded of what *Agrippa* had said to *Augustus*, That a Man of great Understanding, and great Courage, could not but be a Lover of Liberty, and in his Heart an Enemy to an absolute Master. *Dion, lib.* 52. *Commines* saith, that *Lewis* the Eleventh feared all Men, but especially those who were worthy to be in Authority. *Memoirs, l.* 6. *c.* 12.

2. A Prince can never give better instructions to his Successor, than to mark out what great Men he ought to distrust. This Knowledge is the most necessary thing to a Prince when he first ascends the Throne, and so much the more, because it is in the beginning that he is most easily deceived, and the great Men most forward to make their Attempts upon an Authority that is not yet well established. In the last Counsels, which *David* on his Death-bed gave to his Son *Salomon*, he advised him not to let *Joab* go to the Grave in peace, who had slain two just Men, *Abner* and *Amasa*; to bring to the Grave with blood the hoar Head of *Shimei*, who had dared to curse him, and to cause the Sons of *Barzillai* to eat at his own Table, who had furnished him with Provisions and other Necessaries for his whole Army, when he fled before *Absalom*: 1 *Kings, chap.* 2. *Francis* the First, in the last Hours of his Life, advised his Son *Henry* not to admit the House of *Lorrain* to any share of the Government; foretelling, that the *Guises* would be the Ruine of the *Valois*. Counsel that would have saved *France* from many Wars and Calamities, had *Henry* the Second been wise enough to have made use of it. On the contrary, *Philip* the Second employed all those Ministers which *Charles* the Fifth recommended to him when he resigned the Crown of *Spain*, and especially the Duke *d'Alva*, the Bishop of *Arras*, who was afterwards *Granvelle*, *Diego de Bargas*, *Francis de Eraso*, and *Gonzalo Peres*, the Father of *Anthony*, who was so famous for his Misfortunes. And this he did with so much the more success, because *Charles* the Fifth, by a secret Memoir which he had sent him, had fully informed him of the true Character of their Minds, and of the difference of their Interests. This was

Hands; but ſome, in ſtead of *Arruntius*, have nam'd *Cneius Piſo*. Certain it is, that all of them, excepting *Lepidus*, periſh'd afterwards, by *Tiberius*, under the ſuppoſition of ſeveral Crimes.

Quintus Haterius, and *Mamercus Scaurus*, incurr'd likewiſe the Diſpleaſure of that ſuſpicious Soul: The firſt, for asking him, *How long, O Cæſar, wilt thou ſuffer the Commonwealth to be without a Head*? The other, for ſaying, *It was to be hop'd, that the Suit of the Senate would not be unprofitable, becauſe when the Conſuls propos'd him to them for Emperour, he interpoſ'd not his Tribunitial Power to reſiſt the Motion.* He reprehended *Haterius* on the ſpot, but he ſaid not a Word in reply to *Scaurus*, againſt whom he was

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was a Paper of ſo excellent Inſtructions, ſaith the Commander of *Vera*, that if *Tiberius* had made the like, *Tacitus* would have given him Immortal Praiſes. *Epitome of the Life of* Charles *the Fifth, and* Cabrera, *cap.* 7. *lib.* 1. *of his Hiſtory*. *Burnet* ſaith, that *Edward* the Sixth, King of *England*, wrote in a Book the Portraitures of the Lord-Lieutenants of his Counties, and of the principal Magiſtrates of his Kingdom, with all the Particulars that he was told of them: *Part.* 2. *l.* 1. *of his Hiſtory*. Certainly, he had in this found the Secrets of knowing every thing, and conſequently, of being well ſerved.

3. Ambition, Merit, Courage and Opportunity, are all that are neceſſary to make a Uſurper. A Subject who hath been eſteemed worthy to Govern, by a Prince who hath excelled in the Arts of Government, will always be ſuſpected by the Succeſſor of that Prince, and, which is worſe, will fall a Sacrifice, if the Prince be of a ſanguinary Temper. It was never doubted, but *Ferdinand d'Avalos*, Marquis *de Peſquera*, who commanded the Army of *Charles* the Fifth in *Italy*, was diſpoſed to accept of the Kingdom of *Naples*, which *Francis Sforſa*, Duke of *Milain*, in the Name of the Pope and the *Venetians*, offered him with the Title of Captain-General of the *Italian* League; for he was a long time in Treaty with *Jerom Moron*, who was this Duke's chief Miniſter. And that he afterwards diſcovered all to the Emperour, was an effect of the difficulty of the Enterprize, rather than of his Fidelity, which *Charles* the Fifth ever after ſuſpected.

4. Subjects cannot reproach their Prince more, than to complain, that the State is without a Head, and conſequently fallen into an Anarchy. From the moment that a Prince aſcends the Throne, he ought to ſet upon Action, and not to give his Subjects ſpace to doubt, whether they have a Maſter. *Anthony Perez* ſaid, That the King and Kingdom make a Marriage; that the King is the Husband, and the Kingdom the Wife; and that a Kingdom is a Widow, that hath not a laborious and vigilant King.

5. Si-

was more deeply [u] offended [5]. At length being tir'd with hearing the general Complaints and Murmurs, and the Remonſtrances of each Man in particular, he unbent ſomewhat of his Stiffneſs; not to the degree of declaring, that he would accept the Empire; but only as he ſaid, to put an end to their Requeſts [6], and his Refuſals. 'Tis undoubted, that *Haterius* going to the Palace to ask his Pardon, wanted but little of being ſlain by the Soldiers of the Guard, as he was embracing the Knees of *Tiberius*, who ſlipping at that inſtant, happen'd to fall as he was going forward [7]; whether by chance, or having his Legs entangled with the Hands of *Haterius*: But the Riſque, which ſo great a Perſonage had run, abated nothing of his Reſentment. *Haterius* continued ſtill obnoxious to his Anger, till the Empreſs, whoſe Protection he had ſought, inter-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

5. Silence is the moſt certain ſign of a deep Reſentment; for whereas the Mouth gives the Heart vent, Silence nourithes in it Hatred, and the deſire of Revenge. *Tacitus* ſaith, that *Agricola* was a little too ſharp in his Reprimands, but that afterwards there remained no more in his Breaſt, ſo that none had any jealouſie of his Silence.

6. Moſt Popes uſe this Policy; at firſt they ſeem not willing to hear any mention made of a Cardinal Nephew, or of the Acquiſition of Principalities or Duchies for their Kindred, but after they have acted this Part ſome Weeks, they call their Nephews to the Adminiſtration of Affairs, to gratifie, as they ſay, the Ambaſſadors of Princes, for whom it would be inconvenient to treat always with the Pope himſelf in Perſon, whereas treating with their Nephews, they diſcharge their Office with leſs Ceremony, and conſequently with greater Liberty and Confidence.

7. When a great Man is fallen under the Hatred of his Prince, Accidents are imputed to him for Crimes, as well as voluntary Faults. Beſides, there are always at Court, Perſons who are ready to diſpatch thoſe, whoſe Death they know will be pleaſing to the Prince.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

u Becauſe he diſcovered, that all *Tiberius*'s refuſals of the Empire were not in earneſt; whereas *Haterius* ſeemed to be perſwaded, that his Refuſal was ſincere, when he conjured him not to ſuffer the Commonwealth to be longer without a Head; which was alſo an oblique way of flattering *Tiberius*, intimating thereby, that the Statte was not the Head of the Empire.

x Which

interceding in his Favour, by force of Prayers obtain'd his Pardon.

VIII. The Flatteries of the Senate were yet more exceſſive, in relation to *Livia*. Some of them voting her the Title of *Mother* [x], *by way of Excellence and Diſtinction*: Others, that of *Mother of her Country*: And many of them were likewiſe for paſſing a Decree, that to the Name of *Cæſar*, ſhould be added the *Son of Julia*. But *Tiberius* replied to all theſe, *That they ought not to confer Honours on Women too laviſhly* [1]: *That for himſelf, he would uſe the ſame Moderation in thoſe which were propos'd for him* [2]. Which he ſaid out of Envy to his Mother, whoſe Elevation he regarded as a Leſſening to his own Authority. He would not, that even a Lictour [y] ſhould be decreed for her, and hindred the erecting of an Altar, in memory of her Adoption into the *Julian* Family;

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Kings are obliged, as all other Men, to honour their Mothers, and to have all the Complaiſance for them, that domeſtick and civil Decency require; but as for Honours, which properly belong to Majeſty, or which are of dangerous conſequence, they ought not to permit them to be decreed to their Mothers. *Solomon* ſeeing his Mother coming to him, roſe up to meet her, and cauſed her to ſit on a ſeparate Throne at his Right Hand; but as ſoon as ſhe had asked *Abiſhag* in Marriage for *Adonijah*, *Solomon*'s elder Brother, he ſaid to her, *Why do you not ask the Kingdom for him alſo?* And was ſo far from granting her Requeſt, which was very imprudent, that he put *Adonijah* to death as a Traitor, who aſpired to the Crown by marrying the Companion of his Father's Bed: 1 *Kings*, *ch.* 2. In *Poland*, they crown the Queen, but take no Oath of Allegiance to her; for the State allows her no Juriſdiction. *Martin Cromer*, *lib.* 2. *of Poland*.

2. Princes who will retrench ſuperfluous Titles, and moderate the Vanity of their Subjects, ought to begin with themſelves. And this is what *Philip* the Second did, to give Life and Vigour to the famous Ordinance of 1586, entituled, *Pragmatica*, where he commanded all thoſe who ſhould hereafter write to him, to give him no other Title in the beginning of their Letters, than *Senor*; nor any other Compliment in the end, than this Form, *Dios guarde*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

x Which was as much as to ſay, the Empreſs-Mother.

y *i.e.* An Uſher or Mace-bearer to walk before her.

z The

Family; and forbad them to aſcribe to her any other Honour of the like Nature. But he ask'd the Proconſular Power for *Germanicus*, and ſent him the Decree by ſome of the Senate; who were alſo commiſſion'd to comfort him for the Death of *Auguſtus* 3. The Reaſon why he requir'd not the ſame Honours for his Son *Druſus*, was becauſe he was then in *Rome*, and beſides was deſign'd Conſul. He afterwards nam'd twelve Pretors, which was the Number eſtabliſh'd by *Auguſtus* 4; and the Senate requeſting him to create more 5, he took a Solemn Oath, never to exceed that Number.

IX. It was now, that the Aſſembly 1 for electing Magiſtrates,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

guarde la Catolica Perſona de Vueſtra Mageſtad; and after that, the Subſcription in the moſt ſimple manner, *viz.* only the Name of him that writes, without the flouriſh of, *Your moſt humble and moſt obedient Subject and Servant.* And for the Superſcription, theſe Words, *Al Rey mueſtro Senor.* *Cabrera* ſaith, that *Philip* made this Ordinance, that Ambition and Flattery might not come to uſurp Divine Titles; and to ſet his Subjects an Example in all his Grants and Letters Patents, he ſtiled himſelf only *Don Filipe, &c.* without aſſuming the Sirnames of *Magnificent, Triumphant, Invincible*, which the Kings *Alphonſo* the Sixth and Seventh, his Predeceſſors, had uſed: *cap.* 21. *lib.* 12. *of his Hiſtory.* See *Note* 1. *Article* 38. *Lib.* 4. of theſe Annals.

3. A Prince, who is diſappointed of the Succeſſion of a State, whereof he is the lawful Heir, hath much greater need to be comforted upon the account of the Injuſtice that is done him, than for the Death of him that hath done it.

4. A wiſe Prince ought never to alter the Rules made by his Predeceſſor, if he is one whoſe Memory is had in Veneration by the People; or if he doth it, Prudence requires, that it be not in the beginning of his Reign, which is always the time wherein he is moſt expoſed to Cenſure. *Lewis* the Twelfth, ſaith *Commines*, took poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, without making any Alterations in the Penſions for that Year, which had yet ſix Months to come. He diſplaced few Officers, and ſaid, That he would keep every Man in his Poſt, and in his Eſtate. And all this was very becoming him. *Cap. ult. of his Memoirs.*

5. The multiplication of the Officers of Juſtice, tends always to the Ruine of the People. Whereas it ſeems probable, that Affairs would be diſpatched with more expedition by a great number of Officers, than by a ſmall; on the contrary, they are

HISTORICAL NOTES.

1. The Aſſembly, where they choſe the Magiſtrates called *Comitia a creando vel creando*, which was held in the Field of *Mars*.

a *Romu-*

giſtrates, was for the firſt time transferr'd from the Field of *Mars* to the Senate: For though formerly the Emperour had manag'd all Affairs of Conſequence according to his Pleaſure, yet ſome Things were ſtill permitted to be done, by the Intrigues and Suffrages [a] of the Tribes [1]: For which loſs of Privileges, the People ſhewed no other Reſentment, but by inſignificant Complaints and Murmurs. And the Senate, for their part, were well ſatisfied, that thereby they were diſcharg'd from the ſhameful Neceſſity of bribing and ſupplicating the Commons [2], to favour their Election. And this the more, for that *Tiberius* reſerv'd to himſelf but the Naming [3] of four Can-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

are ſpun out without end, becauſe there are more People who have an intereſt to protract them, that they may ſubſiſt thereby, eſpecially when Offices are venal. For, according to the common ſaying, He that buys Juſtice in Groſs, will ſell it by Retail.

1. When a State is lately changed from a Democracy to a Monarchy, the Prince, as being new, ought to leave the People the Enjoyment of ſome of their ancient Rights, to accuſtom them inſenſibly to Obedience.

2. There is no Yoke which the great Men and the Nobility will not bear, rather than fall into the Hands of the People, and to make court to them to obtain Offices. It is for this Reaſon, that a Democracy is always of ſhort duration in States where there is much Nobility.

3. A Prince newly eſtabliſhed, who reſerves to himſelf the naming but of a ſmall number of Officers, ſo as his Nomination be liable to no Conteſt, eſtabliſhes his Power much better, than if he attempted at firſt to name all. For, in proceſs of Time, it will be eaſie for him to extend the Prerogatives of a Sovereignty, which the People have once acknowledged. When the Principality it ſelf is in queſtion, the Conditions ought never to be diſputed whatſoever they are; it is ſufficient to get poſſeſſion of it, after which, all

HISTORICAL NOTES.

a *Romulus* divided the People into three Tribes, as the City was then divided into three Quarters; which Number gave occaſion to the Name of of *Tribe*. He afterwards divided theſe Tribes into thirty *Curiæ*, or Claſſes. The elder *Tarquin* doubled theſe Tribes, to equal their Number to the ſix Quarters of the City, which was much enlarged. *Servius Tullius*, the Succeſſor of *Tarquin*, diſtributed it into nineteen Tribes, four of which were called *Tribus Urbanæ*, or the Citizens; and the other fifteen, which comprehended all the Inhabitants of the Country, were called *Tribus Ruſticæ*. And in proceſs of Time, the Number of Tribes encreaſed to Thirty five.

b So

Candidates [b], who were to be admitted without Caballing, or any Contradiction. At the same time, the Tribunes of the People demanded the Permission, to celebrate at their own Charges those Plays in Honour of *Augustus* 4, which in their Calendars [c] were call'd by the Name of *Augustales*. But it was order'd, that the Publick should be at the Expence, and that the Tribunes should wear the Triumphal Robe [d] in the *Circus*; where, nevertheless, it was not allow'd them to be born in Chariots. And the Annual Celebration was thenceforward committed to that particular *Prætor*, to whose Lot it should fall, to judge the Differences arising betwixt Citizens and Strangers.

X. This was the face of Affairs at *Rome*, when a Sedition arose, of the Legions in *Pannonia* [e]. They had no new occasion of Disturbance; only the change of an Emperour inspir'd them with Boldness to make some Disturbance, in hope to better their Condition by a Civil War [1]. Three Legions were quarter'd together in the same

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

all the rest follows as one would wish. *Ubi sit ingressus, adesse studia & Ministros.* Ann. 4.

4. A remarkable Example of Flattery! Those, who by their Office and their Duty are obliged to preserve the publick Liberty, canonize the Person who destroyed it.

1. The beginnings of Reigns are ever subject to some Tempest; for it is then that all Male-contents are stirring, and are for selling their Obe-

HISTORICAL NOTES.

b So they call those who stood for Offices, because during the time of their Suit they wore a *White Garment*.

c In this Calendar, called *Fasti*, were set down the Festivals, the Ceremonies, and the Names of the Magistrates of the Cities.

d It was a figured Robe, edged with Purple, with a Vest wrought with Branches of Palms.

e These Legions, saith *Paterculus*, were for a new Head, a new Government, and, in a word, for a new Republick; they threatned to give Laws to the Senate, and even to the Prince himself; they would by main force augment their Pay, and shorten the time of their Service, to have their Reward before the set time. There was nothing wanting to them, but a Head, to have lead them on against the Government; and whosoever this He 2d

ſame Camp, under the Command of *Junius Bleſus*, who having heard of the Death of *Auguſtus*, and the Succeſſion of *Tiberius*, had interrupted the daily Exercises of the Soldiers, either in Token of Mourning [f], or of Joy. This Diſpute began to give a Loathing to the Army of their Labour, and Military Diſcipline, and infuſe into them a Propenſity of Idleneſs and Pleaſure. It furniſh'd them with Occaſions of frequent Quarrels with one another; and of lending an Ear to the mutinous Diſcourſes of the moſt diſſolute amongſt them. There was in the Camp a Fellow called *Percennius*, formerly Head of a Faction among the Stage-Players [a]; afterwards a pri-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

Obedience as dear as they can, by diſturbing an Authority, that while it is in its growth hath need to keep fair with all, to gain Time to eſtabliſh it ſelf. Want of Power in a Prince, Ambition of great Men, who have always a good Opinion of their own Abilities and Diſcontents in the People, are the three ordinary Sources of Factions, as thoſe are of Civil Wars. *France* ſaw ſad Inſtances thereof during the Minority of *Lewis* the Great. GOD grant that theſe may be the laſt.

2. Great Seditions are commonly raiſed by pitiful Fellows; and if a Raſcal hath a Talent of ſpeaking, the Rabble is always ready to lend an Ear to him. The common People need no other Oracles, eſpecially if the Harangues inveighs againſt ſome Miniſter that is much hated, as they all are. In the beginning of the Reign of *Charles* the Fifth, the famous Inſurrection of the City of *Caſtille*, called *Las Communidades*, (becauſe it was a Sedition of the common People againſt the Nobles, which afterwards degenerated into a direct Rebellion againſt the Prince.) This Revolt, I ſay, had for its Leaders, a Barber at *Medina del Campo*; a Fell-monger at *Salamanca*; a Carder at *Valencia*; a Tanner at *Segovia*; a Barber at *Avila*; and ſuch other Delinquents at *Burgos*, at *Guadalajara*, at *Siguenca*, at *Valladolid*, at *Zamora*, &c. Epitome of the Commandeur de Vera. *Buſſy-le-Clerc* was one of the principal Supporters of the League; and *Peter de Brouſſel*, who was but an ordinary Counſellor, was the Oracle and the Idol of the *Frondeurs*.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

Head had been, he would have found this Army ready to have followed him: *ch.* 12.

f Of *Juſtitium*, ſaith *Tacitus*. The *Juſtitium* then was a Vacation or Suſpenſion of all Civil Affairs, which was commanded by the Senate, or the Magiſtrates of the City, as may be gathered from theſe words of the ſecond Book of the Annals: *Ut ante Edictum Magiſtratuum, ante Senatusconſultum ſumpto juſtitio deſererentur fora, &c.*

private Soldier: Inſolent in his Speech, and who had learn'd to raiſe Sedition, by his Practice, in the Play-houſe. This Man haunting the Converſation of the moſt Ignorant, and Silly, who were very inquiſitive to know what their Condition was like to be under their new Emperour, debauch'd them by his Nightly Converſations with them, or at leaſt when it grew late in the Evening; and when the more ſober Party were withdrawn to Reſt, aſſembled the Band of Mutineers. At length many others, who were Promoters of Sedition, being aſſociated with him, he queſtion'd them, like a General who Harangues his Army, on theſe following Propoſitions.

XI. *Why they paid a Slaviſh Obedience to a ſmall number of Centurions, and a leſs of* g *Tribunes* [1]? *When would they have the Courage to expoſe their Grievances, and require a Remedy, if not now, in the unſettled Condition of a new Emperour* [2], *with whom they ſafely might Expoſtulate, or,* if need were, *&c.*

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. An Army which comes to conſider its own Multitude, and the ſmall number of its Officers, is very apt to deſire to free it ſelf from Diſcipline, and makes a Jeſt of petitioning for thoſe Things which they know well enough durſt not be refuſed them, if they have recourſe to Force.

2. The Male-contents of a preceding Reign, find the beginning of the ſucceeding to be the moſt favourable time to have their Demands heard. This was the Policy the People of *Ghent* uſed towards *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, who was forced to grant them all they demanded, that he might not have two Wars on his Hands at once, Duke *Philip*, his Father, having left him one with *Liege*. *Memoirs of* Commines, *l.* 2. *c.* 4. Pope *Innocent* the Ninth ſaid, That the beginning of a Reign was not a time for Negotiations, but for Congratulations and Rejoycings, to free himſelf by this handſom Excuſe from the Importunities of thoſe who came to beg Favours of him.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

g In elder Times the Military Tribunes had none above them, but the Generals; but afterwards the Lieutenant-Generals took their Place. So that theſe Tribunes were much the ſame with our Colonels or Commanders of a thouſand Men; for there were ſix of them in every Legion, which ordinarily conſiſted of ſix thouſand Men. Their Office was to diſtribute the Generals Orders, to give the Word to the Sentinels, to take care of Fortifications, to try Deſerters and Mutineers for their Lives, *&c.* Sometimes

demand Redreſs by force of Arms? They had in their own Wrong been already ſilent for the ſpace of many Years, when would they be weary of ſo tame a Patience? Not the leaſt Account was made of thirty or forty Years of Service, without mentioning the Infirmities of Age, the greateſt part of them had their Bodies mangl'd, and their Limbs diſabl'd with their Wounds. That even they who were exempted from their daily Duties, yet ſaw no end of their Sufferings; being ſtill retain'd under their Colours, they ſtill endur'd the ſame Miſeries, without other Advantage, than that of a more honourable Name[h]: If ſome amongſt them ſurviv'd ſo many Miſadventures, they were ſent into remote Countries, where, under the ſpecious Title of Rewards, they had Fens allotted them to drain, or barren Hills to cultivate: That the Trade of Warfare was of it ſelf Laborious and Unprofitable; that they earn'd a hard Livelihood of Eight Pence a Day[i], or little more, out of which they were to ſupply themſelves with Clothing, Tents and Arms; and pay their exacting Centurions for their Exemption from Military Duties[k]. That the Blows of their Officers, their Maims, the Severity of the Winter, the inſufferable Toyls of Summer[l], a bloody War, and a barren Peace, were endleſs Evils; for which, there was no other Remedy, than not

to

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. It is impoſſible, that an Army ſhould be ever well diſciplined, in which the Officers ſell Exemptions from Watches, and other Military Duties; or that it ſhould not abound with Male-contents, ſeeing that all the Soldiers who buy theſe Exemptions continuing uſeleſs, the reſt muſt neceſſarily be oftner upon Duty, and withal, more expoſed to Dangers. *Inter pauca periculo ac labor crebrius redibant.* Hiſt. 2.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

times *Tribunus Militum* is taken for the chief Commander of a Legion, and ſometimes of a Cohort; and hence it came to paſs, that the *Romans* had not ſo many Officers as we have.

h They were called *Veterani*, *i. e.* Soldiers, who had compleated their time of Service.

i The *Roman Denarius*, or Penny, was worth ten Aſſes, but under *Auguſtus* it was worth ſixteen; about Sevenpence-Halfpenny of our Money.

k Becauſe they continued Day and Night.

to list themselves for Soldiers under the Daily Pay of a Roman *Penny (or* Denarius [1]*); covenanting also to be discharg'd from Service, at the end of Sixteen Years; to be sent to their respective Homes, to receive their Pay in Silver, and in the Camp where they had serv'd; shall then the* Prætorian *Soldiers receive each of them a double Salary to ours, and be dismissed after Sixteen Years of Warfare? Are their Actions, or Sufferings to be compar'd with ours? I speak not thus, either out of Envy, or Contempt; but at least we may say for our Reputation, that being in the midst of barbarous and fierce Nations, we have our Enemies in view, even from our Tents.*

XII. The whole Company receiv'd his Oration with a general applause; though from different motives: some of them shew'd the Marks of the Civil Blows which their Officers had given them; Others their hoary Hair, and many bar'd their Flesh, ill cover'd, with old and tatter'd Cloaths. In short, they were inflam'd to that heighth of rage, that they propos'd the Uniting the three Legions into one [m]; but their jealousy put a stop to that, every Man pretending to the chief Honour for his own Legion. They bethought themselves of another Expedition, which was for mixing the three Eagles confusedly with the Ensigns of the Cohorts; which having done, they rais'd a Tribunal on sods of Grass, that the Seat might be the farther seen. *Blesus* arriving thereupon, took those by the Arm whom he met in his Passage, and reproach'd them with great Severity [1].

Rather

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Firmness is the best of Arms against Men in Sedition, especially in unforeseen Accidents; for in a surprise, a Man not having time to consi-

HISTORICAL NOTES.

l They demanded a Penny in Specie, in stead of ten Asses in Money, because the Penny was then worth sixteen Asses.

m To make themselves more formidable by this Union, and to be always in a readiness to make a common Effort, if their General should think fit to employ Force against them.

n Be-

Rather dip your Hands, said he to the Mutineers, *in the little Blood of your General; it will be a less Crime for you to murder me, than to revolt against your Emperor: I will either restrain you within your due Obedience, if you suffer me to live, or I will hasten your Repentance by my Death* [n].

XIII. In the mean time they proceeded with their Work, which they had already rais'd to the height of their Shoulders; when at length their Obstinacy being conquer'd by his Courage, they gave it over. *Blesus*, who was a Master of Well-speaking [1], represented to them, That their Demands ought not to be carri'd to the Emperour, by way of Sedition [2]; that their Predecessors had never offer'd any thing of that Nature to former Generals; nor they themselves, to the Divine *Augustus*; that they had ill tim'd their Purpose, to give new Troubles to a Prince, oppress'd with the weight of

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

counterfeit, shews what he is, and consequently, all his Courage, or all his Weakness. Thus when a General immediately resists the Fury of a seditious Army, Admiration succeeds into the place of Insolence, and Fear seizes them, when once they see that they are not terrible enough to be feared; and that their General hath Courage and Resolution to despise them. In some occasions, saith Cardinal *de Richelieu*, to speak and act with Resolution, where one hath the Right of his side, is so far from making a Rupture, that 'tis the contrary, it is the way to prevent it, and stifle it in its Birth. *Second Part of his Politick Testament, ch.* 2.

1. Eloquence in the Mouth of a General is a powerful means to suppress a Sedition, especially when he speaks *Ex tempore*, as *Blesus* did. But it must be a masculine, nervous, and vehement Eloquence, and without Art; for, according to *Tacitus*, Soldiers have not the subtilty nor delicacy of Gown-men. *In agrestes.*

2. How just and necessary soever the Demands be, which Subjects make to their Princes, they ought to present them with Respect and Submission, otherwise the Circumstances totally change their Nature, *i. e.* of a good Cause, they make a bad one; and they are so far from deserving to be heard favourably, that they ought to be rigorously punished for their Insolence.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

[n] Because of the Revenge which the Prince will take of it.

of his Affairs now in the beginning of his Reign ; that if, notwithſtanding, they would make ſuch Demands in the midſt of Peace, which the conquering Side in a Civil War had never preſum'd to ask from their Commander ; yet why would they tranſgreſs the Limits of Reſpect, and violate Diſcipline by taking Arms? Why nam'd they not their Deputies, for whom they might draw up their Inſtructions in his Preſence? At theſe Words they anſwer'd with a general Cry, That the Son of *Bleſus*, who was one of the Tribunes, was the moſt proper Man to take upon him that Commiſſion ; and to require a Diſcharge for all, when their ſixteen Years of Service ſhould be expir'd ; and that they would ſend him freſh Inſtructions, when that firſt Article was accorded. When young *Bleſus* was ſet forward on his Journey, they were ſomewhat calm : But the Soldiers grew more haughty, on the account of that Deputation ; which ſhew'd, that they had carried that by Violence, which by other Methods they could never have obtain'd.

XIV. In

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. A Prince hath never more Buſineſs than in the beginning of his Reign ; for beſides, that his Authority is unſettled, he his employed in drawing up the Plan of his Government, which is an Affair of great difficulty. A Politick *Spaniard* ſaid, That no Prudence nor Sagacity was ſufficient for the beginning of a Reign ; and that the caſe of Princes, at their Acceſſion to the Throne, is much the ſame with that of Travellers, who meeting divers Paths, know not which to take for fear of loſing their way. *Gratian in his Ferdinand.* To be ſhort, what *Tacitus* makes *Bleſus* ſay, *That it was ill-timing their Buſineſs, to addreſs to a Prince, whilſt he was oppreſſed with the Weight of Affairs*, teaches Ambaſſadors, that there are Times which are not proper to negotiate ſucceſsfully with the Princes, with whom they are reſident, and that they ought to watch Opportunities, when the Prince is in a good Humour.

4. There is nothing more dangerous for a Subject, than to take upon him the Commiſſions of Rebels, for it is in ſome ſort to eſpouſe their Intereſts againſt thoſe of the Prince. And beſides, the Prince hath always reaſon to take it ill, that his Subject will Capitulate with him. *Charles* the Fifth ſeeing Don *Pedro Laſo* at the Head of the Deputies of the People of *Toledo*, who had made an uproar, told him, That he would puniſh him immediately, but that he conſidered whoſe Son he was : And he was very near cutting off the Head of *Anthony Vaſquez d'Avila*, for undertaking to deliver a Letter of the *Communeros*, *i. e.* of the Seditious of *Tordeſillas*. Don

Juan

XIV. In the mean time, those Bands of Soldiers [o], who, before the Sedition, had been sent to *Nauportum* [p] to repair the Ways and Bridges, and for other Occasions, receiving Notice of what had pass'd in the Camp, laid hold on the Ensigns, plunder'd the Neighbourhood, and *Nauportum* it self, which was in the nature of a Municipal Town [q], contemn'd, revil'd, and even beat their

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

Juan Antonio de Vera, in the Epitome of his Life. The Prince of *Salerno*, of the House of *Sanseverino*, lost the Favour of this Emperour, and afterwards his Principality and his Reputation, for having undertaken an Embassy from the City of *Naples*, which had made an Insurrection against the Viceroy *Don Pedro de Toledo*, (in 1547.) The Duke *d'Alva* having Notice given him, that a Trumpeter had brought him a Letter from the Rebels of *Flanders*, commanded him to be hanged immediately. And this is the Answer, saith *Bernardin de Mendoza*, which Kings and other Sovereign Princes and their Ministers ought to give to Ambassadors, which are sent to them by Subjects in Rebellion, to teach them not to Treat with them as Equals, it belonging only to Princes to send Ambassadors and Trumpeters. Besides, there ought to be no Communication between the Officers of a Prince, and those of Rebels; for Malecontents seeing that Rebels have the liberty to Treat and to Negotiate with safety, are encouraged thereby to Revolt also, to endeavour to make their Condition better. *His Memoirs of the Wars of the Low-Countries, l. 4. c. 3.* The same Duke being General for *Charles* the Fifth in *Germany*, answer'd a Page and a Trumpeter, who came to declare War in the Name of the Princes of the League of *Smalkald*, That they deserved to be hanged, but that the Emperour was pleased to pardon them, and reserve the Punishment for their Masters. *Vera's Epitome of the Life of Charles V.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

o There was the great and the little *Manipulus*, or *Band*. The little one, called *Contubernium*, as much as to say, a Company that lies in one Chamber, and had but ten Men, but the great one consisted of a Hundred, or a Hundred and twenty. Each great Band had two Centurions, who commanded each sixty Men, as our Captains. Each Cohort had three Bands. These Companies were called *Manipuli*, i. e. *Manualis herbarum fasciculus*, because they carried a Bottle of Hay, or a handful of Grass, for their Ensign, such as the Kings of *Sweden* and *Poland*, of the House of *Wasa*, bore in their Arms. The Emperours changed this Ensign into a Hand fixed on the point of a Pike. The little Band had a tenth Man, or *Decurio*, which was as a Corporal with us.

p It was a City of *Pannonia*, called now *Laubac* in *Carniola*, a little Province of *Hungary*.

q That is, a City which enjoyed the Privileges and Franchises of the *Roman* People.

their Centurions, who endeavour'd to restrain their Madness. Their Rage was chiefly bent against *Aufidienus Rufus*, who, from a private Soldier, had been rais'd to a Centurion, and from thence to a Prefect, or *Mareschal de Camp* [1]. They pull'd him from his Chariot, they loaded him with Baggage, and made him march at the Head of a Battalion, asking him in scorn, If he were not pleas'd to carry such a Burden, and to travel so far on Foot? For *Rufus* was an indefatigable Man, who restor'd to use the strictness of the ancient Discipline [2], and who spar'd their Labour so much the less, because he had undergone himself what he had impos'd on others.

XV. The arrival of these Mutineers renew'd the Tumult, and roaming lawlessly round the Country, they made Waste of all Things in their way. *Blesus* caus'd some of them, who return'd loaden with their Plunder, to be beaten, and made Prisoners, thereby to imprint a greater Terror in the rest: (For the Centurions, and the sober part of the Soldiers, still continu'd in their Duty.) The Pillagers thereupon resist those who force them to Prison, embrace the Knees of their Camerades, implore

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Those Men, who from private Soldiers rise to the great Offices of an Army, are commonly the most severe, because they know better than others the Licentious Humour of Soldiers, and all the Tricks which they use to deceive the Vigilance of their Captains; as also, all the Debaucheries and Injuries which they commit in the Towns where they keep Garison. Such a one in the last Age was Colonel *Francis Verdugo*, who from a private Soldier, and a very poor Gentleman, rose by his Merit to be one of the General Officers of the *Spanish* Army, and Governour of *Frizeland*. He was wont to say, That he was *Francisco* for the good Soldiers, and *Verdugo* for the bad. A Name that in *Spanish* signifies a *Hangman*. *D. Carlos Coloma, lib.* 8. *of his Wars of Flanders.*

2. Rigour is the Soul of Military Discipline, and we see every Day by Experience, that there are no worse Soldiers than those who serve under an indulgent Captain. But we must observe by the way, that as Military Seditions, which arise from the Severity of a General, are less frequent; so they are more dangerous, and of longer continuance than those, whereof Indulgence is the cause.

1. *Nam*

implore their Succour; either, in particular, by their Names; or, in general, the Company, the Cohort, or the Legion, in which they ſerv'd; crying out, Their own Turn muſt be next in the ſame Uſage. They pour out a thouſand Reproaches againſt their General, and call the Gods to witneſs his Injuſtice. In ſhort, they omit nothing to move Compaſſion, to raiſe Envy and Fear, and to foment Sedition. The Soldiers run in heaps to their Relief, break open the Priſons, deliver their Companions, and ſtrengthen their Party with Deſerters, and Criminals condemn'd to Death.

XVI. From thence, the Mutiny grew more outragious, and the Numbers of their Heads increas'd. One *Vibulenus*, a private Soldier [1], being hoiſted on the Backs of his Companions, was carried, as it were, in *Triumph*, before the Tribunal of the General, and the Soldiers big with expectation of his Speech, and thronging to hear him, thus began. *'Tis true, Companions, you have reſtor'd to Life and Liberty our innocent Fellow-Soldiers; but who ſhall give me back my Brother, who, being Commiſſion'd to you from the Army now in* Germany, *for our common Intereſts, has this Night been butcher'd by the Gladiators, who are purpoſely entertain'd by* Bleſus, *for our General Maſſacre. Tell me,* Bleſus, *where thou haſt thrown this murder'd Body? Even Enemies refuſe not Burial to the Slain. When I have ſatisfied my Grief with Tears and Kiſſes, command me to be murder'd; and I conſent to my own Death, provided thou wilt order us to be laid in one common Grave, like Brothers, who ſuffer'd Death, not for the Guilt of any Crime, but only for defending the Cauſe of the* [1] *Legions* [2]. XVII. He

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. *Nam & hi*, ſaith *Tacitus*, Hiſt. 1. *etiam temporibus partem ſe Reipub. faciunt.* For, in troubleſome Times, the meaneſt People make a Figure in a State, and private Soldiers have more Authority than Generals. *Civilibus bellis plus militibus, quam ducibus licere.* Hiſt. 2.

2. All Rebels and Traitors cover their wicked Deſigns with the Cloke of

HISTORICAL NOTES.

1 When the Duke of *Mayne* heard at *Lyons* the News of the Duke and the Cardinal of *Guiſe* his Brothers, he cauſed it to be publiſhed through the

XVII. He animated this Diſcourſe with Sobs and Groans, and with the Blows which he gave himſelf on his Face and Breaſt; then getting looſe from thoſe who had carried him on their Shoulders, he threw himſelf haſtily at the Feet of the Aſſiſtants, and mov'd them ſo much to Compaſſion and Revenge [1], that one part of the Soldiers ſeiz'd on the Gladiators of *Bleſus*, another ſecur'd his Menial Servants, whilſt many of them ran ſearching here and there for the Body of their ſlain Companion. And if, by good Fortune, it had not been immediately diſcover'd, that *Vibulenus* never had a Brother, that there was no ſuch Body to be found, and that the

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

of publick Good. The Count *de Charolois*, and other Princes of *France*, having taken Arms againſt *Lewis* the Eleventh; this War was afterwards called the *Publick Good*, becauſe it was undertaken, as they ſaid, for the Publick Good of the Kingdom. *Memoirs of Commines*, *l.* 1. *c.* 2. The Demands of the Lords, adds he in *cap.* 12. were great: The Duke of *Berry* demanded *Normandy* for his Share; the Count *de Charolois* the Cities ſeated on the River of *Somme*, as *Amiens*, *Abbeville*, *S. Quentin*, and *Peronne*; and ſeveral other Demands for each, with ſome Overtures for the Good of the Kingdom: But this was not the bottom of their Deſigns, for their Publick Good was turned into Private Intereſt; and, as *Saluſt* ſaith, ſpeaking of *Cataline* and his Accomplices, *Bonum publicum ſimulantes pro ſua quiſque potentia certabant.*

1. In Seditions, he is always the moſt mutinous, who is moſt hearkned to.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

whole City, that *Henry* the Third had taken away their Lives, for no other Reaſon, but becauſe they protected and defended the Catholick Religion againſt the Huguenots. *Herrera*, *l.* 5. *of the Third Part of his Hiſtory*, *c.* 3. Notwithſtanding the Duke of *Guiſe* being at the Eſtates of *Blois*, had refuſed to ſign a Declaration which the King cauſed to be offered to him by a Secretary of State, wherein he promiſed and ſwore to make War on the *Huguenots*, provided that his Subjects would aſſiſt him with their Forces, and would make no League with Foreigners without his Approbation; and that thoſe who ſhould act contrary to this Condition, ſhould incur the Penalties of High-Treaſon: *c.* 11. *l.* 4. *of the ſame Part.* I cite this Hiſtorian here, becauſe being a *Spaniard*, his Teſtimony is of greater force againſt the *Guiſes*, whom all the *Spaniſh* Writers make to be *Maccabees*, notwithſtanding at the bottom they were acted only by Ambition, to make themſelves Kings of *France* with the Catholicon of *Spain*, againſt all Laws both Divine and Humane.

the Slaves of *Bleſus*, being put to the Torture, perſiſted to deny the Murder; the General was in immediate danger of Aſſaſſination. In the mean time, they forc'd the Tribunes, and the Præfect of the Camp, to fly for their Safety; they plunder'd their Baggage, and kill'd *Lucilius* the Centurion, to whom they had given the Nick-name of *Cedo alteram*; becauſe when he had broken his Baton [1] on the Back of any Soldier, he was wont to call for another, to *continue the Correction*. The reſt of the Centurions abſconded, excepting only *Julius Clemens*, who was ſav'd; as being one, who, for his ready Wit, was thought a proper Man to execute the Commiſſions of the Soldiers [2]. There were two of the Legions, the Eighth and the Fifteenth, who were ready to come to Blows with one another concerning one *Sirpicus* a Centurion; the Eighth demanding him to be produc'd and put to Death, the other defending him: If the Ninth had not interpos'd, and partly with Prayers, partly with Threatnings, brought them to Reaſon on either ſide.

XVIII. Theſe Things coming to the knowledge of *Tiberius*, conſtrain'd him, as expert as he was in diſſembling his Temper, and concealing all ill News [1], to ſend away his Son with all ſpeed to *Pannonia*, without other Inſtru-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. As Soldiers commonly exerciſe their Hands, more than their Minds; and conſequently, underſtand how to Fight, better than how to Speak; they ſet a great Value upon a Man who is able to Speak well, and Negotiate, eſpecially when they have Complaints to make at Court againſt their Generals, or Favours and Rewards to ſollicit, which there is ſome difficulty to obtain.

1. Princes take great care to conceal ill Succeſs from their Subjects, becauſe they have the leſs Veneration for them when Fortune is againſt them. The Army of *Lewis* the

HISTORICAL NOTES.

1 The *Roman* Soldiers were chaſtized with a Wand of a Vine, and the Forreigners in their Service with Blows of Cudgels.

2 Th[illegible]

Instructions, than only to act according to the present Necessity, and as the juncture of Affairs [2] requir'd. He gave for his Attendants two Prætorian Cohorts, reinforc'd with a Recruit of select Soldiers, with a great part of his Cavalry, and the Choice of his *German* Guards; sent in his Company the principal Men of *Rome*, and appointed for the Governor of his Person *Elius Sejanus*, his Favourite [3], then Præfect of the *Prætorium* [1], and Collegue to his Father *Strabo*, in that Office: Employ'd par-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

the Eleventh having taken several Towns in *Burgundy*, and defeated all the Forces that opposed them, the Duke, who was then in *Picardy*, caused a Report to be spread in his Camp, *That his Forces had had the better*, for fear lest his Army should Revolt, if it should know the News of *Burgundy*. *Comminet*, *l.* 3. *c.* 3. *of his Memoirs*. But of all Evils, a Sedition, or a Revolt, is that which Princes are most concerned to keep the Knowledge of from their Subjects, because it is an Example which never stops at the place where it begins. It is a Civil Contagion, which spreads from Province to Province, and whose Progress is so much the quicker, as it finds every where many Incendiaries, and very few Physicians.

2. There are knotty Affairs, in which Princes cannot take certain Measures. Seditions are of this Nature, Severity and Mildness being equally dangerous towards People, who must neither be altogether exasperated, nor wholly satisfied. When the Evil is pressing, the best Expedient is to send them a Person of eminent Quality, with Power to act according as the Occasion shall require, without expecting farther Orders, which would retard the conclusion of the Accommodation. But Commissions of this nature ought never to be given, but to Persons of approved Fidelity. And it was for this Reason, that *Tiberius* sent his Son and his Favourite to the mutinous Legions.

3. When a Prince gives a Governor to his Son, he ought to chuse a Man of Authority, to the end, that the young Prince may have an Awe and Respect for him. "Education, "(saith *Cabrera*) is the Source of all "the good and bad Qualities of "a Prince, and consequently, of the "good or bad Fortune of his Sub-"jects.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

1 This Office was new, having been created by the Emperors. Some are of Opinion, that the *Præfectus Prætorio* was much the same with the *Magister Equitum*, or the General of the Horse under the ancient Commonwealth. For as this General held the first Place after the Dictator, to whom he was properly Lieutenant, the *Præfectus Prætorio* was the second Person of the Empire, especially after *Sejanus* thought fit to lodge in one Camp all the Prætorian Cohorts, or Companies of Guards, which were before di-

particularly, on this Occasion, to promise Rewards to those who should submit, and threaten Punishments to such as should persist in their Rebellion. On the approach of *Drusus* to the Army, the Legions drew out, to meet him on the way, and do him Honour; not with chearful Countenances, as was the Custom, nor with shining Arms and Ensigns[u], but in a mean and ragged Equi-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

[u] jects. For want of good Education, the Prince, in stead of being the Father and the Shepherd of his People, becomes the publick Scourge, and the universal Plague. The inward Counsel of a Prince comes both from Education and Nature, which opens the first Windows to the Understanding, and displays there more or less Light, according to the disposition of the Constitution, which gives the first Lineaments to the Manners and Actions. . . . . A Prince's Son is born with no more Understanding, than a common Man's; he is a Diamond that is hard to cut, but which casts a great Lustre after it is polished. *l. 4. c. 2. of his History.* *Mariana* saith, That *Peter* King of *Castile*, Sirnamed *The Cruel*, had a mixture of great Virtues, and of great Vices; that at his Accession to the Throne, which was at the Age of fifteen Years and a half, he shewed a Mind, a Courage, and Qualities, which gave great Hopes; that his Body was indefatigable, and his Courage invincible in all Difficulties; but that, with these Virtues, there began to appear Vices, which Age encreased, and Time multiplied, and which were owing to the ill Education which he had had under *Alphonso d'Albuquerque*, the Governor of his Childhood. Insomuch, that his Reign almost in every thing resembled *Nero's*, for he put to Death two of his Natural Brothers, with their Mother; his Wife, *Blanche* of *Bourbon*, to gratifie his Concubine; the Queen of *Arragon*, his Aunt by the Mother's side; the Infant, *John* of *Arragon*, his Cousin-German; *Joan* of *Lara*, his Sister-in-Law; and many more Princes and Lords: *c. 16, &c. l. 16, & 17. of his History of Spain.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

dispersed in several Quarters of the City. *(Tacit. Ann. 4.)* M. *de Chanvalon* speaks properly, in saying, That he was as the Constable of the Empire. His Authority grew so great, that there was no Appeal from his Judgments, whereas there lay an Appeal from those of the Consuls to the People, when *Rome* was a Commonwealth. In the Year 1631, *Urban* the Eighth having created his Nephew *Don Taddi Barberino* Præfect of *Rome*, this Lord by virtue of this new Dignity, which was but a Phantom of the Ancient, would have the Precedency of Ambassadors to *Solis*.

[u] The *Roman* Army was wont to adorn their Ensigns with Garlands of Ribbands, and Bands of water'd Stuff: But on sad Occasions they carried them without Ornaments.

Equipage, and with ſad and ſullen Looks, which ſhew'd more of Contumacy, than of Repentance.

XIX. When he was enter'd into the Camp, they plac'd Sentinels at the Gates, and Corps-de-Guard in ſeveral Parts; the main Body of them gather'd round the Tribunal of *Druſus*, who was ſtanding, and held out his Hand, as deſiring their Attention. As often as the Mutineers caſt round their Eyes, and conſider'd their own Multitude, they fill'd the Air with Shouts and Threatnings [1], but when they turn'd their Sight towards *Druſus*, they ſhook for fear [2]. To this confus'd Noiſe, and theſe inſolent Clamours, ſucceeded a profound Silence; and by their different Motions they gave, and took Terror in their turns. At length, the Tumult being ceas'd, *Druſus* read to them the Letters of his Father; which contain'd in effect, That he would take a particular Care of thoſe valiant Legions which had aſſiſted him in ſuſtaining ſeveral Wars [3]; That ſo ſoon as his Grief for the Death of *Auguſtus* would give him leave, he would propoſe their Demands to the Senate; That, in the interim, he had ſent his Son to them, with full Power, and without the leaſt Delay, to grant them all that was poſſible to be done for them on the ſudden: And what requir'd more Leiſure, ſhould paſs through the Hands of the Senate; it being unjuſt to take from them the Glory of Rewarding, or the Power of Puniſhing.

XX. To this, the Aſſembly return'd Anſwer, That *Julius*

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. In Seditions, whether Popular or Military, none dares ſpeak ſingly, but all together; and all they ſay, is nothing but confuſed Complaints, and inſolent Clamours and Demands.

2. Nothing ſtrikes ſo much Terror into Subjects that are in actual Fault, as the Prince's Preſence; for *the Wrath of a King, (* ſaith *Solomon) is as the Meſſengers of Death:* Prov. 16.

3. It is a good way to appeaſe a Mutiny, or a Revolt of Soldiers, to ſhew, that one remembers their former Services; for this Remembrance induces them to return to their Duty, in hopes of being rewarded for them. Beſides, after Promiſes and fair Means have been tried, the Prince may juſtly treat them with Rigour, when once he hath reduced them by Force.

Julius Clemens was intrusted by them to make known their Desires. He then began, with their Pretension, to be discharg'd from Service at the end of sixteen Years, with a Recompence in Silver; that their daily Pay should be a *Roman Denarius* [z]; and that the *Veterans* should no longer be detain'd under their Ensigns. *Drusus* alledging, that the Cognizance of these Matters belong'd to the Senate and his Father [y]; was interrupted by their Clamours. 'What Business has he here, *they cry'd*, since he 'is not impower'd, either to augment the Soldiers Pay, or 'to redress their Grievances, while in the mean time 'they are expos'd to be beaten and slain at the Pleasure of 'their Officers? We remember since *Tiberius* has evaded 'our Petitions, by remitting us to *Augustus*, and has he 'sent his Son on the same Errand? Shall we always 'have to deal with Children, who come to us in their 'Fathers Name? Is it not a strange manner of Pro-'ceeding,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. *Drusus* had full Power, seeing his Father sent him with unlimited Instructions, *Nullis satis certis mandatis, ex re consulturus*; and yet he would not make use of them, although he ran no Hazard in doing it. An Example, which ought to be imitated by Ambassadors and Plenipotentiaries, who desire to keep the Favour of their Prince. For although the Prince is obliged to ratifie all that his Plenipotentiary hath done, that he may not break his Word; yet he hath a Right to chastise his Minister, who hath not made the best use of the Authority that he hath committed to him. *Lewis* the Thirteenth was willing, at the Desire of Pope *Urban* the Eighth, to sign the Treaty of *Monzon*, which *du Fargis*, his Ambassador, had made in *Spain*, *anno* 1626, but he might justly have sealed it with this Ambassador's Blood. It is very necessary to be exact in the choice of Ambassadors, and there can't be too great Severity used in the punishing those, which exceed their Powers, since thereby they put to hazard the Reputations of Princes, and the Safety of States. There are Men, who have such an itch to do something, that if they are not kept within the Bounds which are set them, by the fear of being ruined without Remedy, there will always some be found, who will chuse rather to make an ill Treaty, than none at all. *His Pol. Testament, part* 2. *ch.* 6.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

z That is to say, a Penny in Specie, which was then worth sixteen Asses.

y Dr a

'ceeding, that the Emperour refers nothing to the 'Senate, but what concerns the Rewarding of his Soldiers: Why does he not also consult the Senate, when 'he is to give a Battle, or punish us with Death? Is it 'reasonable, that Recompences should not be given, 'but by the Consent of so many Masters? And that, 'on the contrary, every Officer has right to punish us 'at his own Pleasure, and without Controul from any 'Man?

XXI. At this, they flung from the Tribunal, threatning all they met of the Prince's Guard, or of his Friends, and seeking an occasion of Quarrel and Revenge. Their Malice was chiefly bent at *Cneius Lentulus*, because that being elder, and of greater Reputation in War than any of the other Officers: He was thought the Man, who most despis'd the Danger of the Mutineers, and render'd *Drusus* inflexible to their Demands. And shortly after, when departing from *Drusus*, to shun the Danger which he foresaw, he took his way to the Winter

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. It is usual for Princes to consult with none, when they will dispense Favours, that they may have the whole Honour thereof themselves: But when some unjust Action, or at least some odious Thing is to be done, they are willing to call in Counsellors, that the Hatred of the Male-contents may fall upon them. And this is what *Tiberius* did upon this Occasion, when finding it not convenient to grant the *Veterans* what they demanded of him, he referred them to the Senate, where he knew they would succeed worse, the Senate taking care not to grant that, which they perceived he would refuse.

1. Counsels are always ascribed to that Minister, who is believed to be of the greatest Power, or of the greatest Abilities. As such a Minister hath the greatest Share in the Glory of Successes, so he is also more exposed than others to the Hatred and Revenge of Dissatisfied Persons. The Duke of *Alva* was insupportable to the *Netherlanders*, because they knew, that he had been an Enemy to their Nation from the Time of *Charles* the Fifth, and the Author of all the Evil Counsels, which had been taken to bring the Country into absolute Subjection. *Sir W. Temple, c. 2. of his Remarks on Holland.* "But, saith *Paglieri*, I "doubt much, whether they who "attribute to the Ministers all odi- "ous Resolutions, are well informed "whence they proceed; or rather, "I believe, that they beat the Sad- "dle, because they dare not beat "the Horse. *In the 7th of his Observations on Tacitus.*

1. There

Winter Quarters; they incles'd him in the midſt of them, and ask'd him, Whither he was going, and if he was returning to *Rome*, in order to oppoſe the Intereſt of the Legions? And they were already beginning to ſtone him, if the Troops which *Druſus* had brought along with him had not reſcu'd him from their Hands all over bloody as he was.

XXII. The Night threaten'd ſome horrible Attempt, but an Accident unforeſeen turn'd all to Quiet. The Moon in a calm and ſerene Night, on the ſudden, was eclips'd; and the Soldiers, who were wholly ignorant of Aſtronomy, drew from thence an Augury, for the preſent Juncture of Affairs; and comparing the defect of Light in the Moon to their own Labours, interpreted, that all would go well with them, if the eclips'd Goddeſs recover'd Light. Therefore, they beat on brazen Inſtruments, ſounded their Trumpets, and rais'd confus'd Clamours; and as ſhe appear'd more bright, or became more dusky, they vary'd their Sadneſs, and their Joy. But when the Sky grew cloudy, and took her wholly from their Sight, ſo that they believ'd her loſt in Darkneſs, as Minds once ſtrucken [y] with Amazement [z], are prone to Superſtition, ſo they imagin'd a Per-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. There is nothing which makes the common People more Superſtitious than Fear, nor which makes them more fearful than Superſtition. For this Reaſon, Chance hath oftentimes greater Share in the good or ill Succeſs of dangerous Enterprizes, than the Conduct of thoſe who are the Authors of them. The Deputies of *Bohemia* having entred by Surprize into the Privy-Chamber of the Emperour *Frederick* the Second, and threatning him with their Arms in their Hands, That they would do themſelves Right, if he did not grant them all their Demands, chang'd their Threats into Submiſſion and Fear, upon the caſual coming of *Waſſeus* with a new-rais'd Regiment, which he brought to ſhew the Emperour; and the Thunder ceaſed on a ſudden.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

y Don *Juan Antonio de Vera* ſpeaking of a Tempeſt by Sea and Land, which ſhook the Fleet of *Charles* the Fifth at his arrival to *Algiers*, ſaith, That

Perpetuity of Labours was portended to them, and lamented, that the Gods were averſe to their impious Attempt. *Druſus* thought it Wiſdom [2], to lay hold on the Occaſion which their Fear adminiſter'd, and order'd ſome to go into their Tents. He made choice of *Clemens*, and others, who, by their Merit, had acquir'd Credit

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. To know how to make uſe of the Occaſion, is an infallible Mark of the Ability of a Prince, and particularly of a General of an Army. Occaſion is the Mother of great Events; *Opportunus magnis conatibus ſtruitur rerum*, ſaith *Tacitus*, *Hiſt.* 1. The Definition, or rather Deſcription, which *Cabrera* gives of it, deſerves a place here, as an Inſtruction neceſſary for thoſe who manage great Affairs. "They, (ſaith he) who boaſt "of ſtarting Occaſions, diſcover ſuf-"ficiently, that they know not "what an Occaſion is; for if Wit "is the Contriver thereof, it is no "longer an Occaſion, but a Contri-"vance: And although it is ſome-"times founded with Induſtry, it "is notwithſtanding quite another "Thing. It is neceſſary for a Prince to lay hold on it at the very nick of Time, equally avoiding the being too ſoon, or too late. Perſons that are too quick, loſe it by their Precipitation, becauſe they ſcarce ſee the Shadow of it; but they run to catch it. They who are ſlow, miſs it alſo; for as in its Nature it is perpetually in motion, they are not able to take notice of it at the moment it paſſes before them; nor to lay hold on it at the very inſtant that they do take notice of it. There is Underſtanding required to foreſee it, and Patience to wait for it, till it comes. If Things depended only on Fortune, or only on our Wills, there would be no great difficulty in managing them, becauſe Chance, or our Choice, would be our Guide; but when there is a neceſſity of joining Fortune, Art and Will together, there is need both of Patience and Judgment to make them act in Concert, which renders them twice ſtronger. We may eaſily make uſe of Art and Will when we pleaſe, but not of Fortune, with which we muſt abſolutely comply, in obſerving the Seaſons of her good Humour, without ever exacting of her what we ſee ſhe obſtinately refuſes us, or drawing back when ſhe gives us Encouragement to hope for what we deſire. *His Hiſtory*, *l.* 12. *c.* 9.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

That it exerciſed its Fury not only on the material part thereof, that is to ſay, on the Galleys, and the reſt of the Equipage, but alſo on the Courage of the Soldiers, who remained all under a Conſternation, for there is nothing that makes them more Superſtitious, than unexpected Accidents, which come from the Heavens, or the Elements. Witneſs the Legions of *Pannonia*, who having mutinied in the Reign of *Tiberius*, paſſed immediately from Fury to Repentance, upon an Eclipſe of the Moon. *In the Epitome of the Life of* Charles *the Fifth.*

[2] In

Credit with the common sort. These mixing with the Centries, and those who went the Rounds, or watched about the Gates, redoubl'd their Apprehensions, and withal, awak'd their Hopes. 'How long, *said they*, shall 'we continue to besiege the Son of *Cæsar*? Shall we 'take the Oath of Fidelity to *Percennius*, and to *Vibulenus*? Will they give us the Pay and Rewards which 'we pretend? In a word, Shall they Usurp the Empire 'of the *Nervii*, and the *Drusi*? Why should not we be 'the first to repent us, as we have been the last to be 'seduc'd[a]? The Demands which are made in common, are ever slowly granted, and late received; on the contrary, the Reward comes speedily to their Hands, who will each[a] deserve it singly[b]. These Words having once sha-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. There are few People, who are Proof against the Charms of Interest. During the War of *Paris*, all the Generals of the Sting were meditating on their particular Accommodation, and each had his secret Correspondence with the Court, to make his Conditions the better. The Counsellor *Brussel* grew tractable, and *Master Andrew*, after he had a secret Promise of the Government of the *Bastille* for his eldest Son. *Memoirs of the Minority of Lewis the Fourteenth.* The Sieur *de Villeroy*, saith the Chancellor *de Riverny*, was engaged as far as any in the League; notwithstanding he quitted it by a particular Treaty which he made for himself, and afterwards returned to serve the King in his former Office of Secretary of State. *In his Memoirs.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

a In the Year 1546, the Elector Palatine, who had declared for the League of *Smalkald* against *Charles* the Fifth, reduced some Cities to the Obedience of this Emperour by the same Remonstrance. "We are (said "he) the last who have committed this Fault; let us be the first to repair "it, that we may more easily obtain Pardon for it. *Epitome of the Life of Charles the Fifth, by John Antonio de Vera.*

a The Memoirs of *Comines* furnish us with many notable Examples of this. "Of all Men that I ever knew, (saith he) *Lewis* the Eleventh was "the wisest to get himself out of the briars, and took the greatest Pains "to gain a Man, who was able to serve him, or able to hurt him: *l.1. c.10.* The Accommodation which he made with the Duke of *Brittany* by the means of the Seigneur *de Lescun*, this Duke's Favourite, to whom he gave the Government of *Cleve*, and of some other Places, was the cause that *Charles* of *France* his Brother lost the Duchy of *Normandy*, to the great Displeasure of the Duke of *Burgundy*, who had made him give him this great

ſhaken their Reſolution [4], and caſt a Diſtruſt into them of each other, the Love of their Prince re-enter'd into them by degrees, the Legions ſeparate, and the new Soldiers divide from the *Veterans:* They forſake the Gates, and replace their Eagles by themſelves, which they had ſhuffl'd together in the beginning of the Mutiny.

XXIII. At break of Day, *Druſus* calls the General Aſſembly; and though he had not the Gift of Speaking well, yet his Diſcourſe had in it a certain Air of Greatneſs, inborn to thoſe of Noble Blood [1]; highly condemns the paſt Proceedings, and extols the preſent. He tells

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

4. One Man of Parts is enough to reduce a whole Multitude to Obedience. Every Thing puts Fear into People who are in Sedition, when their firſt Heat is over, and a wiſe Man comes to deal with them, who excites in them the Deſire of Impunity, which, according to *Tacitus*, baffles all the Enterprizes which are formed againſt a Prince.

1. There is an Eloquence of the Looks, of the Geſture, of the Countenance, which oftentimes prevails more, than that of the greateſt Orators. Subjects don't ſo much regard what their Prince ſays to them, as the manner after which he ſpeaks it; every thing that he ſaith, is effectual, if he knows how to ſpeak with Majeſty. He ought to ſpeak not as one who is about to Perſwade, but as one who hath a Right to Command, and is able to make himſelf be Obeyed.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

Apanage: *ch.* 15. *of the ſame Book.* The ſaid *Leſcun* obtained afterwards the Government of *Guienne*, of one of the Caſtles of *Bourdeaux*; the Government of *Blaie*, of *Bayonne*, of *Dax*, and of St. *Sever*; the Earldom of *Commynges*, the Order of the King, Eighty thouſand Crowns in ready Money, and Six thouſand Livres in Penſion, to have Peace with the Duke of *Britany*, becauſe ſo powerful a Duke managed by ſuch a Man, was to be feared: *l.* 3. *c.* 11. Garter Herald of *England* being come into *France*, to declare War againſt *Lewis*, if he did not ſurrender the Kingdom to the King of *England*, immediately received a Reward from the King's hands, for the Promiſe he made to endeavour an Accommodation between the two Kings: *l.* 4. *c.* 15. The three Ambaſſadors from *England*, who concluded this Agreement, had great Preſents in ready Money and Plate, and each of them Two thouſand Crowns Penſion: *c.* 8. *of the ſame Book.* A *Gaſcon* Gentleman, (*Lewis de Bretailles,*) who was much troubled at the Peace made between *France* and *England*, received a Thouſand Crowns from King *Lewis* the Eleventh, after he had had the Honour to dine with him, to prevent him from telling the King of *England* his Maſter, that the *French* laugh'd in their Sleeves, for having driven the *Engliſh* out of *France*, by a Treaty of Peace, and by ſome Preſents: *ch.* 10. *of the ſame Book.*

[6] *i. e.* Cap.

tells them, he is not capable of Fear, and that, by conſequence, he is not to be mov'd with Threatnings [a]; that if he finds in them due Repentance, and Reſpect, he will write to his Father in their behalf, and incline him to receive their Petition, and graciouſly to anſwer it. Accordingly, at their Requeſt, the fore-mention'd *Bleſus*, *Lucius Apronius* a Roman Knight, of the Cohort of *Druſus*, and *Juſtus Catonius* Captain of the firſt Century [b], are ſent to *Tiberius*. After this, a Council of War was held, where their Judgments were divided: Some were of Opinion, that the Soldiers ſhould be mildly Treated, till the return of their Deputies; others thought

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. The Miniſter, whom a Prince ſends to ſuppreſs a Sedition, or a Revolt of Soldiers, ought to take care of nothing more, than of doing any Thing, or ſuffering any Word to ſlip from him, that may be taken for a ſign of Fear. For if once they come to perceive that he hath Fear, they ſhall impute it to the Knowledge which they will believe he hath of the Weakneſs of the Prince, rather than to his own want of Courage or Reſolution. What *Commines* ſaith upon the occaſion of the Town of *Nanci* ſurrendred to the Duke of *Lorraine* by a Lord of the Houſe of *Croys*, named *de Bievres*, who commanded in it for the Duke of *Burgundy*, ſhews of what Importance it is to be firm and reſolved amongſt Soldiers. "The "*Engliſh*, (ſaith he) tired becauſe "the Duke of *Burgundy* delayed ſo "long to relieve them, began to "murmur, and to deſpair of Suc-"cours, and told the Lord *de Bie-"vres*, that they would Capitulate "without him, if he did not Capi-"tulate. Although he was a good Officer, yet he had ſo little Reſolution as to uſe Intreaties and Remonſtrances, and if he had ſpoken more boldly, I believe, that it had been taken better from him; for the next Day, or two Days, after the Place was ſurrendred, the Duke of *Burgundy* came, well accompanied, as the Occaſion required. *Memoirs*, *l. 5. c. 5.* In great Dangers a General ought to put on a better Countenance; it is not always amiſs to fear, but it is always unbecoming not to know how to conceal it. A Captain's Countenance ought to be armed with Diſſimulation, as his Body with Steel, otherwiſe he will be betrayed ſooner by his Eyes, than by his Soldiers.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

[b] *i.e.* Captain of the firſt Century or Company of the Band or Manipule, which, as I have already ſaid, conſiſted of two Centuries or Companies, and conſequently had two Captains or Centurions. And by *Centuriones primorum ordinum*, *Tacitus* means thoſe whom we call Eldeſt Captains.

thought it more adviſeable to uſe Rigour, there being no Moderation to be expected from a Multitude [3], which makes it ſelf formidable when it fears nothing, and which may ſafely be deſpis'd when timorous: That Terrour was to be imprinted in them, while they were yet fill'd with Superſtition; and that they were to be made ſenſible they had a Maſter, by the Puniſhment of thoſe who were Authors of the Mutiny [4].

XXIV. *Druſus*, whoſe Nature inclin'd him to Severity [1], caus'd *Vibulenus* and *Percennius* to be brought before him, and commanded them to be put to Death [2]. Many relate, that they were ſlain, and buried in his Tent,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. Shame is a Paſſion that is not to be found in the Multitude, but to compenſate this, they are mightily ſubject to Fear. Thus Rigour hath the ſame Effect upon them, that the Point of Honour hath upon particular Perſons.

4. Rebellions require an unrelenting Phyſician, that immediately cures by cutting and burning; for otherwiſe, the Cure will be long and difficult. Princes therefore never pardon the Ringleaders of a Revolt, or a Sedition, becauſe they who ſin without Example, are alone more culpable than all thoſe who follow their Example, and conſequently deſerve leſs Compaſſion. Beſides, there would be no Seditions or Rebellions, if there were no Incendiaries, foraſmuch as the multitude ſees only by Truſt.

1. Of all Counſels which are given Princes, thoſe appear to them to be the beſt, which are moſt agreeable to their Tempers. When a Prince is cruel or ſevere, and alſo affronted by Diſreſpect, it is in vain to adviſe him to Clemency. Cardinal *Spinoſa*, and Prince *Rui Gomez*, found it not convenient to ſend the Duke of *Alva* Governour into the *Low-Countries*, becauſe, in their Opinion, his Rigour would exaſperate the Minds of that People, whereas they ought to have been ſoftned; but as it was in this very Particular, that the Duke reſembled and pleaſed *Philip* the Second, he was preferred before the Duke of *Feria*, [*Gomez Figueroa*,] whom the Cardinal and the Prince propoſed, and who being equal to *Alva* in Quality, in Prudence, in greateſt of Courage, and in Civil and Military Experience, ſurpaſſed him in Moderation and in Liberality; and was alſo more beloved by the King. *Cabrera's Hiſt. l. 7. c. 7.*

2. It is the Fate of the Heads of Seditions and Rebellions, to be the Victims of their Party, ſooner or later they are Delivered up to the Prince, or the Magiſtrate, to waſh away with their Blood the Stain of the common Treaſon. There is nothing more dangerous, ſaith the *Florentine* Proverb, than to hang the Bell about the Cat's Neck. And this is what they do, who by a falſe Bravery, or rather by a fatal Raſhneſs, put themſelves at the Head of a Party, which upon the firſt Check, or the firſt Alarm, will ſell them for an Amneſty.

Tent 3, to keep the Execution ſecret; others ſay, that their Bodies were caſt out of the Camp, to ſerve for an Example, and remain a Spectacle to their Companions. Enquiry was made afterwards for the other Promoters of the Sedition, and many flying here and there for ſhelter, were diſcover'd and kill'd by Centurions, and Soldiers of the Guard; ſome of them were deliver'd up by their own Comerades, as a Pledge of their Fidelity. The Diſquiets of the Mutineers were yet more augmented by an over-early Winter, with continual Rains, and Storms ſo furious, that they durſt not ſtir out of their Tents to meet in Aſſemblies; and hardly were they able to keep their Colours, which the fierceneſs of the Winds threatned every moment to bear away. Add to this, That they were ſtill in apprehenſion of the Wrath of Heaven; and their guilty Minds ſuggeſted to them, that the Planets were not eclips'd in vain, or that the Tempeſts roul'd without Preſage over the Heads of Rebels 4; that there was no other Remedy remaining for their preſent Evils, but to abandon a profan'd Camp, an unfortunate Abode, and to return to their Gariſons, after they had expiated their Crime. The eighth Legion remov'd firſt, and was ſoon follow'd by the fifteenth. The ninth oppos'd themſelves to this Departure, crying out, The Anſwer of *Tiberius* was to be attended there; but being ſurpriz'd with Fear, as being left alone, they prevented the

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. If the Duke of *Alva* had put the Earls of *Egmont* and of *Horne* to Death in Priſon, the *Netherlands* might perhaps have had leſs Compaſſion for them, and leſs Reſentment againſt him and the Prince. This Execution, ſaith Sir *W. Temple*, put them beyond all Patience; ſo that one may ſay, that the end of the Lives of theſe Lords was the beginning of the Troubles, which ſpilt ſo much Blood in *Europe*, and which coſt *Spain* a good part of theſe Provinces. *Remarks on the United Provinces, cap.* 1.

4. Nothing hath a greater Force on the Multitude, ſaith *Quintus Curtius*, than Superſtition; how inconſtant and furious ſoever they be, they will always obey the Divines better than their Governours, if once their Minds be ſtruck with falſe Images of Religion: *lib.* 4.

the Neceſſity of being forc'd to Obedience. So that all Things being compos'd in a ſettl'd Calm, *Druſus* went immediately for *Rome*, without longer waiting for the return of the Deputies.

XXV. Almoſt at the ſame time, and for the ſame Reaſons, the Legions in *Germany* rebell'd [1]; and their Mutiny had in it the more of Inſolence, becauſe they were in greater Numbers; and all of them concluded, that *Germanicus* would never ſubmit to the Government of another, but that, to prevent Subjection, he would Head thoſe Legions [2]; by whoſe means, he might put himſelf in a condition of reducing all others to his Party. There were two Armies encamp'd on the Banks of the *Rhine*; that on the upper part was commanded by *Caius Silius*, in Quality of Lieutenant-General; that on the nether, by *Aulus Cecina*. Their common General was *Germanicus*, who, at that time, was buſied in *Gaul* about gathering the Tributes. But thoſe who were under *Silius*, protracted the time of declaring themſelves, till they ſaw what Fortune would befal the Army of *Cecina* [3], where the Sedition began from the Twenty firſt and Fifth Legions,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Nothing gives greater opportunity to an Army, that hath great Pretentions, to Revolt, than the Abſence of a General. The farther off Puniſhment is, the leſs they fear it. (*Germanicus* was then in the *Gauls*.)

2. It is very natural to believe, that a Prince, who hath his Sword in his Hand, and Soldiers entirely devoted to his Service, will not ſuffer himſelf to be deprived of a Kingdom that of Right belongs to him, eſpecially if he, who hath taken Poſſeſſion of it, be odious, both to the common People, and the Nobility, as *Tiberius* was. It is rather Cowardice, than Moderation, to ſuffer it. Want of Power may be excuſed, but never want of Courage, eſpecially in a Perſon, who ought to inſpire others with it.

3. The Revolt of a Province, or of an Army, ought to be carefully concealed from other Armies and Provinces, for fear leſt ſuch an Example ſhould draw them to Revolt likewiſe. It was for this Reaſon, that the *Burgundians* having been defeated, their Duke, who ſaw all his Affairs grow worſe and worſe, and his principal Servants deſert him, and go over to *Lewis* the Eleventh, cauſed a Report to be ſpread in *Picardy*, and in *Flanders*, that his Army of *Burgundy* had had the better. *Commines's Memoirs*, *l.* 3. *c.* 3.

4. There;

gions, which alſo drew into their Party the Twentieth, and the Firſt; for they were quartered together on the Frontiers of the *Ubiens* [c], living in Idleneſs [4], or, at leaſt, with ſmall Employment. When the Death of *Auguſtus* was known amongſt them, the Soldiers of the new Recruits, accuſtom'd to the Softneſſes of Life at *Rome*, and, conſequently, Enemies to the Toyls of War, began to broach amongſt thoſe who were Simple and Credulous, That now the Time was come for the *Veterans* to demand a quick Diſcharge; for the new-rais'd Troops to have their Pay enlarg'd; for both Parties to require an end of their Sufferings; and to revenge themſelves on the Cruelty of their Centurions. It was not any ſingle Perſon, (as *Percennius* was amongſt the *Pannonian* Legions,) who declaim'd in this manner: Neither did the Soldiers tremble at the ſight of another Army more powerful than their own, and which were Witneſſes of what they ſaid and did; but many Mouths which cry'd in Concert, That the *Roman* Empire was in their Hands, to *diſpoſe of as they pleas'd*; that they had inlarg'd it by their Victories; and that the *Cæſars* [d] held it for an Honour, to bear the Sirname of *Germanicus*.

XXVI. *Cecina* durſt not oppoſe this, either by Word or Action, their Multitude having over-maſter'd his Reſolution.

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

4. There is nothing more contrary to Military Diſcipline than Idleneſs, ſaith *Paterculus*. *Res diſciplinæ inimiciſſima otium*: *Hiſt.* 2. *c.* 78. It was for this Reaſon, that *Auguſtus* hardned his Soldiers by almoſt continual Expeditions in *Dalmatia* and *Illyria*; that *Caſſius*, a Governor of *Syria*, exerciſed his Legions in times of Peace, with as much Care, as if he had been in open War. *Tacit. Ann.* 12. A *Lacedemonian* ſaid, That nothing was to be done with an Army without Diſcipline, and that Soldiers ought to fear their General more than their Enemies.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

c The Country of *Colen*.

d As *Tiberius*, who was Sirnamed *Germanicus*, in *Auguſtus*'s Life-time; *Druſus*, and *Germanicus* his Son.

ſolution. The Seditious being ſeiz'd, with one common Fury fell with their drawn Swords on their Centurions, (ever the Object of their Hate, and the firſt Sacrifice which they offer'd to their Vengeance;) they pull'd them down, and beat them afterwards to Death with Cudgels; Sixty of them at once aſſaulting one, to equal the Number of the Centurions, which were Sixty to every Legion. To conclude, they caſt them out of the Camp half dead, or threw their Bodies into the *Rhine*. One of them call'd *Septimius*, who had refug'd himſelf in the Tribunal of *Cecina*, and had embrac'd his Knees, was demanded with ſo much Obſtinacy, that the General was forc'd to deliver him up to their Fury. *Caſſius Chærea*, an intrepid Youth, the ſame who afterwards eterniz'd his Memory by the Death of *Caligula* [1], open'd himſelf a Paſſage with his Sword through a Crowd of Arm'd Soldiers, who endeavour'd to have ſeiz'd him. From that moment, neither the Tribunes, nor the Mareſchals de Camp, were any more obey'd. The Mutineers themſelves plac'd the Sentinels and the Corps de Guard, and order'd all Things which their preſent Needs requir'd. Thoſe who pierc'd into the depth of that Affair, drew from thence a certain Augury, that the Sedition would be of a long Continuance; becauſe they acted not with any ſeparate Intereſt, or, by the Inſtigation of any particular Men among them; they rais'd their Clamours all at once, and at once they ceas'd them;

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. There is no Enemy from whom Princes have more reaſon to fear Attempts againſt their Lives, than from an undaunted Man, who is animated with Reſentment againſt them, and particularly, if he be a Man who hath a mighty Paſſion to make his Name memorable to Poſterity. *Machiavel* deſcribes, that *Jerom Olgiato*, who was one of the three Aſſaſins of *Galeas* Duke of *Milain*, very much like this Chærea, when he ſaid, That this Cavalier, who was but 23 Years old, underwent his Puniſhment with no leſs Courage, than he had executed his Enterprize; and that ſeeing the Executioner with the Sword in his Hand, he ſpoke theſe Words; *Mors acerba, fama perpetua, ſtabit vetus memoria facti.* Lib. 7. of his Hiſtory of Florence.

1. For,

them; with ſo much Equality, and ſo good an Underſtanding amongſt themſelves, that it might have been reaſonably believ'd, they were under the Government of one Head.

XXVII. While *Germanicus*, as we have ſaid, was detain'd in *Gaul* to collect the Tributes, he receiv'd the News of *Auguſtus*'s Death, whoſe Grand-daughter he had marry'd. He was the Son of *Druſus*, Nephew to *Tiberius*, and Grand-ſon to *Livia*; But the ſecret Hatred of his Uncle, and his Grand-mother, gave him great Inquietude, knowing that their Averſion was ſo much the more to be fear'd, becauſe their Motives to it were unjuſt [1]. For the Memory of *Druſus* was in high Veneration amongſt the *Romans*; it being the general Opinion, That if he had come to poſſeſs the Empire [2], he would have reſtor'd their Liberty to the People: From thence, their Favour was deriv'd to *Germanicus*, and their Hopes of him the ſame: For *Germanicus* was of a ſoft,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. For, according to *Seneca*, The more Unjuſt our Hatred is, the more Obſtinate it is: *Quo magis injuſtus ira eſt, eo pertinacior.* And, according to *Tacitus*, 'tis the Nature of Man always to hate thoſe whom he hath injured: *Proprium humani ingenii eſt, odiſſe quem læſeris.* In *Agric.* *Magnum*, ſaith Queen *Margaret*, having quitted the Service of my Brother, [the Duke of *Alanſon*,] have ſo mortal a Hatred to him, (as 'tis uſual for him that doth the Injury, never to forgive,) that he placed his Reaſon by all ways poſſible: *l.* 2. *of her Memoirs.*

2. The People always imagine fine Things of thoſe, whom they believe ſhould Reign. Poſſibly it might have fared with *Druſus* and *Germanicus*, had they come to the Empire, as it did with thoſe two Kings of the *Suevi*, *Vangis* and *Sido*, who, *Tacitus* ſaith, were paſſionately loved before they Reigned, and as much hated when they Reigned: *Ann.* 12. At leaſt, we may ſay of *Druſus* and his Son, what *Tacitus* ſaith of *Britannicus*, that *Periculis comparatum eſt, ruinis famam ſuæ experimenta*; that both of them dying in the Flower of their Age, (at the Age of 30 Years,) and both by Poiſon, their Misfortune hath preſerved a graceful Name of their Modeſty, which poſſibly they would have loſt, had they reigned. The Mildneſs, the Gentility, and the Familiarity of Princes, who aſpire, or who begin a Reign, are not ſo much the Effects of their Nature, as of their Policy. Add hereto, that the beſt Men are not always the beſt Princes. There is a *Spaniſh* Proverb, which ſaith, *De mal hombre buen Rey*; *i.e.* An ill Man makes a good King.

3. A

ſoft, pleaſing Humour, affable in Converſation, and his Behaviour wholly different from the ſullen Reſervedneſs and Arrogance [3] of *Tiberius*. The Quarrels betwixt the Women contributed not a little to this Enmity; For *Livia* behav'd herſelf with the Loftineſs of a Mother-in-Law to *Agrippina*, and *Agrippina* carry'd it ſomewhat too reſentingly towards *Livia*; but her known Chaſtity, and the Love ſhe bore her Husband, to whom ſhe had born many Children, wrought ſo far upon her Soul, that, though naturally haughty and inflexible, ſhe contain'd herſelf within the Bounds of what was Virtuous and Laudable.

XXVIII. But *Germanicus*, the nearer he approach'd to the height of Sovereignty, the more eagerly he ſtrove to maintain *Tiberius* in Poſſeſſion [1]; he caus'd him to be recogniz'd by the Neighbouring Provinces [e] of the *Sequani* and *Belgæ*; and when he was inform'd, that the Legions

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. A proud and ſevere Prince can never love Miniſters, who will be beloved by the People; for their popular Humour ſerves only to make him yet more odious, or at leaſt more diſagreeable to his Subjects. It often happens, that the People, and alſo the Courtiers, make Compariſons between the Prince and the Miniſter, which never fail of being reported ſooner or later to the Prince, nor of ruining the Miniſter, when they are to his Advantage. And it was one of the Artifices, whereby the Grandees of *Spain* compaſſed the Diſgrace of Cardinal *Eſpinoſa*, whom they could not deſtroy by their Complaints. *Lewis Sforſa*, Duke of *Milain*, beheaded *Cecco Simoneta*, his Secretary of State, for ſaying to him, That he could not defend *Milain* againſt the *French*, but by the good-will of his People; becauſe his Counſel gave him to underſtand, that his Miniſter was too popular. Now-a-days Princes have no jealouſie in this Particular.

1. The next Heir of a Crown, or of a Principality, ought, according to all the Rules of good Policy, to ſhew himſelf the moſt zealous in the Service of the reigning Prince. As he hath more to loſe, he hath more to fear; and, conſequently, he ought to be more complaiſant and ſubmiſſive than all others. *Strada* attributes the cauſe of all the Miſfortunes

HISTORICAL NOTES.

e By the *Sequani*, now the *French* Counties; and by the *Belgæ*, who are the *Flemings*.

f In

Legions were tumultuously up in Arms, he made all poſſible Expedition in his Journey to them. They met him without the Camp with dejected Eyes, as in ſign of their Repentance. But as ſoon as he was enter'd, the Camp reſounded with confus'd and jarring Clamours. Some of them taking his Hand, as it were, to kiſs it, put his Fingers into their Mouths, to make him ſenſible that they had loſt their Teeth. Others ſhew'd him their decrepid Limbs, and Shoulders bending under the weight of Age. As they were all mingled in a Crowd, and without Order, he commanded them to draw up in their ſeveral Companies, under pretence that they might with more convenience hear his Anſwer, and to ſeparate their Colours, that he might diſtinguiſh every Cohort by its proper Enſign. They obey'd him but as ſlowly as poſſibly they could [2]. Then beginning his Oration with the Praiſes of *Auguſtus* [3], he deſcended to thoſe of *Tiberius*, but above all enlarging on thoſe Exploits, which he had perform'd with them in *Germany*. He ſet before them

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

fortunes of *Francis*, Duke of *Alenſon*, to the Envy which he had conceived againſt his Brother *Henry* the Third. For want of conſidering, that he was the Heir Apparent of the Crown, and, as it were, upon the point of being adored on the Throne, ſeeing his brother had no Children; he could not bear, that the caſual order of Birth had made *Henry* his Sovereign. Thus looking on his Fortune only on the worſe ſide, he lived in a continual Agitation, equally a Burden to his Brother, and to the State; ſo that being deſirous to Command whatever it coſt, not caring in what Country, he put himſelf at the Head of the Rebels in *Flanders*, who invited him rather to be the Pretext of the War, than to make him their Prince; and who haſtned his Ruine, by the eager Deſire which de diſcovered of impoſing the Yoke on that People, who had not ſhaken off that of the King of *Spain*, but that they might live as a Free-State: *l. 5. of the Second Decad of his Hiſtory.*

2. It is a Degree of Rebellion, for People to deliberate, whether they ſhall obey; they do not ſeem to have been willing to obey, who have a long time deliberated, whether they ſhall obey or no: *Qui deliberant, deſciverunt.* Tacit. Hiſt. 2.

3. As the Memory of *Auguſtus* was pleaſing to them, he gained their Good-will by beginning with his Praiſes: And as they loved not *Tiberius*, whoſe Humour was wholly different from that of *Auguſtus*, he made them favourable to him, by putting them in mind, that they had a great Share in the Glory of his Exploits.

1. Indeed

them the Universal Consent of *Italy*, the Fidelity of the *Gauls*, and the Concord of all the other Provinces of the Empire. And thus far he was heard with a respectful Silence, or, at least, with little or no Disturbance.

XXIX. But when he came to ask them, what was become of their Obedience, and of their ancient Discipline, where were their Tribunes, and what they had done with their Centurions? They stripp'd themselves naked, to shew him, by way of Reproach, the Scars of the Wounds, and the Bruises of those Blows which they had receiv'd from their Officers; and afterwards speaking all at once, they complain'd of their scanty Pay, and the intolerable Price with which they were forc'd to purchase their Exemption from Duties; and the Miseries they suffered in [1] labouring Night and Day on their Retrenchments, in providing Forage for their Horses and Beasts of Burden, and heaps of Faggots, (or *Fascines*;) and what other Employments are invented to keep the Soldiers in exercise, when no Enemy is

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Indeed, all this is worthy of Compassion, but Seditions and Revolts are evermore inexcusable, and consequently, Punishment is absolutely necessary, for fear left Impunity open the Gate to Licentiousness. "Good and Evil are so contrary, "that they ought not to be put in "the Ballance against one another. "They are two Enemies, betwixt "whom there ought to be no Quarter, nor Exchange given: If one "deserves Reward, the other doth "Punishment; and both of them "ought to be treated according to "their Merit. *Chap. 5. of the Second Part of the Politick Testament.* Otherwise the Hopes, which every one will have of obtaining Pardon in consideration of past Services, will make them not care how they offend. *Manlius*, who had defended the Capitol against the *Gauls*, whence he was honoured with the Name of *Capitolinus*, and of *Protector of the People*, how notwithstanding he recounted the long Services which he had done his Country, and shewed the Scars of Three and thirty Wounds which he had received in several Fights; the *Romans* condemn'd him to Death, as soon as his Adversaries had proved that he aspired to Regal Power. There is an indispensable Necessity of proceeding thus, according to the Opinion of *Machiavel*, in his 22d *Chap. of l. 1. of his Discourses*, and of *Scipio Ammirato*, in the 7th *Disc. of l. 2. of his Commentary on Tacitus*. And it is also the Opinion of *Tacitus* himself, who saith, That the City of *Dyrrhachium* effaced by its Revolt all the merit of the great Services which it had done to the *Romans*. Hist. 4.

2. In

is near. A fierce Clamour of the *Veterans* arose, who having serv'd the space of 30 or 40 Years, besought *Germanicus* to take Pity on them, and not suffer them to die in the Hardships of Warfare, but to give them their Discharge, and wherewithal to subsist afterwards in their Age [2]. Some amongst them also demanded the Legacies of Money, which were left them by *Augustus*, not without loud Acclamations to *Germanicus*, and engaging to serve him, if he would accept the Empire [3]. But he, as if he fear'd there had been Infection in their Crime, leap'd precipitately down from his Tribunal [3], and was departing from the Camp, till they held him by the Arm, and turning the Points of their Swords against him, threaten'd to kill him if he refus'd to mount his Seat. He protesting, he would rather die, than be wanting to his Duty, drew his Sword, and raising his Arm, was plunging it into his Breast, if those who were nearest him had not stop'd his Hand. They who stood farmost in the

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. In a State which is governed by Military Maxims, and whose Subjects are Warlike, as were the *Romans*, the rewarding of Soldiers is the principal part of Government; For the expectation of Rewards supports Emulation, Affection, Labour, and Discipline. And besides, there is nothing more Unjust, nor which doth greater Dishonour to the Prince, than to suffer People to die in Poverty, who have spent their whole Lives in the Dangers and Fatigues of War.

3. In such a Matter, to hear it, is to be Criminal. It is not enough to be innocent, especially under a jealous and mistrustful Prince, as *Tiberius* was; a Person must also seem so, that the Prince may believe, that he

HISTORICAL NOTES.

[2] In the Year 1577. a *Flemish* Lord having attempted the Fidelity of Don *John* of *Austria*, Governour of the *Low Countries*, by offering him the Sovereignty thereof, if he would accept it; Don John transported with Rage, gave him a Box with a Pongard. *Cabrera, l. 3. c. 31. of Philip II.* This behaviour, in my Opinion, was more prudent, and also more sincere, than that of *Germanicus*, who would, or feign'd that he would have kill'd himself. For, by immediately punishing so pernicious a Counsellor, he stopp'd their Mouths, and struck Terror into all those, who might be capable to draw him to this Design.

[3] These

the Crowd preſs'd nearer, and ſome of them (what is almoſt incredible to relate) ſingling themſelves from the reſt, came up to him, and exhorted him to ſtrike as he had threaten'd; And a certain Soldier, called *Caluſidius*, offer'd him his naked Sword, aſſuring him, that the Point was ſharper [g] than his own. But this appear'd of bad Example, and even execrable to thoſe who were mad themſelves; ſo that there was Time given for his Friends to draw him off into his Tent.

XXX. There

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

he hath neither Will nor Power to be culpable. With Princes, it is a Crime to be thought worthy to Reign; at leaſt, it is a Rock, on which the Fortunes of the braveſt Men have been ſplit. *Veſpaſian*, by the Counſel of *Mucian*, his Chief Miniſter, put to Death *Calpurnius Galerianus*, who yet had never meddled with any dangerous Affair, becauſe his illuſtrious Birth, his Youth, and his graceful Mein, made him talk'd of, as of a Man that was worthy to poſſeſs the Empire. Although *Verginius* had refuſed to accept it, he was yet always ſuſpected by *Galba*, and kept near him to ſecure his Fidelity. *Tacit. Hiſt.* 4. & 1. Although Don *John* of *Auſtria* had not only rejected the Offers of the Sovereignty of the Low-Countries, but alſo puniſhed with his own Hand the Perſon who had made him the Propoſals of it. *Philip* the Second repented much, that he had given him the Government: For there are Suſpicions, ſays *Strada*, which the greateſt Innocence can never cure; and how good an Opinion ſoever Princes may have of the Fidelity of the great Men whom they employ, they have always a jealous Spirit, and are inclined to believe, that they grow weary of being Obedient and Faithful; and that it is Prudence to uſe ſuch Precautions, that a Subject, who have once had the Moderation to refuſe the Soveraignty, may never be capable to accept it: *L.* 10. *of his Firſt Decad.* It was well the Marquis of *Peſquera* died a little time after he had revealed to *Charles* the Fifth, that the Pope, the Duke of *Milan*, and the *Venetians*, offered him the Kingdom of *Naples*, for certainly the Emperour would not have long left him the Command of his Armies in *Italy*.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

g Theſe two Circumſtances of *Caluſidius*, who preſented *Germanicus* with his Sword as the ſharper, and of the others who cried out, *Strike*, ſeemed to imply that the Soldiers believed, that *Germanicus*'s Indignation was but acted, and that his Fidelity towards *Tiberius* had leſs of Reality in it, than of Art and Oſtentation. For thoſe who encouraged him to kill himſelf, would not have had occaſion to cry *Strike*, had they not ſeen that it was only long of *Germanicus*; that it was not done; and *Caluſidius* would never have thought fit to have preſented him with his Sword, had he not

XXX. There a Council was call'd, in order to appeaſe the Mutiny; for Notice had been given, that the Seditious had propos'd to ſend Deputies to the Army of *Silius*, and to ingage them in their Revolt [1]; that they had reſolv'd to plunder the City of the *Ubians* [h], and that if once they had taſted the Sweets of Rapine, they would ſoon be tempted onwards, to make a Prey of *Gaul*. It was alſo apprehended, that the *Germans*, who were not ignorant of what had paſs'd, ſhould make an Irruption into the *Roman* Province, in caſe the Legions ſhould withdraw from the *Rhine*. And that, on the other ſide, if they ſhould arm the Allies and the Auxiliaries [i] againſt the Legions, to hinder their departure, that was in effect to kindle a Civil War. That Severity expos'd *Germanicus* to Danger, and Mildneſs to Contempt [2]; that whether all Things ſhould be granted, or

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. The firſt Remedy, which a Prince ought to employ againſt the Revolt of his Subjects, is to prevent the Rebels from gaining the Neighbouring Provinces and Cities which continue in Obedience.

2. To uſe Rigour, is to exaſperate their Minds, and to drive them to Deſpair; to diſſemble, temporiſe or comply with the Will of the Mutineers, is to ſhew that they are feared, and, by conſequence, is to increaſe

HISTORICAL NOTES.

not been in a condition to make uſe of it. There is ſome Reaſon to believe, that the Faith of *Germanicus* was like that of young *Pompey*, who one Day, when he entertained *Octavius* and *Anthony* in his Gallery, being asked by the Corſair *Menas*, Whether he deſired they ſhould make him abſolute Maſter, not only of *Sicily* and of *Sardinia*, but of the whole *Roman* Empire; anſwered, You ſhould do it without giving me notice of it. *Plutarch, in the Life of Anthony.*

h Afterwards called *Collen.*

i There was this difference betwixt Allies, and Auxiliaries; that the former took an Oath of Fidelity to the *Roman* Commonwealth, and received no Pay; whereas the others, who were Foreigners, and not under an Oath, took Pay. The Allies had Corn given them.

k *Cabrera* ſaith, That the Commander Dom *Luis de Requeſens*, inſtead of reducing the Rebels of *Flanders* to Obedience, by his Mildneſs, and by his Favours, increaſed their Obſtinacy, it appearing to them that he treated them ſo, becauſe he feared them. *Ch. 15. l. 10. of his Hiſtory.*

l Theſe

or all refus'd to the Mutineers, that of equal Hazard to the common Good. In fine, all Reasons, both on the one and the other side, being duly weigh'd, it was resolv'd to counterfeit Letters as from *Tiberius*, by which he gave a free Discharge to all such as had serv'd out the space of Twenty Years [1]; and declar'd those for Volunteers who had serv'd Sixteen, retaining them under a particular Ensign, exempted from all sorts of Duty [2], excepting only to repulse the Enemy; and ordaining them to be paid double the Legacy which hath been left them by *Augustus*.

XXXI. The Soldiers suspecting the Design [3], required that all this should be immediately perform'd. And

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

increase their Insolence, and to expose to Contempt the Authority of the Prince and the General. What is to be done then in these Occasions, where Gentleness and Rigour are equally dangerous? He must not neglect himself about untying the Gordian-knot; for this will never be done; it must therefore be cut through. After the *Spanish* Soldiers were gone out of the *Low Countries*, by Virtue of the *Perpetual Edict*, Don *John* of *Austria*, who was Governour there, soon perceived, that the intention of these Provinces was to govern themselves in the form of a republick. Informed that he was constituted to retire from *Brussels*, whilst he was at the Mercy of the Estates, to Namur, and thence to return the Spanish and Italian Troops (which he had drawn away) to appease the Rebels. (1577.)

3. It is Prudence in a General, not to ingage the Prince; and yet to pretend to do that in Obedience, which he doth through Necessity. Thus *Germanicus*, by counterfeiting Letters from *Tiberius*, who ordered him to grant what their Demands, shuffling concealed his Inability to bring them to Reason, and *Tiberius* was not in the mean time obliged to make good any of the Promises contained in these forged Letters. And, probably, these Letters were only Blanks signed by the Prince; for otherwise, *Germanicus*, who knew too well how much he was suspected by *Tiberius*, durst not have made use of this Expedient.

4. What Soldiers Persons or Rebels, obtain of a Prince more than they have demanded of him, they have great Reason to believe, that he is much more concerned to deceive

HISTORICAL NOTES.

1. These Soldiers, who were kept under the Colours, were Stiled *Veterani*; *Stipendia propria militiæ implentes*. For they were exempted under the Ensign, which was then Ensigns of the Legions. And in this strict sense that *Tacitus* (p. 1. *Historiarum*) uses *Veteranus Annæus*.

2. This

And the Tribunes expedited the Discharge; but the Payment being postpon'd till they were in Winter-Quarters, the Fifth and the Twenty first Legions refus'd to return into their Garisons: And *Germanicus* was forc'd to pay them out of the Money which he brought with him to defray his Voyage, and out of what he could borrow from his Friends. *Cecina* brought back to the *Ubians* the First and the Twentieth Legions; and it was indeed a shameful March, to see carried, *as it were, in Triumph*, the Silver[m], which they had *extorted from their*

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

ceive them, (as they deserve) than to satisfie them. This puts me in mind of what *Christian* the Fourth, King of *Denmark*, did on the like Occasion, who was so far from discovering any Resentment against Mutineers, who had made insolent Demands of him, that he handsomly pretended to yield to their Reasons, and to be willing to give them all the Satisfaction they desired. And, as a Testimony of this, he said, That he would drink with them; which appeared to them the more sincere, because he often did his Friends this Honour, and because in his Nature he was very familiar: But after he had made every one of them as drunk as Beasts, he caused them all to be hanged the same Evening. This Relation was given me by a *Danish* Envoy.

2. Princes and Generals of Armies ought to avoid nothing more carefully, than the necessity of making Soldiers wait a long time for their Pay; for want of Pay is always followed with want of Respect and Obedience; and, in the mean time, the General dares not punish Men, whose Demands and Complaints are just. Besides, the opportunity of Acting and Fighting are lost, as long as the Mutiny continues; and there is no security in employing them, whilst they believe that they have a Right to do themselves Justice by Treachery. In fine, the longer their Pay is delayed, the more of their Insolence and cruelty must the People fear. Insomuch, that the Princes Authority remains in suspence betwixt the Impunity of one side, and the desperate Condition of the other. Some *Spanish* Troops (saith Sir *William Temple*, c. 1. of his Remarks) having mutinied for want of Pay, and seized the Town of *Alost* in the Neighbourhood of *Brussels*, the People of this City were in despair, the Tradesmen left their Shops, and the Husbandman his Work, and all ran to Arms: So that the Estates being assembled at *Ghent* in the Year 1576, it was there resolved to drive out of the *Low-Countries* all Foreigners, and to re-establish the ancient form of Government. Which gave the King of *Spain* to know by a fatal Experiment, that nothing is able to stop the Torrent of an inraged and obstinate People, who overturn all that stands in their way.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

[m] This Money was Sacred,

their General, amongſt the Eagles and the Enſigns. In the mean time, *Germanicus* being gone to viſit the Army on the *Upper Rhine*, the Second, the Thirteenth, and the Sixteenth Legion took the Oath of Fidelity without the leaſt demurr; and the Fourteenth having paus'd a little on the Matter, he offer'd them the Money, and their Diſcharge, without their once demanding it [3].

XXXII. But the Sedition was again renewing in the Country of the *Chauci* [n], through the Malice of thoſe Rebellious *Veterans*, who were there in Gariſon, if a timely Stop had not been put to the Beginnings by the Execution of two Soldiers, whom *Mennius*, the Mareſchal-de-Camp, caus'd to be ſuddenly put to Death: A daring Action, and of good Example, rather than of true [1] Juſtice [o]. Notwithſtanding which, the Mutiny ſtill gathering to a greater Head, he took flight, and hid himſelf; but being diſcover'd, he call'd his Courage to his Succour. *This Violence*, ſaid he, *is not offer'd to me, but to* Germanicus, *your General*; *and to* Tiberius, *your lawful*

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. It's Wiſdom for a Man to do that of his own accord, which he ſees that he ſhall be obliged to do by force. This Anticipation makes that received as a Favour, which a little later would paſs for Conſtraint.

1. There are Occaſions, in which a greater Regard is to be had to the publick Service, than to the Laws; the Neceſſity being ſome time ſo preſſing, that there is no means to expect their Aſſiſtance, which is often retarded by Formalities. Beſides, it is not to croſs the Laws to procure the publick Good, in proſpect of which all the Laws were made. *Salus Populi ſuprema Lex eſto*, ſays *Cicero*. 'Tis on theſe Occaſions, ſaid Cardinal *Richelieu* to the late King, in which your Authority ought to go beyond the Forms of Law to maintain Rule and Diſcipline; without which, a State is not able to ſubſiſt. *Part* 1. *of his Pol. Teſtament, ſect.* 2. *ch.* 3.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

n Now *Priſeland*.

o Becauſe it belonged only to the General to puniſh with Death.

p The

lawful Emperour 2. Saying this, and seeing them amaz'd, he snatch'd their Ensign p, and turning directly towards the *Rhine*, he cried out, that *he held him for a Deserter who forsook his Rank* 3; insomuch, that they all return'd to their Winter-Quarters much discontented, and without daring to proceed in their Attempt.

XXXIII. In the mean time, *Germanicus* being already on his return from the *Upper Germany*, the Deputies of the Senate, found him at the Altar of the *Ubians* q, where

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. The Affronts offered to Magistrates, are reputed as done to the Prince; for it is his Authority which they resist, and not the Person of him who exercises it. It was for this, that *Charles* the Fifth would never recal from *Naples* the Viceroy Don *Pedro de Toledo*, against whom the City had made an Insurrection, and even with some appearance of Justice. *Ulloa, in his Life.* The Constable of St. *Pol* having given the Lie to the Lord *d'Himbercourt*, Ambassador from the Duke of *Burgundy*, he made him no other Answer, but, "That this Affront was "not done to him, but to the King, "under whose Protection he came "thither as Ambassador; (*it was "to the King in* Picardy;) and also "to his Master, whose Person he "represented, and to whom he "would report it. *Memoirs of Comines, l.* 3. *ch.* 11. The greatest Kings, saith the same Cardinal *Richelieu*, cannot preserve their Authority inviolable, if they have not a great care to maintain it in the least of their Officers, whether near or distant from their Persons. For these are Outworks which are attack'd first, the taking of which emboldens them to make an Effort against those within, and afterward against the Person of the Prince himself. *Pol. Testament, part* 1. *sect.* 7. *ch. ult.*

3. A Commander, who knows how to speak with Vigour, and to accompany his Words with some Action, wherein Resolution appears, will scarce ever fail of striking Terror into Seditious Persons, although they be numerous. The *German* Soldiers having made an Insurrection against *Alexander Farnese*, Governour and Captain-General of the *Low-Countries*, he went directly to these Mutineers, with his Sword in his Hand, and commanded the Colonel of the Regiment to send him immediately two Soldiers of each Company, which should be found most culpable, whom he caused to be hanged, to the number of Twenty, in the sight of his whole Army, without any Man daring to speak a Word. *Strada's Hist. Decad.* 2. *lib.* 5.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

p The Ensigns were so highly reverenced by the *Romans*, that the Seditious themselves durst not refuse to follow them.

q Some are of Opinion, that this Altar stood where the City of *Bonn* is now, the ordinary place of Residence of the Arch-Bishop of *Cullen*.

where the First and the Twentieth Legions, together with the *Veterans*, who were discharg'd, had their Winter Quarters, and were still retain'd under their Enfigns. A terrible Affright suddenly seiz'd those Soldiers, who felt the Stings of Conscience for the Crime they had committed. They suspected, that those Deputies had Orders to revoke the Grants, which they had extorted by their Mutiny. And as it is the common Practice of the Multitude to accuse one wrongfully, they make *Munatius Plancus*, a Consular Man, and Chief of the Deputation, the Author of this Decree of the Senate [1]. Towards Midnight they came to a Resolution among themselves to demand the Standard, which was kept in the Lodgings of *Germanicus* [2]. Accordingly they ran thither in a Crowd, broke open the Doors, and dragging the [2] Prince out of his Bed, they threaten'd him with Death, and constrain'd him to deliver up the Ensign [3]. Then running through the Camp, they met the Legats, who hearing the Uproar, were hastening to *Germanicus*; they resolve to murder them, and particularly

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. When once a Minister hath got the Reputation of a severe or violent Man, all rigorous Resolutions are imputed to him. The *Flemings* imputed all the Rigours of *Philip* the Second to the Counsels of the Duke of *Alva*, because they knew that he had said to *Charles* the Fifth, (who loved them and treated them with Respect, as having been born and educated among them,) that he ought not to give them so much liberty, nor so great a share in publick Affairs, to the great Discontent of other Nations of his Empire, who deserved to be preferred before them *Cabrera's Hist. l. 5. c. 2.*

2. It hath been a Maxim of several Princes, never to lie twice successively in the same Chamber. *Henry* the Third, King of *England*, and the Usurper *Cromwel*, changed almost every Day.

3. Of two Evils, the least is to be chosen, and consequently, *Germanicus* did better in giving up the Colours to them, than to let them kill him.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

[1] It was a Scarlet Ensign, which was set up on the General's Pavilion when they were going to give Battel, and it never was out of his Quarters, whence it could not be taken without Sacrilege.

[2] Which

larly *Plancus*, whom regard of his [4] Character would not permit to escape by flight; and therefore, having no other Refuge, he cast himself into the Quarter of the First Legion, and made Religion his Buckler, by embracing the Eagle and the Ensigns[s]. Which notwithstanding, the *Roman* Camp, and even the Altars of the Gods, were in danger of being profan'd by the Blood of a *Roman* Ambassador, (an unusual Crime even among our Enemies) if *Calpurnius*, who was Eagle-bearer [t], had not prevented the Blow by his Resistance. When it was Day-light, and Men and Actions could be discern'd, *Germanicus* entring the Camp, caus'd *Plancus* to be brought before him, and seated him by his Side on his Tribunal; then reproaching them with their mad Behaviour, and exclaiming against their fatal Disobedience, which he chose to attribute to the Anger of the Gods [5], rather than the Fury of the Soldiers, he openly declar'd the Occasion of that Embassy, and eloquently deplor'd the cruel Outrage done to *Plancus* without cause, and the Infamy

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

4. *Cicero*, in one of his Letters, saith, That the exterior Marks of Dignities and great Offices, are but Obstacles to the safety of the Persons who wear them, that is to say, in Seditions; for at all other Times they are necessary to draw Respect from the People. One Day when *Otho* entertained the greatest Men of *Rome* at Supper, the *Prætorian* Soldiers having taken a false Alarm, came to force open the Doors of the Palace. *Otho*, who knew not whether their Design was against him, or the Guests, dismissed the Company; and every one, for his safety, stripp'd himself of the Marks of his Dignity. *Tac. Hist.* 1.

5. The General of an Army, which hath mutinied, doth prudently to attribute part of the Soldiers Fault to higher Causes, which have drawn them, as it were, by force; to the end, that this handsom manner of excusing them, may make them more readily return to their Duty, in hopes of obtaining a General Pardon.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

s Which were Sacred and Inviolable amongst the *Romans*, and which *Tacitus* calls, The particular Gods of the Legions, *Propria Legionum numina*. Ann. 2.

t The Person who carried the Eagle of the Legion.

Infamy which the Legion had incurr'd, by violating in his Perſon the ſacred Character of Ambaſſadors [6]. After this Harangue, which rather aſtoniſh'd the Multitude, than appeas'd them, he licens'd the Deputies to depart, and caus'd them to be convoy'd by the Auxiliary Troops.

XXXIV. During this Conſternation, *Germanicus* was generally blam'd, that he repair'd not to the Army on the *Upper*

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

6. The Perſon of an Ambaſſador is ſo Sacred, that it is more inviolable than even that of the Prince himſelf, who ſends him, would be, were he in the Places where he repreſents him. For a Prince, who is in the Territories of another, is but under the Security of the Laws of Hoſpitality, which make but a part of the Laws of Nations: But his Ambaſſador is under the Protection of the Laws of Nations themſelves, taken in the utmoſt Extent of their Signification, and of their Privileges, provided that he be not in a ſtrange Country, nor for his Pleaſure, nor for his own private Affairs, but for the common Good of the two States. The Rights of Ambaſſadors are even ſo great, that they efface thoſe which a Prince hath over his Natural Subjects. That is to ſay, a *French-man*, who ſhould be Ambaſſador from the King of *Spain*, or a *Spaniard*, who ſhould be Ambaſſador from the King of *France*, would efface and aboliſh, by his Character, the Juriſdiction, and all the Rights of Sovereignty which his Natural Prince had before over his Perſon. Local Cuſtoms, which ought to give Place to the Law of Nations, which is the Univerſal and Common Law of all People, who have a Form of Civil Government, in like manner as the Intereſt of private Men gives Place without contradiction to the publick Intereſt. And this is ſo true, that the Marquis *du Guaſt*, Governor of *Milan*, having cauſed to be aſſaſſinated on the *Po*, *Anthony Rinco*, a *Spaniard*, inveſted with the Quality of Ambaſſador from *Francis* the Firſt, who ſent him as ſuch to *Conſtantinople*; *Charles* the Fifth loudly diſowned this Action, and carefully avoided alledging amongſt the Excuſes, wherewith he coloured it, the Birth of *Rinco*, which he would not have failed to inſiſt on, had he believed that it was his Right to have recalled him as his Subject, and to have puniſhed him as a Deſerter, who had been condemned for Contumacy in *Spain*. Don *Juan Antonio de Vera*, to juſtifie this Action of the Governour of *Milan*, which the force of Truth makes him vindicate by halves, when he ſaith, *Strangers ſay ſo, and I am willing to believe it, becauſe it was much of his Character: Porque fue obra muy ſuya.* This Author, I ſay, complains of *John Bodin*, who making mention of the Death of *Rinco*, cunningly diſſembles, that this Ambaſſador was a *Spaniard*, that he might give a falſe Colour to this Action; adding, that if *Bodin* had ſpoken the whole Truth, it was evident and undoubted, that *Charles* the Fifth might judicially condemn and puniſh *Rinco* with Death, ſeeing that he was his natural Sovereign, and that no ſubſequent acquired Privilege could skreen him from the Puniſhment of his antecedent Treaſon. But this

Reaſon

Upper Rhine, where he might have found both Obedience and Aid againſt the Rebels. *Germanicus* (ſaid they) *has diſcover'd his Weakneſs, and his Fear, in rewarding the Revolters* [1]. *If he regarded not his own Safety, yet why ſhould he abandon his Infant Son* [2], *and his Wife with Child, to the Fury of thoſe Mutineers, to whom nothing is inviolable? He ought, at leaſt, to have reſtor'd thoſe Pledges to* Tiberius, *and to the Commonwealth.* After long Conſideration, he embrac'd his Wife and Son with many Tears, and order'd their departure: And though *Agrippina*, to avoid that mournful Separation, ſaid, That the Grand-daughter of *Auguſtus* had too much Courage to fear Danger [3], yet

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

Reaſon doth not deſtroy thoſe which I have alledged to the contrary. And the Example which Don *Juan Antonio* brings of *Joab*, whom *Solomon* cauſed to be ſlain at the Horns of the Altar, which he laid hold on, is not parallel to our Caſe, ſeeing that *Joab* was no Ambaſſador, as was *Rince*; nor *Rince* a wilful Murderer, as *Joab* was, (1 *King.* 2.) To conclude, the Example of *Joſhua*, who would not kill the *Gibeonites*, although they circumvented him in obtaining the League which they came to make with him, (*Joſh.c.*9.) may ſerve as a proper Anſwer to all the Reaſons of this *Spaniſh* Lord. *See his Epitome of the Life of* Charles *the Fifth, and the firſt Dialogue of his* Enoaxador.

1. When Mildneſs in a General is not ſeaſoned with Severity, it cures Mutineers of nothing but of Fear; whereas they ought to have Terror ſtruck into them, to reduce them to Obedience. The Inſtructions which *Philip* the Second gave in Writing to Don *Juan*, his Brother, when he ſent him to the War; expreſſly recommended to him in all his publick Actions to obſerve a *Decorum* ſuitable to his Birth, and to his Office of General, in appearing grave with Sweetneſs, that he might be beloved; and modeſt with Authority, that he might be reſpected. *Cabrera's Hiſtory, l.* 7. *c.* 23.

2. The firſt Thing which a General of an Army ought to do in a Sedition or a Revolt of Soldiers, is to put his Wife and Children in ſome place of Safety, for fear leſt the Mutineers, or the Rebels, ſeizing on their Perſons, ſo precious a Pledge might ſerve them as a Buckler againſt him, and conſtrain him to grant them Demands prejudicial to his own Reputation, and to the Authority of the Prince who employs him. In a word, every Thing muſt be taken from Soldiers that may augment or foment their Violence.

3. There is nothing which makes a Woman more courageous, than the ardent Love which ſhe hath for her Huſband. *Dona Juana Calleo*, the Wife of *Anthony Perez*, and *Mary de Regelsberg*, the Wife of the famous *Hugo Grotius*, are two great modern Examples: And when Hiſtory ſhall ſpeak of the Diſgrace of Monſieur the Surintendant *Fouquet*, it will not, it may be, forget to parallel his Wife with thoſe two Foreign Ladies.

yet at length she submitted to the Journey. It was a sad Spectacle, to see the Wife of a General, in the Equipage of a Fugitive, carrying a helpless Infant in her Arms, encompass'd with a Troop of other Women, all in Tears; and those who stay'd behind, as much afflicted, as those who went.

XXXV. These lamentable Outcries, which one would have thought had rather come from a sack'd City, than from the Camp of *Germanicus*, at that time in a flourishing Condition, excited the Curiosity of the Soldiers. They came forth from their Tents to learn the Cause. There they beheld so many Ladies of Illustrious Birth, without any Convoy or Guard to attend them; *Agrippina*, without her ordinary Train, or any one remaining Sign to distinguish the Wife of their General from other Women: And informing themselves, that she was going for *Treves*, there to seek a Sanctuary among Strangers, they were equally mov'd with Shame and Pity, by the dear Remembrance of her Father *Agrippa*, of her Grand-father *Augustus*, and of her Father-in-Law *Drusus*; by the Honour of her Fruitfulness, and her inviolable Chastity; and more particularly, by their Regret they had to see her carry away, in a manner so unworthy of her, her Infant Son who was born within their Camp, nurs'd, as it were, in the Bosom of the Legions, and call'd *Caligula*, because he wore the common Boots [u] of Soldiers, to gain their Affections in his very Childhood. But nothing was more grievous to them, than the Envy of that Honour, which was done to those of *Treves*. Some of them ran after her, and besought her to stay among them; others went to *Germanicus*, and importun'd him for her Return. But,

as

HISTORICAL NOTES.

[u] These Boots were trimmed with Nails, and were worn only by the common Soldiers. Wherefore, in Latin Authors, *Miles Caligatus* is synonymous to *Miles Gregarius*, or *Manipularis*.

[x] Tra-

as he was yet in the first Ferment of his Grief and Choler, he answer'd them in this manner.

XXXVI. 'Believe not, that my Wife and Son are 'dearer to me than the Emperour, and the Empire [1]. 'For my Father, his own Fortune will defend him; 'and the Empire [2] wants not other Armies, without this, 'for its Support. As I would freely sacrifice my Wife 'and Children for your Honour, so I remove them not 'at present from you, but to hinder you from becoming 'yet more guilty, by the Murder of *Augustus*'s Grand-'daughter, and the Grand-son of *Tiberius*; and to ex-'piate by my Blood alone, the Crime which your Fury 'is about to perpetrate. For what is it you have not 'dar'd

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. They who have the Management of publick Affairs, ought to prefer their Country to their Wives and Children. *Cari sint parentes*, (saith *Cicero*) *cari liberi, propinqui, familiares, sed omnes omnium caritates Patria una complexa est.* Lib. 1. *de Off.* There is, in *Mariana*'s History, a famous Example of what Governors and publick Ministers owe to their Country, in preference to their own Children. The Infant Don *Juan*, Brother of *Sancho* the Fourth, King of *Castille*, having besieged the Fortress of *Tarifa*, in which Don *Alonso Perez de Guzman* commanded, this General's only Son fell into the Hands of the Infant, the General of the *Moors* Army. The Besieged making a vigorous Defence, and the Infant beginning to lose all Hopes of taking the Place, he thought fit to expose to their Sight the young *Perez*, as a Victim to be slain, if they did not surrender. At this sad Spectacle, saith *Mariana*, the Father, without any Discomposure, protested, That if he had a thousand Sons, he would abandon them all, rather than stain his Honour, by surrendring the Place. And, to make good his Words, he threw over the Battlements of the Walls a Cuttle-Ax to the *Moors*, to make use of it against his Son, if their Design was such, and went away to Dinner. A little while after hearing the Outcries of the Soldiers, who saw their Master's Son executed before their Eyes, he ran at the Noise, and understanding what was the matter, he said with a Majestick Air, *I thought that the Enemies had entred the Town*; and returned to eat with his Wife, without discovering so much as any Alteration in his Countenance. So well did this Lord (worthy to be compared with the greatest Men of Antiquity) know how to master the impetuous Motions of Paternal Tenderness. From him are descended the Dukes of *Medina Sidonia*. *The History of Spain*, *l.* 14. *c.* 16.

2. These Words seem to contain a Sense, from which we may infer, that *Germanicus* did not refuse the Empire, but because it would have been dangerous to accept it, the other Armies and the other Provinces being faithful to *Tiberius*.

4. A

'dar'd to Enterprize of late? What is there ſo Sacred, 'which you have not preſum'd to violate. By what 'Name can I call you, Soldiers? You who have be-'ſieg'd the Son of your Emperour, or *Roman* Citizens, 'who have, with ſo much Inſolence, contemn'd the Au-'thority of the Senate? You have profan'd even the 'ſacred Laws of Nations, even the inviolable Perſons 'of Ambaſſadors [3], even the common Rights obſerv'd 'by Enemies. The Divine *Julius* ſtifled a Sedition 'by one ſingle Word, when he call'd his Soldiers (who 'were deſerting his Service [4]) *Rabble.* The Divine 'Au-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. To affront Perſons who repreſent Kings, ſaith Cardinal *d'Oſſat*, is to offend againſt the firſt Principles of the Policy, and Maintenance of Human Society. *Letter* 283.

4. A ſeaſonable Reproach given by a Prince, or a General of an Army, to People who have ſome Senſe of Honour, or who begin to feel ſome Pricks of Repentance, is ſufficient quickly to reduce them to their Duty, and to make them alſo more affectionate than ever to his Service. The Priſoners of the Army of the League of *Smalkald* imploring the Mercy of *Charles* the Fifth, by calling him their Father: *Such paultry Fellows as you*, ſaid he, *are no Children of mine*; and added, (pointing to his Camp) *It is theſe of whom I am the true Father.* Words which equally augmented the Shame of the Rebels, and the Love of the Soldiers of his Army, and were the cauſe, that moſt of the Cities, which took part with the League, returned to their Obedience; and that a certain Count, who thought his Repentance was not equivalent to his Fault, kill'd himſelf with his Sword, to give an undoubted Teſtimony of his Fidelity. *Epitome of the Life of Charles the Fifth, by Don Juan de Vera.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

x *Tradite noſtra viris ignavi ſigna Quirites.* Whilſt *Ceſar* was preparing for the War of *Africa*, whither *Curio* and *Cato*, Sirnamed *Uticenſis*, were retired; the Soldiers, who ſaw he ſtood in need of them, thought fit to demand their Diſmiſſion, not with a deſign to obtain it, but to oblige him, for fear of being left without an Army, to grant them whatſoever they pretended to. But he, without any Concern, diſcharged them from their Oath, and disbanded them with theſe Words of Contempt: *Etenim, O Quirites, laboribus & vulneribus exhauſti eſtis*; at which, they were ſo ſurprized, that they threw themſelves at his Feet, to beg him to continue them in his Service. *Dio, l.* 42. He did an Action of like Reſolution at the Battel of *Munda*, in the Kingdom of *Granada*, where ſeeing the Victory inclining to the Enemy's ſide, he alighted off his Horſe, and, cried out to his Soldiers, who gave Ground, *That, as for himſelf, he would not give Ground an*

'*Auguſtus* made his Actian-Legions y tremble only with
'a Look. And though I am unworthy to be nam'd
'with them, yet having the Honour to be deſcended
'from their Loins z, I ſhould think it ſtrange, and even
'unjuſt, that the Armies of *Spain* and *Syria* ſhould de-
'ſpiſe me: But what ſhall I ſay! they are the Fifth and
'the Twentieth Legion which have revolted! the one
'of them, inroll'd by the Hand of *Tiberius* himſelf; and
'the other, the conſtant Companion of his Victories,
'and enrich'd by his Bounties! And, to do you Right,
'you have both made him in return, a wonderful Ac-
'knowledgment of his Favours. Shall I be the Bearer
'of ſuch News to him, who receives none but happy
'Ti-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

5. The more illuſtrious Extraction a Perſon is of, the more the great Actions of his Anceſtors give him confuſion, if he doth not imitate them. As theſe Actions ſerve for Examples to others, they lay an indiſpenſible Obligation upon him, who hath their Blood in his Veins, to tread in their Steps. He who boaſts of their great Deeds without imitating them, is ſo far from doing himſelf Honour, that he makes the Difference that is between them and him taken notice of. Amongſt the *Romans*, the Statues and Pictures of illuſtrious Perſons were ſet up in the entrances of Houſes, to put their Poſterity in mind, that they had a great void Space to fill up, and that as many Images as they ſaw, would be ſo many Cenſors and Syndics, which would brand them with Infamy, if they ſhould degenerate. *Boleſlaus* the Chaſt, Prince of *Poland*, wore a Gold Medal about his Neck, with his Father's Effigies engraved upon it, and every time he held a Council, or went upon an Expedition, he kiſſed it with Reſpect, ſaying to his Father, as if he had been preſent, *God forbid, that I ſhould do any thing unworthy of your great Name.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

an Inch; that they ſhould conſider well what they were about to do; what a General they abandon'd, and in what Neceſſity. Inſomuch, that being ſpurr'd on by Shame, rather than by Honour, they rallied, and gain'd the Battel. *Patercul. Hiſt. c. 55.* It was in that Battel that he fought for his Life, whereas in others he fought but for the Victory.

y After the Battel of *Actium*, *Auguſtus* having ſent back moſt of the *Veterans* into *Italy*, without giving them any Rewards, theſe Soldiers being much diſcontented mutiny'd, whilſt he was employ'd in *Aſia* in obſerving the Steps of *Mark Anthony*: But after he was returned into *Italy*, his Preſence brought ſuch an Awe with it, that none durſt ſtir. *Exſtitum eſt*, ſaith *Dio*, *ut nemo, rem novam tentare auderet.* Lib. 51.

z He

'Tidings from all the other Provinces? Shall I tell him, 'that his Soldiers, as well the *Veterans*, as the new Recruits, are not to be quieted, either by their Diſcharge, 'or by their Pay? That 'tis here they kill Centurions; 'drive away Tribunes; impriſon Legates: That the 'Camp and Rivers are overflow'd with Blood; and that 'his Son is at the Mercy of as many Enemies, as he has 'Soldiers? Ah, my once dear Fellow-Soldiers! why 'did did you ſnatch away that Sword, which I was 'plunging into my Body? He, of your Number, was 'my beſt Friend, who preſented me his own. I had 'now been dead; I had not been a Witneſs of ſo many 'Crimes, with which you have ſtain'd your Honour ſince that Day! You had choſen another General, who would have left my Death unpuniſh'd, but 'in return, would have reveng'd the Maſſacre of *Varus*, 'and his three Legions. For I ſhould be ſorry, (for 'your Honour) that the *Belgæ*, who make offer of 'their Service, ſhould have the Glory of reducing the *Germans* to Obedience, and reſtoring the Reputation 'of the *Romans*. Oh! that thy Soul, Divine *Auguſtus*, 'now in Heaven, and thou, Oh my Father *Druſus*! 'whoſe Reſemblance I behold in theſe Enſigns! Oh 'that the Remembrance of theſe Actions may inſpire 'theſe very Soldiers, who now begin to feel the Stings 'of Shame, and Spurs of Glory, with a Reſolution of 'blotting out that foul Diſgrace, and of turning their 'Swords againſt our Enemies! And you, in whoſe alter'd Countenances I read another Heart, in ſign, 'that you will pay your Emperour the Obedience 'which you owe to him; and to the Senate, to their 'Ambaſſadors, to your General, to his Wife, and to 'his Son; ſeparate your ſelves from the Company of 'theſe Mutineers, as a Pledge of your Fidelity, and an 'authentick Teſtimony of your ſincere Repentance.

XXXVII. At this, they threw themſelves before his Feet; and confeſſing, that his Reproaches were all deſerv'd and juſt, they beſought him to puniſh the Offenders;

fenders; to pardon thoſe, who had only err'd through Frailty; and to lead them on to Battle: As alſo, to recal his Wife, and not to give in Hoſtage to the *Gauls* the Nurſling of the Legions. He excus'd himſelf as to what regarded *Agrippina*, by her being ſo near her Time of Childbed, and by the approach of Winter; as for his Son, he conſented to recal him; adding, that he left them to finiſh what remain'd. From that moment they began to ſeize on the moſt Seditious, and brought them bound in Fetters to *Caius Cetronius*, who commanded the firſt Legion[a]; and he caus'd immediate Juſtice to be done on them in this manner: The Legions encompaſs'd his Tribunal with their naked Swords; A Tribune[a] from above ſhew'd the Soldier who was accus'd, to thoſe below; if the Aſſembly pronounc'd him guilty, he was immediately caſt down, in order to be executed; and every one took pleaſure in killing his Camerade, as if thereby he clear'd his own Innocence[b]. *Germanicus* was ſilent while this was paſſing; ſo that nothing being done by his Command, the whole Hatred of the Maſſacre fell upon the Actors. The *Veterans* follow'd this Example, and ſoon after were commanded into *Rhetia*, under colour of defending that Province from the Incurſions of the *Suevæ*, but in reality, to remove them from a Camp, the very ſight of which rais'd Horrour in them, becauſe it ſet the Image of their late Revolt before their Eyes. Then *Germanicus* made a ſtrict Enquiry into the Conduct of the Centurions: He examin'd them one by one; each of them was oblig'd to

HISTORICAL NOTES.

a He was as a Brigadier in our Armies; for our Brigades of Foot much reſemble the *Roman* Legions, and the Battalions, which compoſe them, their Cohorts, of which the Legions were compoſed. The *Roman* Cohorts conſiſted of betwixt 5 or 600 Men, when the Legion was well ſupplied; our Battalions are 800 Men. In every Legion, there were 10 Cohorts; in every Brigade, there are always 5 or 6 Battalions.

a That is to ſay, a Colonel.

b Every one thought to merit his Pardon, by killing his Companion.

c Ordo

to tell his Name; his Country; what [c] Company he commanded; how long he had ſerv'd; what Actions he had done in War; and they, who had been honour'd with any Military Preſents, ſhew'd them. In ſhort, if any Legion, or any Tribune, gave a good Account of their Probity and Diligence, they were continued in their Stations; and, on the contrary, he degraded thoſe who were accus'd by common Fame, either of Covetouſneſs, or of Cruelty: And in this manner the Sedition was appeas'd.

XXXVIII. But what was yet remaining on his Hands, in reference to the Fifth and Twenty-firſt Legion, was not of leſs Importance. Thoſe Legions had their Winter Quarters Sixty Miles from thence, in a Place call'd *Vetera* [d]. The Sedition was begun by them; there was no Crime ſo heinous, which they had not committed; and, to compleat their Villany, they were ſtill for puſhing on their Fury to the utmoſt; nothing frighted with the Puniſhment of ſome; nothing mov'd with Remorſe, or with the Penitence of others. *Germanicus* therefore gave his Orders to prepare Veſſels on the *Rhine*; reſolving to terrifie them into Duty, in caſe they perſiſted in their Diſobedience.

XXXIX. The News of this Revolt amongſt the Legions being come to *Rome*, before the Event of the other in *Pannonia* was known, the City, ſtruck with Fear, began to murmur againſt *Tiberius*; accuſing him, that while he by his artificial Delays and Diſſimulations was ſtill impoſing on the People and the Senate, which were both of them unarm'd, and without Power, in the mean time the Soldiers were raiſing a Rebellion: They ſaid, that the two young Princes, for want of Knowledge and Authority, could not hold the Armies in Obedience:

HISTORICAL NOTES.

c *Ordo* in *Tacitus*.
d As much as to ſay, *Vetera Caſtra*, the old Camp.

e Fo

dience: It was his Duty to go in Perſon thither, and oppoſe the Majeſty of the Empire to the Mutineers; who would never dare to make Head againſt a Prince, of conſummate Wiſdom and Experience; and who alone had their Life and Death at his Diſpoſe; that *Auguſtus*, in his declining Age, and languiſhing with Sickneſs, had taken many Journeys into *Germany*; and that *Tiberius*, now in the Vigour of his Years, led a ſedentary Life at *Rome*, and employ'd his Time in cavilling at the Expreſſions of the Senators; that he very ſufficiently provided for domeſtick Slavery; that it was now incumbent on him, to reſtrain the Licenſe of the Soldiers, and teach them how to behave themſelves in Peace [1].

XL. *Tiberius* was unmov'd at theſe [e] Diſcourſes [1]; having

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Soldiers cannot love Peace, becauſe it confounds them with the Citizens, and ſubjects them to the Laws, from which they ſet themſelves at liberty with Impunity in time of War. *Militares artes per otium ignotæ, induſtrioſque ac ignavas pax in æquo tenet.* Ann. 12. The Citizens, ſaith Sir *W. Temple*, pretend to live in ſafety under the Protection of the Laws, which the Soldiers would ſubject to their Sword, and to their Will. *Chap. of his Remarks on the United Provinces.*

1. An able Prince ought not to take his Meaſures from what the People ſay, who always ſpeak by a Paſſion. *Non ex rumore ſtatuendum.* Ann. 3. It is a good Commendation, which *Tacitus* gives *Tiberius*, that he was always a great Enemy to the Reports of the Town. *Tiberium ſpernendis Rumoribus validum.* An. 3. So that *Paterculus* ought not to be ſuſpected of Flattery, in ſaying, That he was an excellent Judge of what he ought to do, and that he embraced not what the Multitude

HISTORICAL NOTES.

e *Fabius Maximus*, whoſe Method was not to fight, ſlighted thoſe envious Perſons, who in a Jeer called him *The Temporiſer*, and *Hannibal's Pædagogue*, ſaying, That it was greater Cowardice to fear the Judgments of the People, than to fear the Enemy. But all Captains (ſaith *Livy*, *l.* 4.) have not that ſtrength of Mind which *Fabius* had, who would rather unjuſtly ſuffer the diminution of his Authority, than do otherwiſe than what was his Duty, to gain the Approbation of the People. *Seneca* ſaith, That there is nothing more ridiculous, than a Man who ſtands in fear of what others will ſay of him. *Nil ſtultius eſt homine verba metuente.* Contradiction, in ſtead of ſhocking, doth but fortifie and harden a reſolved Mind.

f Through

having fix'd his Resolutions, not to leave the Seat of Empire [z], or put to hazard his own Life, or the Safety of the Commonwealth. His Mind was perplex'd with many

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

titude did approve, but what they ought to approve: For, saith he, he was more concerned for his Duty, than for his Reputation; and the Army never directed the Counsels, and the Designs of the General, but the General always gave Laws to his Army. *Gb.* 113, & 115. *Aunirato* saith, That Princes who disquiet themselves with the Judgments of the People, fall into the same Error with those who scruple certain Things which are not sinful; for as the Scrupulous sin by the Opinion which they have of sinning, altho they have not sinn'd; so Princes, who are concerned to hear the People blame what they have done, or are doing with good Counsel, and thorough Information, shew that they have not acted upon certain Principles, but by false Prejudices. *Disc.* 7. *of l.* 3. A Baron of *Chevreau*, who served in *Flanders* under the Duke of *Alva*, perceiving that the Duke would not hazard a Battel, which the Officers judged convenient to fight, threw his Pistol in Anger on the Ground, saying, "The Duke "will never fight. To whom the Duke (who had heard him) answered, *That he was pleased to see the Desire which the Soldiers had to fight the Enemy, because their Profession required it; but that a General ought to consider nothing but conquering.* It is ordinary for Soldiers, (saith the Author who furnishes me with this Example) to desire to fight, to get Reputation by shewing their Courage; but the Reputation of Generals depends upon knowing how to conquer without losing a Soldier, if it be possible; and, consequently, not to fight, unless they are invited to it by the Necessity of relieving a Place, or by a most certain Advantage. Thus they ought never to comply with the Will of the Soldiers, if Reason doth not absolutely require it; for a Captain hath never suffer'd himself to be prevail'd on by the Discourses and Importunities of his Army, but he hath been afterwards beaten by his Enemies. *Bernard. de Mendoza's Memoirs, l.* 4. *c.* 18.

z. The capital City of a Kingdom, according to *Tacitus*, is the Centre and Helm of Affairs, *Caput Rerum*, and consequently, the Prince's Presence is most necessary there, especially in the beginning of a Reign. If the Great *Pompey* had not left *Rome*, where he was the strongest, *Cæsar* would have had a great Difficulty to have entred it. *Philip* the Second consulting in his Council, Whether he should go into *Flanders*, Don *John Mauriquez de Lara* said wisely, That the War being in a remote Country, the King ought not to leave the Heart of his Kingdom, whence issued out the Strength and the Preservation of all the other Parts. *Cabrera's Philip the Second, l.* 7. *c.* 7. In the Year 1591, the City of *Saragossa* having made an Insurrection against him about the Privileges of the Tribunal, which they call *El Justitia*, he would never go thither, although the People of *Madrid*, and several even of the Grandees aggravated the Danger; and when they had reported to him what every one said of him on this Occasion, he answered, That it was not agreable to the Grandeur of the Monarchy, that the Prince, for a rebellious City, should quit that, whence he gave Motion to his whole Empire. *Herrera's Second Part of his History, l.* 7. *c.* 20. No Reason of State, nor of War, saith *Cabrera*, requires, that a King should

many Cares, and contrary Thoughts. The *German* Army was the ſtronger, and the *Pannonian* nearer *Rome*; one was ſupported by the *Gauls*, and the other had an eaſie Paſſage into *Italy* [f]. To which of theſe ſhould he go firſt? For the Legions, which were laſt viſited, would take Offence, and think themſelves neglected. On the other ſide, by ſending his two Sons, both Armies might be at once contented, and the Majeſty of the Supream Power preſerved, which is always moſt reſpected at a diſtance. Beſides, that *Germanicus* and *Druſus* might be held excus'd, if they ſent extravagant Demands from the Legions to their Father, who would ſtill be in condition either to appeaſe, or puniſh the Rebellious, when ever they ſhould tranſgreſs the Limits of Reſpect to the young Princes; but if they ſhould once deſpiſe the Perſon of the Emperour, what other Remedy remain'd? In the mean time, he neglected not to prepare a Fleet to provide his Equipage, and ſet on foot an Army of choice Soldiers, as if they were to follow him to the Wars, and he juſt upon the March. But ſometimes he excus'd his Journey by the approach of Winter, and at other Times by

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

ſhould hazard his Perſon, becauſe neither Vigilance nor Fortune are ſufficient Guarantees for the Safety of Princes, who ought not to ground their Deliberations on the Weakneſs of others, but upon their own Strength: *l.* 12. *c.* 29. Don *Juan Antonio de Vera* ſaith on the contrary, That *Charles* the Fifth had never found a more effectual Remedy againſt Seditions and Inſurrections, than to go thither in Perſon; and that thoſe who are of the other Opinion, upon the Maxim of *Tiberius*, don't conſider the Difference that there is betwixt a Monarchy and a Commonwealth; [*i. e.* What is ſafe for a Commonwealth, is pernicious to a Monarchy.] *Epitome of the Life of Charles the Fifth.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

[f] Through the Cities of *Newport* and *Tergeſta*, now *Trieſt*, which border on *Pannonia*. *Italiam* (ſaith *Paterculus*) *junctam ſibi Norporti ac Tergeſtis cognit.* Hiſt. 2. c. 120.

by the multiplicity of Buſineſs; which interven'd: By which Pretences he at firſt impos'd on the moſt Intelligent, then on the Vulgar, and for a long time kept the Provinces in ſuſpence [g].

XLI. But *Germanicus*, though he had aſſembled his Forces, and was in a condition to puniſh the Offenders, yet thought it more expedient to give them leiſure to Repent, and make Trial, if, by the Example of the two other Legions, they would prevent his Vengeance. In order to this, he wrote firſt to *Cecina*, and gave him notice, that he was already on his march with a powerful Army, fully determin'd to put all the Rebels to the Sword, without ſparing the Life of any one, if they themſelves did not Juſtice on the Criminals before his arrival. *Cecina* read theſe Letters privately to the Chief Com-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. A Prince, who knows he is hated by his People, can never commit a greater Error, than in leaving his capital City; for if that once come to ſhake off the Yoke in his Abſence, he immediately loſes his whole State. The Complaints, which *Tacitus* ſaith, that the whole City of *Rome* made againſt *Tiberius*, ſufficiently ſhew, how much his Preſence there was a Burden to the Senate and to the People, and conſequently, he did very wiſely not to remove thence. If *Henry* Duke of *Guiſe*, who hath ſo highly extoll'd his Capacity in the Memoirs which he hath left us of his Government of *Naples*, had read *Tacitus*, perhaps he would not have been guilty of the Folly of going out of this City to give a Meeting to a Lady, who ſold him to the *Spaniards*.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

g *Philip* the Second, King of *Spain*, uſed the ſame Artifice, ſending word to *Margaret* of *Parma*, Governeſs of the Low-Countries, that every thing was ready for his Voyage, and that nothing retarded him but a Tertian Ague, and for which alſo, he would not ſtay till he was cured, although he was ready to die of it. *Strada*, *dec.* 1. *l.* 5. He communicated the ſame Advice to all Princes, and demanded a Paſſport of the King of *France*, and Counſel of the Duke of *Savoy* what Road was beſt to take. The whole Sixth Book of *Strada*'s Hiſtory is full of theſe Feints, and Pretences which *Philip* made uſe of to elude his own Promiſes, and the Entreaties of the Governeſs, and his other Miniſters. But there was this difference betwixt him and *Tiberius*, that this Emperour ſent his Sons to his revolted Armies, and that *Phillip* feared nothing more, than to hear any Diſcourſe of ſending his Son Don *Carlos* into *Flanders*, and repented much that he had ſent thither Don *John* of *Auſtria*, his Natural Brother.

Commanders [b], and to ſome others, who had no Hand in the Sedition, at the ſame time adjuring them to preſerve themſelves from Death, and ſave their Companions from the Infamy of that Puniſhment which attended them. Repreſenting alſo to them, that Reaſon might be heard in Times of Peace, but in War the Innocent periſh'd with the Guilty. Upon this, the Officers found the Intentions of thoſe Soldiers whom they thought moſt proper for the Execution of their Deſign, and finding that the greater Number ſtill continu'd Loyal, they agree with *Cecina*, on a Time appointed, to put to Death the moſt Seditious. The Signal being given, they fall at once upon the Factious, and execute them in their Tents, none but the Contrivers, and Aſſiſtants in the Action, knowing from whence began the Slaughter, nor when it would conclude.

XLII. Of all the Civil Wars which ever were, none reſembled this. It was not in Battle, nor by the Hands of Enemies, that this Maſſacre was made; but by Men, who the ſame Day convers'd familiarly, and eat in Company, and at Night were lodg'd together in one Bed [i]. On the ſudden they are divided into Parties oppoſite; nothing but Outcries and Bloodſhed, the reſt was govern'd by blind Chance, and the cauſe of Enmity unknown by thoſe who periſh'd. Many fell who deſerv'd not Death; for the Guilty had taken Arms in their own Defence, when once they found on whom the Slaughter was deſign'd. Neither *Cecina*, nor the Tribunes, gave them-

HISTORICAL NOTES.

b. Tacitus ſaith, *Aquiliferis ſigniferiſque*, *i. e.* the Enſign-Colonels, who carried the Eagles of their Legions; and the Enſigns of the Cohorts, who carried Wolves, Vultures, Lions, Dragons, Centaurs, Minotaurs, and other Figures in Relief, of Copper, Caſt Braſs, or Silver.

i There happen'd in my Time a like Adventure at *Venice* betwixt the *Skiri* and the Guards appointed for Entries, who having been condemned to Baniſhment for having ſhot with their Carbines at the *French* Ambaſſador's Watermen, endeavoured to kill one another, that they might obtain their Pardon by bringing the Heads of their Companions.

themſelves the Trouble to ſtop their Fury; the common Soldiers had all manner of Freedom to exerciſe their Vengeance, till they were tir'd with killing. *Germanicus* ſoon after enter'd the Camp, and beholding ſo many Corps extended on the Ground, ſaid with many Tears, That this was not a Remedy, nor the breathing of a Vein, but a Butchery; and commanded the Bodies to be burn'd. While their Minds were in this Ferment, the Soldiers cried out to be led againſt the Enemy, as if the *Manes* of thoſe, whom they had ſlain, were to be appeas'd no other way, than by expoſing their impious Breaſts to honeſt Wounds. *Germanicus* gratifies their Deſire, and having laid a Bridge acroſs the *Rhine*, paſſes over Twelve thouſand Legionary Soldiers, Twenty ſix Cohorts of the Allies, and Eight Regiments of Horſe, all of try'd Valour, and of Proof againſt Sedition.

XLIII. The *Germans*, who were not far diſtant, paſs'd their Time ſecure in Pleaſure, while the War ſeem'd to ſleep about them; and a Ceſſation of Arms enſu'd of courſe, from the Death of *Auguſtus*, and a Civil Diſcord amongſt our ſelves. The *Romans*, by ſpeedy Marches, croſs'd the Foreſt of *Ceſia*[k], and poſted their Forces on a Rampart, which *Tiberius* had begun to raiſe in the time of *Auguſtus*; there they fortifi'd themſelves, both before and behind, with a ſtrong Paliſade: Both their Wings were cover'd by huge Trunks of Trees which they had fell'd, and which ſerv'd them for a Barricade. From thence, traverſing thick Foreſts, they held a Council, which way they ſhould bend their March: The ſhorteſt, and moſt frequented; or that which was fartheſt about, and more difficult to paſs; but where they thought the Enemy would not attend them. The Reaſons for the longer Way prevail'd, but all the reſt was perform'd with haſte; for their Scouts brought back Intelligence, that

HISTORICAL NOTES.

k In the Territories of *Munſter*.

l The

that the *Germans* ſolemniz'd a Feaſt that Night with publick Rejoycing. *Cecina* was commanded to advance with the Cohorts without their Baggage, and to free a Paſſage through the Foreſt, by cutting down and removing all Incumbrances. The Legions follow'd at ſome diſtance; the Night was clear and calm, and favourable to the March. They enter'd the Village of the *Marſi*, which they encompaſs'd with Corps-de-Guard. They found the *Germans*, either aſleep in Bed, or laid along by their Tables ſides, without Sentinels, or the leaſt ſuſpicion of an Enemy; ſo great was their Confidence, or their Neglect. They thought themſelves ſecure of War, yet it was not properly a ſtate of Peace, but rather a ſtupid Debauch, and a Lethargick Reſt.

XLIV. To make the Waſte yet greater, *Germanicus* divided his Forces into four Battalions, who breath'd nothing but Revenge [l], ſetting the Country on Fire for fifty Miles about, and putting all the Inhabitants to the Sword, neither ſparing Age or Sex, or Sacred Places or Profane. The famous Temple call'd *Tanfane* [m], was raz'd to the Foundations; and all this perform'd by ours, without receiving any Wound, having met no oppoſition; no Enemies, but Men half aſleep, diſarm'd, or wandring about the Fields. This Maſſacre awaken'd the *Bructeri* [n], the *Tubantes* [o], and the *Uſipetes* [p], who incamp'd themſelves in certain Foreſts, through which the Army, in their return, was of neceſſity to paſs. The Auxiliary Cohorts, and one half of the Horſe, compos'd the

HISTORICAL NOTES.

l The *Romans* had conceived a moſt deep Reſentment againſt the *Marſi*, becauſe they had contributed, more than all the reſt, to the Defeat of *Varus*, who with his Legions was alſo buried amongſt them, in the Foreſt of *Teutberg*.

m This was the moſt magnificent Temple of all *Germany*, dedicated to the *Origine of Things*, which could be no other than the Supreme Being.

n People between the *Ems* and the *Rhine*, Neighbours of *Friſeland*.

o People of *Weſtphalia*, on the River *Ems*.

p People, who inhabited along the *Lippe*. The *Tubantes*, and the *Marſi*, are now the Country of *Cleves* and *Guelderland*.

the Van: The First Legion march'd after them, incloſing the Baggage in the midſt; the Twenty firſt Legion march'd on the Left Wing; the Fifth on the Right; and the Twentieth in the Rear, with the reſt of the Allies. The Enemy mov'd not, till they ſaw the main Body enter'd into the Wood; then they began a light Skirmiſh on the Front and Wings, pouring with their Groſs upon the Rear. The Cohorts, who were all Light-Horſemen, already bent before the cloſs Body of the *Germans*, not being able to ſuſtain the Charge, when *Germanicus* ſpurring his Horſe at ſpeed, came up with the Twentieth Legion, and cry'd aloud, That now was the Time for them to waſh away the Stain of their late Sedition; bid them haſte to redeem their Honour, and turn their Offence into Merit, their Infamy to Glory. At theſe Words, their Courage was kindl'd to that height, that at the firſt Charge they broke the Enemy, drove them headlong back into the Plain, and there made a terrible Execution. At the ſame time, the Van-Guard got clear of the Foreſt, and haſted to Retrench. After this, the Way was free, and the Soldiers went into their Winter Quarters, highly pleas'd with their Expedition, and putting all that was paſt into Oblivion.

XLV. When *Tiberius* had Intelligence of this, it fill'd him with exceſs of Joy; but the Pleaſure was not ſo ſincere, as not to be mix'd with great Diſturbance. He rejoyc'd that the Sedition was wholly quench'd, but it ſtung him that *Germanicus* had the Glory of it [1]; and more, that he had entirely gain'd the Affections of the Sol-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Such is the nature of Envy, that out of Actions which deſerve Praiſe and Reward, it contrives the Ruine of the Authors; ſo that great Captains, and great Men, always run the riſque of being blamed and cenſured for ill Succeſſes, or of being envy'd and ſuſpected of a dangerous Ambition on occaſion of good Ones. Don *Carlos Coloma*, whoſe Reflection this is, ſaith, That the Duke of *Guiſe* having gained the Battel of *Auneau* in *Beauſſe* againſt the *Reitres* and the *Suiſſe*, who were ſent as Succours to the *Huguenots*, *Henry* the Third pretended to be

Soldiers by his Bounty [2]; and above all, by giving them their Diſcharge ſo ſoon. Yet he was not wanting to relate to the Senate his Exploits, and to give large Commendations to his Valour; but in Terms too much affected and labour'd, to be thought ſincere [q]. He ſpoke more ſparingly of *Druſus*, and of the Succeſs of his Voyage into *Illyria*; but it was with more Frankneſs, and more Love; and beſides, he order'd the ſame Conditions to be made for the Legions in *Pannonia*, which *Germanicus* had granted to his own.

XLVI. In

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

be glad of this good Succeſs, but by what followed, it was evident that it was not what he deſired. *L.* 1. *of his Hiſtory of the Wars of Flanders.* The Cardinal *Mazarin* rejoyced that Monſieur the Prince had opened the Way for his return to *Paris*, upon which depended his Eſtabliſhment in *France*; but his Joy was allay'd with jealouſie of the great Actions of this Prince, to whom he offered the Command of the Army in *Flanders*, to remove ſo dangerous a Rival from Court. *Memoirs of M. de la Rochef.*

2. The Largeſſes which are given to the Soldiers, by a General who is hated by the Prince, and who hath Pretenſions to the Crown, paſs for ſo many Corruptions, and, by conſequence, for ſo many Crimes; and, particularly, when the General hath a great Military Reputation. The Enemies of the Duke of *Guiſe*, (ſaith *Coloma*, *ibid.*) ſaid, That the manner after which he had made the War, and the Money which he diſperſed into all Hands, (which was not the Cuſtom of the *French*) ſufficiently ſhew'd whence his Money came, and what were the Deſigns of him who ſent it him; that he could never take a better Pretext, than that of Religion, to mount the Throne by the aſſiſtance of the King of *Spain*; that *Hugh Capel* aſcended it, although his Right was leſs than that of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, only becauſe the Command of the Army was left to him; that *Henry* the Third nouriſhed Vipers in his Boſom; that if he any longer deferred the Remedy of the Evils which threatned him, he would ſee his Fault, when it was too late. It is worth obſerving by the way, that *Coloma* himſelf believed, that the Duke of *Guiſe* had ſold himſelf to the King of *Spain*, when he ſaith, That the Commander *John Moreo*, who managed the Money which *Philip* the Second diſtributed in *France*, ſo entirely gained this Duke, that he became wholly *Spaniſh*. *L.* 3. *of the Jarre Hiſtory.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

q It was his Deſire, that they ſhould believe that he exceeded in the Praiſes of *Germanicus*, thereby to leſſen all the great Things which he had ſaid of him. *Peſſimum inimicorum genus laudantes.*

XLVI. In the ſame Year died *Julia*, the Daughter of *Auguſtus* [r], whom, for her Incontinence, he had formerly confin'd to the Iſle of *Pandataria* [s], and afterwards to *Rhegium*, near the Coaſt of *Sicily*. During the Life of *Caius*, and *Lucius Agrippa*, her Sons, ſhe had been given in ſecond Marriage to *Tiberius*, whom ſhe deſpis'd, as a Man below her Quality [t]; and this was the principal Occaſion of the Retirement of *Tiberius* to *Rhodes*. But when he ſucceeded to the Empire, not content to behold her baniſh'd, diſhonour'd, and, by the Death of *Agrippa Poſthumus*, depriv'd not only of all Hopes, but of all Support, he caus'd her to die in Want and Miſery; imagining, that the diſtance of the Place to which ſhe was

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Unequal Marriages are almoſt always unfortunate, eſpecially thoſe of Gentlemen with Princeſſes of the Royal Blood. For commonly theſe Princeſſes will make up this Inequality at the Expence of the Honour, or the Eſtate, of their Husbands: And it is of them, that it is truly ſaid, That Majeſty and Love never dwell together. Add hereto, that the infinite Reſpect which they exact upon the account of their Rank, is inſupportable to Husbands, who have reaſon to be highly diſpleaſed at Irregularities, which they dare not take notice of. We ought therefore to obſerve the Precept of the Wiſe Man of *Greece*, who adviſes not to marry a Wife of too great Riches, or too high a Birth, for fear of having a Maſter in ſtead of a Companion; or, as an old Poet ſaid wittily, for fear of meeting with a Husband in ſtead of a Wife.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

r *Julia* (ſaith *Paterculus*) utterly forgetting that ſhe was *Auguſtus*'s Daughter, and *Tiberius*'s Wife, gave herſelf up to all manner of Debaucheries which a Woman was capable of, how ſhameful and infamous ſoever. She meaſured the Greatneſs of her Fortune by Licentiouſneſs and Impunity. Her Adulterers were *Julius Antonius*, the Son of *Mark Anthony*, and Husband of *Marcella*, *Auguſtus*'s Niece; *Quintius Criſpinus*, *Appius Claudius*, *Sempronius Gracchus*, and *Scipio*, beſides ſome others of leſs Quality. *Hiſt.* 2. *c.* 100. She had four Children by *Agrippa* her ſecond Husband, three Sons, and one Daughter, who inherited her Name and her Manners. *Sueton* ſaith, That when ſhe was the Wife of *Marcellus*, ſhe had a great Paſſion for *Tiberius*; as it is the way of Coquets, and lewd Women, always to love another better than their own Husband. *Seneca* ſaith, That *Auguſtus* perceiving too late the Error he had committed in publiſhing the Infamy of his Daughter by baniſhing her, ſaid with Grief, That all this would not have befallen him, if *Agrippa* or *Mecenas* had been alive.

s Now *Pianoſa*, in the Bay of *Pouzzoli*.

t Theſe

was baniſh'd would hide the manner of her Death. *Sempronius Gracchus* was likewiſe ſlain on her Account. *Gracchus*, who was of a ready Wit and Eloquent, with Cunning and Inſinuation had debauch'd *Julia*, during her Marriage with *Agrippa*; and his Gallantry with that Lady ended not with her firſt Husband's Death, for he continu'd her perpetual Adulterer even after her Marriage with *Tiberius*. He was continually provoking her againſt her Husband, and encourag'd her to Diſobedience. It was alſo thought, that he was the Author of thoſe Letters, which ſhe writ to her Father againſt *Tiberius*, and which occaſion'd his Diſgrace. For theſe Reaſons, he was confin'd to an *African* Iſland, call'd *Cercina*, where he remain'd in Exile 14 Years. He was found by the Soldiers, who were ſent to kill him, on a Prominence at a little diſtance from the Shore; and preſaging no Good from their Arrival. He deſir'd ſome little Time to write his Laſt Will to his Wife *Alliaria*, after which, he freely offer'd them his Head. A Conſtancy, not unworthy of the *Sempronian* Name, though he had degenerated from it by the Voluptuouſneſs of his Life [2]. Some have written, that thoſe Soldiers were not ſent from *Rome*, but from *Lucius Aſprenas*, Proconſul of *Africa*, on whom *Tiberius* thought, in vain, to have caſt the Odium of that Murder [3].

XLVII. This

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. Men are never throughly known till their Deaths. All the Stains of a Voluptuous and Irregular Life, are effaced by a Generous Death. The Count *de Chalais* did himſelf as great Honour by his Death, at which he called upon God to the Twentieth Stroke, of the Thirty ſix that he received from the Executioner's Hand, (an extraordinary Thing) as the Diſorders of his Life, and his Conſpiracy againſt the King, had diſhonoured him. *Letters of the 19th of Auguſt*, 1626. *Tome I. of the Memoirs of Cardinal Richelieu.* Don *Rodrigo Calderon*, the Favourite of *Philip* the Third, King of *Spain*, by the Heroick Conſtancy of his Death, turned the Hatred under which he lay, into Eſteem and Compaſſion. *Savadra*, Empr. 33. *Un bel morir* (ſaith *Petrarch*) *tutta la vita honora.*

3. How deſirous ſoever Princes are to throw upon others the Hatred of the violent Reſolutions, which are executed againſt Great Men, they are always believed to be the Authors

XLVII. This Year was alſo made Remarkable by the Inſtitution of new Ceremonies; for there was eſtabliſh'd at this time a College of Prieſts in Honour of *Auguſtus*, in imitation of the *Titian* Prieſts, formerly inſtituted by *Titus Tatius*[1], to preſerve the Religion of the *Sabines*. Twenty one of the Principal Men among the *Romans* were drawn by Lot, of which Number were *Tiberius*, *Druſus*, *Claudius*, and *Germanicus*[1]. Then it was that the

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

Authors thereof, when they let theſe Perſons go unpuniſhed, who have put them in execution. After that *Peter* the Cruel had ſecretly put to Death *John Nugnez de Prado*, Grand Maſter of *Calatrava*, this King (ſaith *Mariana*) expreſſed Grief for it, to avoid the Hatred and the Infamy which would be upon him by the unjuſt Death of a Lord, whoſe greateſt Crime was his Friendſhip with a diſgrac'd Favourite: But when he made no inquiry, and conſequently inflicted no Puniſhment for ſo horrid a Fact, the whole Kingdom believed, that what all People before ſuſpected of the King, was a Truth, which admitted of no Doubt. *Hiſtory of Spain*, *lib.* 16. *cap.* 18.

1. The Orders of *Knighthood* are not eſteemed, otherwiſe than they are confined to a ſmall Number of Knights. This ſmall Number ought alſo to conſiſt of Perſons illuſtrious for their Birth, or for their Merit; for otherwiſe the Great Men look on themſelves to be diſgraced in being aſſociated with them, and, conſequently, the Prince deprives himſelf of an eaſie way of rewarding them. *Tacitus* ſaith, That the Generals of the Army perceiving that the Senate of *Rome* granted the Triumphal Ornaments for the leaſt Exploits in War, believed, that it would be more Honourable for them to preſerve the Peace, than to renew the War, which would equal to themſelves all thoſe, to whom the Prince's Favour ſhould procure a Triumph to be decreed. *Ann.* 13. In *Portugal*, it was pleaſant to behold the Taylor and the Shoemaker of King *Alphonſo* the Sixth to wear the Habit of Chriſt, although in truth they were as worthy of it, as moſt of thoſe, to whom the Count of *Caſtelmelhor* ſold it.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

1 Theſe Prieſts or Knights were inſtituted, in *Romulus*'s Reign, after the Union of the *Sabines* with the *Romans*, who received the *Sabines* as Fellow-Citizens and Companions, whom the Day before they had Enemies; as *Tacitus* ſaith, *Eadem die hoſtes, dein cives habuerit.* Ann. 11. This *Tatius* was King of the *Sabines*, and was admitted a Partner in the Sovereignty of *Rome* by *Romulus*, who gave him the *Capitol* and the *Quirinal-Hill* for his Habitation. But his Death, which happen'd a little time after, reunited the Regal Power in the Perſon of *Romulus*, who thereby remained King of the *Romans* and of the *Sabines*.

2 Ca-

the *Auguſtinian* Games began to be diſturb'd by the Contention of the Stage-Players, and different Factions aroſe concerning the Preference of this or that Actor [u]. *Auguſtus* himſelf had been much addicted to theſe Divertiſements, out of his Complaiſance to *Mæcenas*, who was deſperately in love with the *Pantomine Bathyllus*: Beſides, that he was himſelf no Enemy to thoſe Entertainments, and knew it was becoming of a Gracious Prince, to enter into the [z] Pleaſures of his People [x]. *Tibe-*

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. As there are certain Days in the Year, which the Fathers of Families ſpend in Rejoycings with their Children, it is very reaſonable, that there ſhould be alſo ſome, on which the Prince ſhould live as in a Family with his People. *Tacitus* ſaith, That *Nero*, who was otherwiſe a very bad Prince, made Feaſts in the publick Places, and ſhewed himſelf through

HISTORICAL NOTES.

u *Cabrera* well obſerves, that the Spectacles and the publick Games were the Cauſe, that the People of *Rome*, who were before contented to obey the Magiſtrates and the Laws, thought fit to deſire to have a Share in the Government. For taking upon themſelves licentiouſly to Applaud what gave them the greateſt Pleaſure, as if they had been capable of Judging prudently, they began to perceive, that the Players ſet a great Value on their Approbation, and that their Favour gave them Reputation. So that after they knew the Power which they had in the publick Feaſts, they came to ſlight the Nobles and the Magiſtrates, and afterwards to create *Tribunes*, *Ædiles*, and *Quæſtors*. At laſt they introduced the *Plebeians* into the Conſulſhip and the Dictatorſhip, and made them thereby equal to the *Patricians*. *L.* 10. *c.* 22. *of his Hiſtory*. So that we have no Reaſon to wonder, if *Tiberius*, who was ſo well ſkilled in the Arts of Government, had an Averſion to Spectacles, and all popular Concourſes.

x *Strada* ſaith, That *Octavius Farneſe*, Duke of *Parma*, and Son-in-Law to *Charles* the Fifth, was a great Obſerver of this Maxim, and thereby was as much beloved by the People, as any Prince of his Time. *Lætamentis popularibus ipſe ſe privato non abſimilem immiſcebat, effecitque, ut inter principes ea tempeſtate populorum ſtudiis ac benevolentia claris meritò haberetur.* Lib. 9. dec. 1. *Burnet* ſaith, That *Elizabeth*, Queen of *England*, was a perfect Miſtreſs of the Art of inſinuating herſelf into the Hearts of the People; and although ſhe was ſuſpected of being too much a Comedian, ſhe ſucceeded notwithſtanding in her Deſigns, and made herſelf more beloved by her People, by little Complaiſances and Affectations to ſhew herſelf, and to regard the People as ſhe paſſed the Streets, than many Princes have done by ſcattering Favours with both Hands. *Hiſtory of the Reformation*, *p.* 2. *l.* 3.

a This

Tiberius was of a Temper wholly different, but he durſt not yet ſubject a Multitude to more rigid Cuſtoms, which had ſo long been accuſtom'd to a ſoft, voluptuous way of Living.

The Year of Rome 768.

XLVIII. Under the Conſulſhip of *Druſus* and *Norbanus*, a Triumph for *Germanicus* was decreed, though the

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

through the whole City, as if all the City had been his Houſe. *Ann.* 15. Wiſe Princes, ſaith *Cabrera*, aſſiſt at the publick Plays, to gain the Affection of their Subjects, and theſe Plays, or Spectacles, are aſſigned to certain Days, to mitigate the ordinary Diſcontents of the People by Diverſions, which deceive their Trouble. *Cap.* 1. *lib.* 9. *of his Hiſtory.* *Commines* ſaith, That Princes, who divide their Time according to their Age, ſometimes in ſerious Matters and in Council, at other times in Feaſts and Pleaſures, are to be commended, and the Subjects are happy who have ſuch a Prince. *His Memoirs, l.* 6. *c.* 4.

3. A Prince, upon his coming to the Throne, ought to make no alteration in Things, which he finds to have been of long Eſtabliſhment, the People parting with old Cuſtoms with great difficulty. If the Memory of his Predeceſſor is dear to the People, he ought to conform himſelf to his manner of Government, at leaſt until his Authority be well eſtabliſhed. He muſt lead the People through long Turnings, and do it ſo, that they may go where he would have them, without perceiving whither they are going. *Lewis* the Eleventh had like to have loſt all, by deſiring to undo all that his Father had done. *When he came to the Crown,* (ſaith *Commines*) *he diſappointed the beſt and moſt eminent Knights, who had faithfully ſerved his Father in the recovery and ſetling of the Kingdom. But he oftentimes repented afterwards that he had treated them ſo, by acknowledging his Error, for thence ſprang the War called* The Publick Good, *which was like to have taken from him his Crown.* C. 3. *of* l. 1. *and* c. 11. *of* l. 6. *of his Memoirs.* When he died, he therefore adviſed his Son not to do as he had done. *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*, at her coming to the Crown, acted directly contrary to *Lewis* the Eleventh, for ſhe employed moſt of the Miniſters of her Siſter Queen *Mary*, by whom ſhe had been ill Treated; and although in her Heart ſhe was already entirely a Proteſtant, ſhe was notwithſtanding Crowned by a Biſhop of the Church of *Rome*, and ordered *Karn*, who was *Mary*'s Ambaſſador at *Rome*, to make her Compliments to the Pope. *Burnet's Hiſtory, Part* 2. *l.* 3. *Mariana* ſaith, That *Emanuel*, King of *Portugal*, made ſome difficulty to recall the Duke of *Braganza*'s Brother and Children, who were in Exile, that he might not in the beginning of his Reign ſhew, that he had a Deſign to change what *John* the Second, his Predeceſſor, had done; and that he might not make them his Enemies, to whom *John* had given their confiſcated Eſtates. *Ch.* 13. *of his Hiſtory.*

1. The

the War was yet in being. And though he had made great Preparations for the Summer following, yet he anticipated the Time, by a ſudden Irruption in the beginning of the Spring into the Country of the *Catti*: For there were Grounds of Hope, that Factions would ariſe among them, ſome taking part with *Arminius*, others with *Segeſtes*; both of them very conſiderable to the *Romans*. one by his breach of Faith, the other by his Conſtancy. *Arminius* had diſturb'd the Peace of *Germanicus*, and kindl'd the War againſt the *Romans*: *Segeſtes* had openly declar'd in the laſt ſolemn Feſtivals, and many times before they roſe in Arms, that a Conſpiracy was hatching to Revolt; at the ſame time adviſing *Varus* to ſecure *Arminius* and himſelf, and all the Leading Men of the *Germans*; the People not being in any capacity of Rebelling, when they were unfurniſh'd of Commanders. And this once done, *Varus* would have ſufficient

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. The good Opinion which moſt Great Men have of their Ability, or of their Strength, makes them often neglect to ſearch the bottom of the Cabals and Conſpiracies which are formed againſt them. I never (ſaith *Commines*) knew a Prince, who was able to know the difference betwixt Men, until he came into Neceſſity, and into Trouble. They who act in Fear, provide well againſt Contingencies, and oftner ſucceed, than thoſe who proceed with Pride. For which Reaſon, 'tis no Shame to be Suſpicious, but it is a great Shame to be deceived, and to be ruined by Negligence. C. 12. *of l.* 1. *the 4th of the 2d. and the 5th of the 3d.* About the middle of the laſt Age, there happened a Revolution at *Sienna*, which ſerves for a Leſſon to Governours. A Spark of this general Conſpiracy againſt the Emperour, ſaith *John Ant. de Vera*, flew from the Kingdom of *Naples* to *Sienna*, where Don *Diego de Mendoſa* then commanded; but this Spark entred ſo ſubtilly, that although Don *Diego* had Notice given him of it, he yet found ſomewhat in the outward Carriage of the People wherewith to flatter his Incredulity, which in the end coſt him very dear; for the People of *Sienna* coming to cry out *Liberty*, drove the *Spaniards* and the *Florentines* out of their City, and received a *French* Gariſon in their ſtead. *Epitome of the Life of Charles the Fifth.* And this was the cauſe that Don *Diego*, who had been ſo great a Man in his Youth, was not employed in his old Age, ſo that his riper Years paid for the Faults of his younger. Thus *Le Don Baltazar de Suniga* ſpeaks of him in the Extract of his Life, which he hath prefixed to his Hiſtory of the Wars of *Grenada*, in which he hath very much imitated the Stile of *Tacitus*.

2. This

cient Leiſure, to diſtinguiſh afterwards betwixt the Guilty and the Innocent [2]. But *Varus* periſh'd by his Deſtiny [3], and by the Valour of [4] *Arminius* [a]. For *Segeſtes*, though

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. This is what all Governours ought to do, upon Notice given them of Conſpiracies which are a forming againſt the Prince and the State; immediately to ſecure (ſaith a Politician) the Perſons ſuſpected, and the Places which they command, that they may afterwards at leiſure inform themſelves what there is in it, and finding them guilty, puniſh them according to the Exigence of the Caſe. For, in ſuch Occurrences, Incredulity is perilous; all Delays are dangerous; the leaſt Jealouſie is reputed a Crime; and the ſlighteſt ſuſpicions make room for Juſtice to take place, which cannot be too rigorous; Rigour in ſuch a caſe paſſing for Clemency, and Favour for Rigour. Thus Princes and Miniſters of State, in Treaſonable Practices, ought in the firſt place to take the Buckler of Reſolution, and afterwards to unſheath the Sword of Juſtice, either againſt the Heads only of the Conſpiracy, for Example, or againſt all that are engaged in it, for the Offence. *In the Memoirs of Montreſor.* The Cardinal *de Richelieu* ſtrongly maintains this Maxim: In the courſe of ordinary Affairs, (ſaith he) Juſtice requires an authentick Proof, but it is not the ſame, in thoſe which concern the State. For in ſuch a caſe, that which appears by preſſing Conjectures, ought ſometimes to be held to be ſufficiently proved; becauſe Conſpiracies, which are formed againſt the publick Safety, are commonly managed with ſo much Cunning and Secrecy, that there is never any evident Proof thereof, but by their Event, which admits of no Remedy. In theſe caſes, we muſt ſometimes begin with the Execution, whereas in all others, legal Evidence by Witneſſes, or undeniable Papers, is preferable to all other Ways. *Pol. Teſt. p. 2. c. 5.*

3. The Power of the Deſtinies, ſaith *Paterculus*, is not to be ſurmounted, when they will deſtroy any one, they pervert his Counſels, and take away his Judgment. *Ch. 57. and 118. Comminæus* ſaith, *When God is ſo highly offended, that he will no longer endure a Perſon, but will ſhew his Power and his Divine Juſtice; then he firſt diminiſhes the Underſtanding* [of Princes], *ſo that they ſhun the Counſel of the Wiſe, &c. Cap. ult. of l. 5.* of his Memoirs. *Jerom Moron*, Chancellor of *Millain*, was eſteemed the greateſt Politician that was in *Italy*, and yet he fell into the Nets of the Marquis of *Peſquera*, whom all his Friends adviſed him to beware of, as of a Man, who would infallibly ſacrifice him to *Charles* the Fifth. A Thing which appeared ſo much the ſtranger to me, ſaith *Guicchardin*, becauſe I remember, that *Moron* often told me in the time of *Leo* the Tenth, That there was not a worſe, nor a more perfidious Man in *Italy*, than the Marquis of *Peſquera*. *His Hiſtory, l. 6.*

4. It is no ſmall Queſtion amongſt Politicians and Soldiers, Whether it is

HISTORICAL NOTES.

a This young Man, ſaith *Paterculus*, was of a robuſt Conſtitution, had a quick Apprehenſion, and a delicate and penetrating Wit, beyond what is to

though he was drawn into the War by the general Conſent of his Country-men, yet he liv'd in perpetual Diſcord with *Arminius*; and the bad Underſtanding betwixt them was increas'd by a particular Offence; for *Arminius* had taken away by force his Daughter *Thuſnelda*, betroth'd already to another. Thus the Father-in-Law, and Son, were equally hateful to each other; and thoſe mutual Ties, which commonly beget Friendſhip, were

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

is better for a General of an Army to have great Courage with a moderate Underſtanding, or a great Underſtanding with moderate Courage. The Cardinal *de Richelieu* gives the Preference to great Courage, and afterwards adds: This Propoſition will appear, it may be, ſurpriſing, it being contrary to what many have thought of this matter; but the Reaſon of it is evident. Men of great Courage are not put into a Conſternation by danger: and conſequently all the Underſtanding and Judgment, which God hath given them, is ſerviceable to them on ſuch Occaſions: On the contrary, Men of little Courage being eaſily put into a Conſternation, find themſelves ſo diſordered at the leaſt Danger, that how great an Underſtanding ſoever they have, it is utterly unſerviceable to them, becauſe their Fear deprives them of the Uſe of it. As a General of an Army ſhould not have Courage that is void of Judgment; ſo neither ought he to have too much Flegm, or too much Speculation; becauſe it is to be feared, that the foreſight of many Inconveniencies which may happen, but which do not, may hinder him from attempting Things which would ſucceed in the Hands of others, who are leſs Speculative, and more Daring. *Politcical Teſt. par. 2. ſect. 4. c. 9.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

to be imagined of a *Barbarian*. Conſidering, that nothing is more eaſie than to deſtroy thoſe who fear nothing, and that overmuch Confidence is the moſt ordinary cauſe of great Misfortunes, he communicates his Deſign at firſt to very few People, but afterwards to many more: And this Reſolution was ſo immediately followed with the Execution of it, that *Varus* having neglected the firſt Advice of *Segeſtes*, had not time to receive a ſecond from him: *ch.* 118. *Charles*, Duke of *Burgundy*, committed the ſame Error that *Varus* did, and periſhed like him, by refuſing to give Audience to a Country Gentleman named *Cifron*, who came to diſcover to him the Treaſon of the Count *de Campobaſſo*; and by not crediting the Intelligence which *Lewis* the Eleventh ſent him by the Lord *de Contay*, his Ambaſſador in *France*, that this Count was ſelling his Life. *Whereby you ſee*, ſaith *Commines*, *that God infatuated him on this occaſion. Memoirs, l. 4. c. ult. & l. 3. c. 6, & 8.*

were now the Provocations to the moſt bitter Enmity 5.

XLIX. *Germanicus*, on this Account, commanded out *Cecina* with Four Legions, Five thouſand Auxiliary Soldiers, and ſome Companies of *Germans* rais'd in haſte from ſome Places on this ſide the *Rhine*: He himſelf conducted a like Number of Legions, but double the Number of Allies; and having built a Fortreſs on the old Foundations, which his Father had laid, and which were yet ſtanding, he march'd with great ſpeed againſt the *Catti*, leaving behind him *Lucius Apronius*, with Order to take care, that if the Rivers ſhould overflow by any ſudden fall of Rains, yet the Ways might be kept in repair, and continue paſſable. For in ſetting forward, he found the Waters ſo very low, and the Ways ſo dry, (a Thing uncommon in that Climate,) that he found no difficulty in his March; but he feared in his return it might be otherwiſe. He came ſo ſuddenly upon the *Catti*, that the old Men, the Women, and the Children, were either kill'd at firſt, or taken Priſoners, and the young Men forc'd to ſwim the River of *Adrana* [b]; who attempting afterwards to obſtruct the *Romans* in

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

5. As Princes ſeldom marry but by Intereſt, not for Love, Alliance is ſo far from being a Band of Friendſhip betwixt them, that it opens a Gap to new Pretenſions, which grow into Quarrels, and afterwards into Wars. The laſt Duke of *Burgundy* hated *Edward* King of *England*, and the whole Houſe of *York*, againſt which he aſſiſted the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, whence came his Grandmother by the Mother's ſide; and yet at laſt he married *Margaret*, Siſter to *Edward*, only to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt King *Lewis* the Eleventh. But as this Alliance was not made but by State-Intereſt, and that both of them might gain their Ends, the Duke notwithſtanding hated *Edward*, on whom he made biting Jeſts; and *Edward* offer'd *Lewis* to joyn with him, and to bear part of the Charges, if he would continue the War againſt the Duke. *Commines*, *l.* 1. *c.* 5. *l.* 3. *c.* 4. *l.* 4. *c.* 8, & 11. *of his Memoirs.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

b Now the *Eder*.

c Now

in the building of a Bridge over it, were repuls'd by their Arrows, and their Engines. Theſe Hopes failing, and their Propoſitions for Peace being alſo rejected, ſome of them came over, and ſubmitted to *Germanicus*; the reſt forſaking their *Cantons*, retir'd into the Faſtneſſes of their Woods. *Germanicus* having burn'd *Martium* [c], their Capital Town, ravag'd all the Low-lands, and took his March backwards to the *Rhine*; the Enemy not daring to attack his Rear, as their Cuſtom is when they feign to fly, rather through Stratagem, than Fear. The *Cheruſci* [d] were deſirous to have ſuccour'd their Friends the *Catti*, but they were apprehenſive of *Cecina*, who carry'd far and near the Terrour of his Arms. On the contrary, the *Marſi*, having preſum'd to charge him, were vigorouſly repuls'd, and entirely routed.

L. Some time afterwards, there came Deputies from *Segeſtes*, to deſire his Aſſiſtance againſt his Country-men who had beſieg'd him, for *Arminius* had there the ſtronger Party, becauſe he had adviſ'd the War [1]; it being the common Practice of *Barbarians*, only to love and eſteem thoſe Perſons who are Fierce and Daring, and more eſpecially in unquiet Times. *Segeſtes* had added to the Deputies his Son *Segimond*, though the Mind of

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. As there is nothing ſubject to greater Jealouſie, nor more difficult to preſerve amongſt powerful Neighbours than Liberty, they who adviſe War, appear to have a greater Affection for their Country, than thoſe who adviſe Peace, and conſequently have more Credit amongſt their Fellow-Citizens. It was by this Method that *Maurice*, Prince of *Orange*, who looked on the Treaty of 1609. as the Ruine of his Authority in *Holland*, where he aimed at the Sovereignty, found means to deſtroy *John Barnevelt*, who had been the principal Promoter of this Treaty, by perſwading the People by Pamphlets, that this great Man was corrupted by the *Spaniſh* Gold, and held Intelligence with this King, for the reduction of the United Provinces to his Obedience.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

c Now *Marpurg*, the Capital City of *Heſſe*.
d The People of *Brunſwick*, and of *Thuring*.

of the young Man was wholly averſe to that Employment [2]; for the Year, in which all *Germany* revolted, being created *Prieſt of the Altar of the Ubians*, he tore in pieces his Sacred Fillets [e], and went over to the Party of the Rebels. Nevertheleſs, confiding in the Clemency of the *Romans*, he undertook the Commiſſion enjoyn'd him by his Father, and was well received [3]; and ſent afterward under Guard to the Confines of the *Gauls*. *Germanicus* loſt not his Labour by this Return, for after ſome Encounters, he diſingag'd *Segeſtes* from the Hands of his Enemies, with many of his Relations and his Vaſſals. There were alſo ſome Ladies of Quality, and, among the reſt, the Daughter of *Segeſtes*, who ſhew'd by her Countenance, that he ſhad more of her Husband's Courage, than of her Father's Temper [4]. She walk'd with her

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. When a Subject is conſcious that he is guilty of Treaſon, he ought not to truſt to the Prince's Clemency, if he hath not good Security of it. If my Mother was my Judge, ſaid *Alcibiades*, I would not truſt her; with much greater Reaſon, they who have the Prince for Judge and Party, ought to take good Security before they ſurrender themſelves into his Hands. The Cardinal *Alphonſo Petrucci* was no ſooner come to *Rome* but *Leo* the Tenth cauſed him to be arreſted, and afterwards ſtrangled in Priſon, altho he came thither under the Security of the Pope's ſafe Conduct, whereof the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador was Guarantee. The Landgrave of *Heſſe* was cheated by the Confidence he repoſed in *Charles* the Fifth, with whom he had two Electors, and ſeveral other Princes of the Empire, for Interceſſors.

3. Sometimes Princes, who value themſelves upon Gratitude, pardon the Children in conſideration of Services done by the Fathers, or by the Anceſtors. *Charles* the Fifth pardon'd Don *Pedro Laſo*, (who brought him the Meſſage from the Rebels of *Toledo*,) becauſe he was the Son of a Gentleman, whoſe Memory was dear to him. *Philip* II. perceiving, whilſt he was conſulting about an Affair with *Mat. Vaſquez*, his Secretary of State, that a certain Gentleman of his Chamber obſerved them both with ſome Curioſity: "Go tell "that Man, *ſaid he*, That if I do "not take off his Head, he is be- "holden for it to his Uncle *Sebaſtian de Santoio*, who gave him to "me. *Cabrera's Hiſtory*, *l.* 12. *c.* 3.

4. It was much more glorious for *Thuſnelda* to eſpouſe the Intereſt of *Arminius*, who was the Deliverer of *Germany*, than that of *Segeſtes*, who was

HISTORICAL NOTES.

e Theſe were peculiar Ornaments of the Prieſts.

f *Phi-*

her Hands folded on her Boſom, and ſeem'd to look downward on the Fruit of her Body, with which ſhe was now big, without ſhedding one Tear, or ſaying one ſingle Word, or doing one Action which had any thing of a Suppliant. There were alſo carried, the Spoils which the Enemies had taken at the Defeat of *Varus*, and which had been ſhar'd by many of thoſe who were now Priſoners. At laſt appear'd *Segeſtes*, of a Stature higher than any of the reſt, with an aſſur'd Countenance, as having been always in the *Roman* Intereſt: And accordingly he beſpoke them in theſe Terms.

LI. *This Day, O* Romans, *is not the firſt, wherein I have begun to give you the Proofs of an inviolable Faith. Since the time that the Divine* Auguſtus *made me Citizen of* Rome, *I have had neither Friends nor Enemies, but yours* [1]; *neither have I ſteer'd this Courſe out of any Hatred to my Country, (for Traitors are odious, even to them whoſe Cauſe they have eſpous'd* [2]*,) but only becauſe I preferr'd Peace to War,*

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

was a Traitor to it. Traitors have this Misfortune, That they are oftentimes hated and contemned by their own Children.

1. He obliquely reproached the Infidelity of *Arminius*, his Rival, who having been formerly in the Service of the *Romans*, had obtained, as well as himſelf, the Privileges of a Citizen, and the Quality of a *Roman* Knight. *Aſſiduus militiæ noſtræ prioris comes, & civitatis Romanæ jus, equeſtremque conſecutus gradum; ſegnitia ducis in occaſionem ſceleris uſus eſt.* Paterc. Hiſt. 2. c. 118.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

[1] *Philip* of *Macedon* being asked, whom he hated or loved moſt: *I love thoſe very much*, ſaith he, *who will be Traitors to ſerve me, but I as much hate thoſe who have been ſo.* The Count *de Campobache*, ſaith *Commines*, made an Offer to the King, (*Lewis* XI.) by a Phyſician, called Mr. *Simon* of *Pavia*, that if he would perform ſome Things which he demanded, *viz.* the Payment of 400 Lances, 20000 Crowns in ready Money, and a good County, he engaged to deliver the Duke of *Burgundy* into his Hands, or to kill him. The King had this Man's Wickedneſs in great Abhorrence, and acquainted the Duke of *Burgundy* with the whole Matter. *Memoirs, l. 4. c. ult. & l. 5. c. 6.* Upon the Count *de Campobach*'s Arrival to the Duke of *Lorrain*, to whom he had ſacrificed his Maſter the Duke of *Burgundy*, the *Germans* gave him to underſtand, that he ſhould retire, and that they would have no Traitors amongſt them.

War [2], *and was convinc'd, that Peace was the common Intereſt of both Nations. On this Account it was, that I accus'd* Arminius *to* Varus, *who then commanded the* Roman *Army*; Arminius, *I ſay, the Raviſher of my Daughter, and Infringer of the Alliance made with you* [3]. *Tir'd with the Delays and Irreſolution of your General* [4], *and beſide, deſpairing*

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. Traitors never want Pretexts to colour over their Treaſon, nor ſpecious Reaſons to defend it. All their Remonſtrances are full of thoſe, which *Tacitus* puts in the Mouth of *Segeſtes*. There is ſcarce any Cauſe ſo bad, which a good Advocate can't colour over.

3. It is common with great Men to revenge their private Quarrel under the Name of the publick Quarrel. *Segeſtes* accuſed *Arminius* to *Varus*, as a Man who hated the *Romans*, and who rendred their Alliance ſuſpected to the *Germans*: The Accuſation was true, and the Defeat of *Varus*'s Legions confirmed it; but the Motive of this Accuſation, the Merit of which he ſo extols to *Germanicus*, was not ſo much an Effect of his Love and his Concern for the *Romans*, as an Effect of the Hatred which he bore to the Raviſher of his Daughter, and of the Jealouſie which he had to ſee *Arminius* more Powerful and more Eſteemed than himſelf in his Country. Thus we may apply to *Segeſtes* what *Paterculus* ſaith of the Conſul *Opimius*, That he ſacrificed the Son of the Conſul *Fulvius Flaccus* (who beſides his tender Age was innocent) to the Hatred that he had born to his Father, rather than to the publick Vengeance. *Viſa ultio privato odio magis, quam publicæ vindictæ data.* Hiſt. l. 2. c. 7.

4. Irreſolution is the greateſt Fault that can be in a General, or in any other Man who hath the Management of publick Affairs. What Advantage can be taken of Opportunities, where Execution is more neceſſary than Deliberation, by a Miniſter, who knows not what to reſolve on, who fears every thing, and who is equally fruitful in Doubts, and barren in Expedients? Princes have but one good Remedy againſt Conſpiracies, which is to prevent the Conſpirators; and all Princes, who have not done it, have been overtaken by them. In a word, Whether in War, or in Peace, Irreſolution is the Ruine of Affairs, and oftentimes even worſe than a bad Reſolution; becauſe there is ſometimes a Remedy for this, whereas the other renders the leaſt Evils incurable, or lets ſlip all Occaſions.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

them. *L. 5. c. 8.* I ought not to paſs over in Silence the Praiſes which are due to *Elizabeth* of *England*, for the handſom Anſwer which ſhe made to to that *Graveſton*, who gave her an Account of a Treacherous Act done to the *Spaniards* at *Berg-op-zoom*. After having gived him a Thouſand Crowns for his Pains, and his Voyage; *Return home*, ſaid ſhe, *and if I ſhould ever ſtand in need of a Man, who knows how to be a Traitor in perfection, I will make uſe of you.* Colomma, *l. 1. of his Hiſtory of the Wars of* Flanders.

ing of Protection from the Laws, I desir'd of Varus *to make me Prisoner, together with* Arminius *and his Accomplices. I call that Night to witness of this Truth, which I wish to Heaven had been my last. What since has happen'd, may be Deplor'd better than Excus'd. For what remains, I have formerly detain'd* Arminius *in Fetters, and he and his Faction in their Turn have given me the same Treatment. Ever since, I have had the Opportunity of making my Addresses to you,* O Cæsar, *I have constantly retain'd my old Inclinations, and I preferr'd Repose to Trouble: And this not in prospect of any Recompence which I pretend, but to clear my Innocence from Suspicion of Perjury; and to put my self the better in condition to make Terms with* Rome *for my Compatriots, when ever they consult their Safety by Repentance. I implore your Clemency in my Son's behalf, desiring that his Youth may excuse his Error. I confess, my Daughter is brought hither against her Consent; I leave it to your Judgment, whether you will consider her as the Wife of* Arminius, *or as the Daughter of* Segestes.

LII. To this, *Germanicus* graciously answer'd, *That his Children and Relations had no cause of Fear; that for himself, he had provided an honourable Retreat in an ancient* Roman *Province, where he might live secure from Danger.* This Affair being thus ended, he brought back his Army, and receiv'd the Title of *Imperator* by the Command of *Tiberius*. The Wife of *Arminius* was deliver'd of a Son, who had his Breeding at *Ravenna*. What contumelious Usage he receiv'd when he was grown to Age [1], shall be related in due place.

LIII. The

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. It is fatal to great Men to be unfortunate Fathers, and to behold Fortune a Step-mother to their Children. If *Arminius* espoused the Interest of his Father and Mother, as it is to be presumed, he could not expect better Treatment from the *Romans* than what they gave him, it being the Maxim of all Princes, to revenge upon the Children the Injuries which they have received from the Parents. It may be also observed here, that great Men are often punished by the same Evils which they have inflicted on others. *Arminius* had taken away from *Segestes*,

LIII. The News of the good Entertainment given to *Segeſtes*, was diverſly received; by ſome with Pleaſure by others with Regret; as they either fear'd, or wiſh'd the War. *Arminius*, beſides the Violence of his Nature, being inflam'd with the Outrage done to him in the Perſon of his Wife, whom his Enemies had ſeiz'd, and of his Child unborn, yet already deſtin'd for a Slave, took a rapid Courſe through the Country of the *Cheruſci*, ſolliciting that People to riſe in Arms againſt *Germanicus*, and ſparing no opprobrious Language againſt *Segeſtes*. 'Behold, *ſaid he*, a pious Father in 'Segeſtes! Behold a doughty Warriour in *Germanicus*! 'A wonderful Exploit, for a whole Army to take a 'Woman Priſoner! I, on the other ſide, have deſtroy'd 'three Legions of theirs, and three Lieutenant-Generals. 'The Wars I make are without Surprize, or Treachery; 'I fight fairly, and in the open Field; not with Women 'big with Child, but with Arm'd Soldiers. There are 'yet to be ſeen, in our Sacred Woods, the *Roman* Eagles, 'and their Enſigns, which I have hung in Triumph on 'the Altars of our Gods. Let *Segeſtes* pleaſe himſelf 'with his ſecure Abode in a conquer'd Country; let 'let him reſtore to his Son the Prieſthood of the *Ubians*; 'the *Germans* never can forgive him, for having brought 'betwixt the *Elb* and the *Rhine* the Conſulary Faſces, 'and

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

geſtes, his Daughter, who was promiſed to another; and *Germanicus*, by a juſt return, took away from him his Wife, and his Son, whereby *Segeſtes* was doubly revenged. *Commines* makes many Reflections of this kind, whereof this is the moſt Inſtructive. Although, ſaid he, the Duke of *Burgundy* had juſt cauſe to hate the Conſtable *S. Pol*, and to procure his Death, yet all the Reaſons that can be alledged in this Matter, cannot juſtifie what he did, in ſelling him to the King out of Covetouſneſs, in order to have him put to Death, after he had given him a good and authentick Safe-conduct. And as this was at the firſt Siege of *Nancy*, that he committed this Crime in diſpatching the Order to deliver the Conſtable to the King's Men; God permitted, that at the ſecond Siege of this City, he was betrayed by him in whom he put the greateſt confidence, and juſtly paid for his Perfidiouſneſs to the Conſtable. *His Memoirs, l. 5. c. 6.*

1. When

'and Axes of the *Romans*, with all other the Marks of 'their Dominion. The reſt of the Nations, who are 'free from their Subjection, know not yet the Names of 'Puniſhment and Taxes. After having ſhaken off the 'Yoke, and made vain the Attempts of that *Auguſtus*, 'to whom they have given the Title of a *God*; and of 'that *Tiberius*, whom they have choſen in his ſtead, to 'inſlave our Country; ſhall we fear a Boy, a Novice in 'the War, and an Army made up of Mutineers? If 'then you have more Affection for your Native Country, 'your Families, and your ancient Laws, than for Ty-'rants and new Colonies, rather follow *Arminius*, the 'Defender of your Freedom and your Honour, than 'the infamous *Segeſtes*, who would betray you into Sla-'very.

LIV. Not only the *Cheruſci*, but all the Neighbouring Nations, were ſet on fire by this Oration. He alſo drew *Inguiomer* into his Party, who was his Uncle by the Father's ſide, and of great Reputation among the *Romans*; which increas'd the Trouble of *Germanicus*, who apprehended, leſt with their United Forces they ſhould come pouring upon him. To make ſome Diverſion [g], he ſent *Cecina* with Forty *Roman* Cohorts through the Country of the *Bructerians*; *Pedo* led the Cavalry by the Confines of *Friſia*, and he himſelf embarking with Four Legions, paſs'd the Lakes; the Foot, the Horſe, and his Navy, arriving at the ſame time on the Banks of *Amiſia* [h], which was the Place appointed for the Rendevous. The *Cauci*, who had offer'd their Aſſiſtance, were receiv'd as Companions of the War. The *Bructerians*, who had ſet fire on all their open Towns, were defeated by *Lucius Stertinius*, whom *Germanicus* had ſent forth with

HISTORICAL NOTES.

g *Alphonſo*, King of *Naples*, ſaid, That there was no ſucceeding in War but by Diligence and Diverſion. *Guiccardin's Hiſt. l.* 1.

h This River is now called *Ems*, whence the City of *Embden* takes its Name.

with ſome Troops of Light-Horſemen to encounter them. Amidſt the Dead, and amongſt the Spoils, he found the Eagle of the Nineteenth Legion, which was loſt at the Overthrow of *Varus* [i]. Our Army thereupon advanc'd to the farmoſt Limits of the *Bructerian* Country, waſting all Things in their way, betwixt the Rivers of *Amiſia* and *Lippa* [k].

LV. The Army being now within a ſmall march of the Foreſt of *Teutburg*, where it was told *Germanicus*, that the Bones of the Legions, which were ſlain with *Varus*, lay yet unbury'd [l], he was ſeiz'd with a violent Deſire of rendring their laſt Dues to thoſe ſad Relicks. The whole Army approv'd their General's Deſign, whether mov'd with Pity for their Friends and Relations, or by a Natural Reflection on the Chance of War, and the wretched Condition of Mankind. *Cecina* was ſent before to diſcover the Faſtneſſes of the Woods, prepare Bridges, and lay Canſeways, where the Footing was unſure, and the Ground treacherous, by reaſon of the Bogs [m]. Entring into theſe mournful Places, which were dreadful to their Sight, and irkſom to their Remembrance, the firſt Object preſented to their view, was the Camp of *Varus*, remarkable by its large Compaſs, and by the three Voids,

HISTORICAL NOTES.

i *Pioſski* ſaith, That in the Defeat of *Varus*'s Legions, there were loſt two Eagles, one White, and the other Black; that the White fell to the Auxiliary *Sarmatians*, and the other to the *Germans*; whence came the Arms of the Empire, which bears an Eagle *Sable*, in a Field *Or*; and of *Poland* which bears an Eagle *Argent*, in a Field *Gules*. *In his Chronicle.*

k The *Lippe*.

l The Field, in which *Varus* was ſlain with his Legions, is called at this day *Winſe'd*, *i. e.* in *High-Dutch*, the *Field of Victory*. *Bernardin de Mendoza* ſaith, That there remains alſo to this Day in the Biſhoprick of *Munſter*, a place called *Varendorp*, that is to ſay, the Borough of *Varus*, which was built by the People of the Country, to preſerve the Memory of the Defeat of the *Romans*. *His Memoirs of the Low-Country Wars*, *l.* 3. *c.* 3.

m *Tacitus* ſaith, *Fallacibus Campis*. The ſame *Mendoza* ſaith, That *Fallaces Campi* are Lakes and Marſhes of 30 Leagues extent, and make the Country almoſt a Deſart. *Ibid.*

n *Prio-*

Voids[n], which ſeparated the three Legions. A little farther might be ſeen, the Retrenchments half in Ruine, inclos'd with a Ditch, now choak'd up, and almoſt fill'd; in which it was believ'd, that the ſhatter'd Remnants of the Army had been rally'd for their laſt Refuge. The middle of the Field was ſtrew'd with Carcaſſes, and white dry Bones, ſome ſcatter'd here and there, and others pil'd on heaps; by which might be obſerv'd, whether they receiv'd their Death in flight, or fell together in manly Reſiſtance to the laſt. Every where were found their broken Pikes, and Javelins; the Limbs of Horſes, and their Jaw-bones; and the Heads of Men, which were fix'd to the Trunks, or hung on the Branches of the Trees. In the Woods about the Field were ſeen the Altars, where thoſe *Barbarians* had executed the Tribunes and Captains of the firſt Orders[o]. They who had eſcap'd from this Battel, or afterwards from their Captivity, related many Particulars of that dreadful Day. On this Place, ſaid they, were ſlain the Commanders of the Legions; and there it was we loſt our Eagles. Here *Varus* receiv'd his firſt Wound, and a little farther he fell upon his Sword, and periſh'd by his own unhappy Hand. Behold the Eminence from whence *Arminius* harangu'd his Soldiers; and yonder he rais'd Gibbets for the Priſoners, or ſunk Ditches[p], to behead and bury them according to the *Roman* Faſhion. While the Proud Conquerour forgot not to drag along the Ground, with Scorn, our Enſigns and our Eagles.

LVI. In this manner, the *Roman* Army, ſix Years after the Defeat, interr'd the Bones of the three Legions, it

HISTORICAL NOTES.

n *Principia* was a void Place, where the Eagles and the Colours were ſet. As each Legion had its Eagle, it had alſo its *Principium*; ſo that by theſe three *Principia*, it was known that there had been three Legions.

o That is to ſay, three Cohorts. For they riſe from Cohort to Cohort, according to their Merit, or the time of their Service.

p Theſe Ditches ſerved for Burying-places for Malefactors, whom they covered with the Earth ſoked with their Blood.

q Do[n]

it being impoſſible for any Man to diſtinguiſh thoſe of his Relations from the reſt: Every one performing his Duty to all in general, as to ſo many Friends and Brothers, with Hearts equally divided betwixt Sorrow, and deſire of Vengeance. *Germanicus* partaking in their Grief, laid the firſt Turf on the common Sepulchre [q]: But this pious Office to the Slain was nothing pleaſing to *Tiberius*; whether he took in the worſt ſenſe all the Actions of *Germanicus* [r]; or that he thought, ſo ſad a Spectacle as that was, of unbury'd Bodies, would ſlacken the Courage of his Soldiers [z], and make their Enemies appear more formidable. Beſides, that the General of any Army veſted with the Augural Prieſthood, and deſign'd for the Miniſtry of Religious Rites, ought not to have put his Hand to Ceremonies belonging to the Dead.

LVII. In

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. When a great Man begins to diſpleaſe the Prince, a ſiniſter Interpretation is put upon all his Actions. The Memoirs of Queen *Margaret* are full of Examples of this, and particularly the Second Book, in which are to be ſeen, all the Ombrages that *Henry* the Third took at the leaſt Actions of the Duke of *Alenſon*, his Brother.

2. Whereas *Germanicus* ought to have rouzed the Courage of his Soldiers, he ran the hazard of wholly ſinking it, by letting them ſee that, which he ſhould have carefully hid from them. The frightful Dream of *Cecina*, of which *Tacitus* ſpeaks in one of the following Chapters, plainly ſhews the Effect, which this Spectacle was capable of producing in the Soldiers Imaginations. For,

Somnia fallaci ludunt temeraria voltu,
Et pavidas mentes falſa timere jubent.
Tibul. Epigr. l. 3.

So that although *Tiberius* was angry to ſee the Care which *Germanicus* took to gain the Affections of the Soldiers, he had yet moſt juſt cauſe to blame a General, who let his Army ſee, juſt as they were going to fight, the Remains of the Butchery of the *Roman* Legions.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

q Don *Diego de Mendoza* hath finely imitated this whole Funeral Deſcription, *in his Hiſtory of the Wars of Grenada, l.* 4. *c.* 9. in his relating the Circumſtances of the Defeat and the Death of Don *Alphonſo d'Aguilar*, Brother to him whom in *Spain* they call the *Great Captain*. Which I have taken notice of here for the ſake of thoſe, who love to read Works written on the Model of *Tacitus*, whom Don *Diego* had much ſtudied.

r It

LVII. In the mean time, *Germanicus* purſu'd *Arminius*, who retir'd into Places unfrequented, and inacceſſible; when at length he had join'd the Enemy, he commanded his Cavalry to advance, and diſlodge him from the Poſt he had poſſeſs'd. *Arminius*, with his Forces drawn up in cloſe Order, march'd along the Foreſt, and ſuddenly wheeling, fac'd the *Romans*, giving the Signal to thoſe Soldiers, whom he had laid in Ambuſh in the Wood. The *Roman* Horſe, amaz'd at the ſight of theſe new Enemies, was put into diſorder; and the Cohorts coming up to their Aſſiſtance, being incumber'd with a Croud of thoſe who fled from the *Germans*, and preſs'd upon their Ranks, were forc'd to open as they could, and make a Paſſage for them: In this Confuſion, and general Affright, the Enemy, who knew the Country, were driving our Men headlong on the Moraſs, from whence it was impoſſible to diſingage themſelves, if *Germanicus* had not with timely foreſight drawn up the Legions in *Battalia:* This gave Terrour to the *Germans*, and reſtor'd the Courage of our Soldiers, ſo that both Sides retir'd without Advantage. Soon after this, *Germanicus* march'd back his Army to *Amiſia*, where he embark'd the Legions, to return in the ſame manner as they came. One part of the Cavalry were order'd to draw towards the *Rhine*, ſtill coaſting the Ocean in their March. *Cecina*, who led back his Cohorts, was adviſ'd, That though he was well acquainted with the Way which he had taken, yet he ſhould make all imaginable Haſte to get over the long Bridges[r]. That way is narrow, inclos'd on either hand with Marſhes, over which theſe Bridges, or rather Cauſeways, were formerly laid by *Lucius Domitius*. The reſt is all either miry Ground, or

HISTORICAL NOTES.

[r] It is a Cauſeway, made upon Piles with a great deal of Sand, above a League long. The *Hollanders* have made a Fort, by which they paſs as they go into *Friſeland*.

or glewy Clay, cumberſom to the Feet, or uncertain, with ſcattering Rivulets; round about are riſing Woods, which, with a gentle Deſcent, reach even to the Plain. In this place, *Arminius* had lodg'd a great Number of his Soldiers, having by long Marches, and by ſhorter Ways, got before our Men, who were loaden with their Arms and Baggage. *Cecina*, not knowing how to repair the Cauſway, now decay'd, and at the ſame time to repulſe the Enemy, took a Reſolution to incamp in the ſame place; that while one part of his Army was employ'd in repairing the ruin'd Paſſage, the other might be in a readineſs to fight.

LVIII. The *Barbarians* made a ſtrong Effort to puſh our Corps-de-Garde, and afterwards to have pour'd upon the Workmen; they charg'd our Men, ſometimes on one ſide, and ſometimes on the other, haraſſing them with continual Attempts, and endeavouring to break in upon them. The Cries of thoſe who were employ'd in working, were confuſedly mix'd with theirs who fought: All Things conſpir'd againſt the *Romans*, the depth of the Moraſs, the ſlipperineſs of the Ground, on which they could neither march, nor ſcarcely ſet a Foot, without danger of falling; the weight of their Armour; and the height of the Waters, which diminiſh'd their force in lanching their Javelins. On the other ſide, the *Cheruſci* were accuſtom'd to engage in marſhy Ground, where the height of their Stature gave them a manifeſt Advantage, as alſo their long Pikes, with which they puſh'd to a great diſtance. The Night alone was the apparent Safety of our Legions, which began already to give Ground before the Enemy. But the *Germans*, by their good Fortune made indefatigable [s], without allowing themſelves the leaſt Repoſe, cut a Paſſage through the Mountains, round about, for the Waters to deſcend

HISTORICAL NOTES.

s *Coriolanus* ſaid, That Victory took away Wearineſs.

t Two

deſcend on the *Roman* Camp, thereby to float the Works they had already made, and increaſe the Difficulties of their new Labours. *Cecina*, who for the ſpace of Forty Years had exercis'd the Trade of War, either as a private Soldier, or a Leader, had made Trial both of proſperous and adverſe Fortune [1], and by Experience was become intrepid, conſidering all which might poſſibly

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. To be a great Man, it is neceſſary to have had the Trial of both Fortunes. He, that hath never had any but Good, knows but one ſide of Nature, and cannot be expert, becauſe he hath had no occaſion to exerciſe his Induſtry. He, that hath always lived in Adverſity, and in Troubles, runs a great Hazard of being corrupted by Proſperity, which, according to *Tacitus*, hath ſharper Goads than Miſery. *Secundæ res acrioribus ſtimulis animum explorant, quia miſeriæ tolerantur, felicitate corrumpimur.* Hiſt. 1. Which made one of the Ancients ſay, That he had rather Fortune ſhould aſſault him with Adverſity, than cheriſh him with her Delicacies. It is neceſſary therefore, that a Man employed in, or deſigned for the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs, ſhould taſte of good and bad Fortune, that he may be well acquainted with its Strength. *Anthony Perez*, who had had his Share of Adverſity, ſaid very judicially, That Nature hath two Carvers, which labour in poliſhing the Matter of Man, *viz.* Good, and bad Fortune; that one of them is employed in poliſhing the courſeſt Part, whilſt the others cuts and chiſels that which is moſt excellent, to make a moſt accompliſh'd Work thereof. In my Opinion, ſaith *Commines*, ſpeaking of *Lewis* XI. the Hardſhips which he met with in his Youth, when he fled from his Father, were of great Advantage to him; for he was forced to pleaſe thoſe whom he ſtood in need of; and this Good, which was not inconſiderable, he learned from Adverſity. And in another place, I dare give him this Commendation, That I never knew a Man ſo wiſe in Adverſity, nor who was more dextrous in winding himſelf out of Difficulties. *Memoirs, l.* 1. *c.* 10. *l.* 3. *c.* 12. Laſtly, it hath been often obſerved, that of all Princes and Captains, thoſe have proved the Braveſt, and the moſt Able, who have had the leaſt Share of good Fortune. And Don *Juan Antonio de Vera* ſaith very judiciouſly, That when *Cæſar* ſeeing himſelf taken with a furious Tempeſt, ſaid to his Pilot: *Fear not, thou carrieſt Cæſar, and his Fortune*; He did not mean his good Fortune, but rather his invincible Courage; becauſe, in ſuch a Danger, it is certain, that he relied leſs on his Fortune, though that had never abandon'd him, than on his undaunted Spirit, and on his Experience, which he had acquired amidſt the Labours, and the Hazards of War, which had never put him into any Conſternation. *His knave. Dial.* 2. The Cardinal *d'Oſſat* ſpeaking of *Henry* IV, I have obſerved, ſaith he, in the courſe of his Life, that of the many croſs and troubleſom Events, which he hath had in Peace and in War, God hath drawn out Good and Proſperity for him. *Letter* 339.

1. As

bly arrive, could find no other Expedient, than to ſhut up the Enemy in their Woods, till he had paſs'd over his Baggage, and his wounded Men. For betwixt the Hilly Ground, and the Moraſs, there was a narrow Plain, only capable of receiving a ſmall Army. He therefore gave the Right Wing to the Fifth Legion; the Left to the Twenty firſt; the Van to the Firſt Legion; and the Rear to the Twentieth.

LIX. The Night paſs'd without Repoſe on either ſide; for the *Barbarians*, who were in debauch, made the Valleys and the Woods reſound, ſometimes with the Noiſe of their Drunken Songs, and otherwhile with Shouts and Outcries, rais'd on purpoſe to terrifie the *Romans*. On the contrary, there was a deep ſad Silence among our Troops, unleſs ſometimes interrupted by caſual Words; our Fires were languiſhing; ſome of our Soldiers leaning on the Paliſade; others walking round the Tents, rather like People wanting Sleep, than quite awake. The General himſelf had a dreadful dream: It ſeem'd to him that he beheld *Quintilius Varus* ariſing from the bottom of thoſe Marſhes, and cover'd over with his Blood; who holding forth his Hand to him [1], implor'd his

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. As we ought not to regard Dreams too much, ſo neither ought we wholly to ſlight them, eſpecially when they nearly relate to the preſent State of Affairs, for the Contempt of them is the cauſe that we neglect to apply Remedies to thoſe Evils, whereof they are the Fore-runners. There is a prudent Mean betwixt Superſtition and Incredulity, which commonly proceeds from Self Love, which always flatters us, rather than from a true Solidity of Spirit. The Queen *Margaret* makes a Reflection which is of great weight. Some (ſaith ſhe) hold, That God doth in an eſpecial manner protect the Great, and that to Minds, in which there ſhines ſome uncommon Excellency, he gives by good Genius's ſome ſecret Warnings of Accidents that are like to happen to them, either of Good or Evil, as to the Queen, my Mother, who the Night before the unfortunate Race dream'd, That ſhe ſaw the late King, my Father, wounded in the Eye, as it happen'd; and after ſhe awaked, deſired him ſeveral times not to run that Day... Being dangerouſly ſick at *Metz*, and having about her Bed the King *Charles* my Brother, my Siſter, and my Brother of *Lorraine*, and many Ladies and Princeſſes, ſhe cried out as if ſhe had ſeen the Battel of *Jarnac*;

his Aſſiſtance [t]; but that he, far from anſwering his Requeſt, had puſh'd him backward. At break of Day, the Legions plac'd on the Wings, forſook their Poſt, whether through Fear, or Diſobedience, is uncertain, and precipitately rang'd themſelves in Battel beyond the *Morats*. *Arminius* did not immediately charge them, though nothing hinder'd; but when he ſaw their Baggage faſten'd in the Mire, and ſticking in the Ditches, the Soldiers out of their Ranks, and only ſollicitous how to ſave themſelves, (as commonly it happens on ſuch Occa-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

nac; *See how they run away, my Son hath the Victory! behold in this Lane the Prince of* Conde *dead!* All that were there, believed that ſhe raved: But the Night after, Monſieur *de Loſſes* bringing her the News of it, *I knew it well enough*, ſaid ſhe, *did I not ſee it yeſterday?* Then they perceived, that it was not the raving of a Feaver, but a particular Notice, which God gives to illuſtrious and extraordinary Perſons. And for my ſelf, I own, that I was never near any ſignal Accident, either Unfortunate or Proſperous, of which I had not ſome Advertiſement, either by Dream or otherwiſe; and may well ſay this Verſe,

Of my Good, or my Evil,
My Mind is my Oracle.
L. 1. of her Memoirs.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

t Two or three Months before the Death of *Henry* the Fourth, the Queen, his Wife, being in Bed with him, ſaw in a Dream a Man who ſtabb'd him to Death with a Knife. The News of his Death flew to *Liſle* in *Flanders*, to *Antwerp*, to *Bois-le-Duc*, and to *Maſtrich*, ten Days before it happen'd. For it often comes to paſs, that the News precedes the Accident. On the Eve of his Death, as he aſſiſted at the Coronation of the Queen, a Maid, named *Jane Arnaud*, ſeeing him, ſaid to her Siſters, *Behold a dead Man, who reſembles the King, who are buried here!* The Day that he was ſlain, ſeveral Billets were thrown into his Chamber, which all gave him warning of his Fate. But he neglected all this as *Ceſar* did, and periſhed like him. *Homer* ſaith, That as the Dreams of common People are to be ſlighted, becauſe of the Weakneſs of their Brain; on the contrary, there ought to be a great Regard had to thoſe of Perſons who have the Management of State Affairs, becauſe they ariſe from their Experience, and the continual Reflection, which they make upon the great Events of Civil Life. *L.* 2. *of the Iliads*. *Cabrera* ſaith, That *Joan* of *Auſtria*, Mother of *Sebaſtian* King of *Portugal*, being with Child of him, thought that one Night ſhe ſaw enter into her Chamber a great many *Moors*, clad in Habits of divers Colours. The firſt Preſage of what was to befal this Prince at the Battel of *Alcaſer* in *Africk*. *Hiſt Philip II. l.* 11. *c.* 10.

u The

Occaſions, when the Commanders are ill obey'd;) he encourag'd the *Germans* to the Charge, calling to them with repeated Cries: "Behold *Varus* and his Legions, "who are offering themſelves to be once more van-"quiſh'd. Having ſaid this, he forc'd through our Battalions with the flower of his Troops, and charg'd impetuouſly on our Horſe; who ſliding on their own Blood, and floundring in the Mud of the *Morats*, caſt their Riders to the Ground; and then running furiouſly through the Ranks, cruſh'd thoſe to Death who were already fallen, and threw down others whom they met. That which gave us the greateſt Trouble, was the defence of our Eagles, which could not be carried into the Combat, becauſe of the multitude of Darts, which were continually lanc'd againſt the Bearers; nor yet faſten'd in the Ground, by reaſon of the Marſhes. While *Cecina* with great Courage ſuſtain'd this unequal Fight, his Horſe was kill'd under him, and himſelf upon the point of being taken, if the Firſt Legion had not haſten'd to his Succour. On the other ſide, the Enemy was ſo greedy of the Spoil, that they intermitted the Slaughter, to ſeize the Prey. This Covetouſneſs of theirs, was the ſafety of the Legions; for it gave them the opportunity of making their Retreat [2], at the cloſe of Day, into a Plain, where the Footing was firm, and the Ground ſolid. But the end of their Miſeries was not yet come. They were of neceſſity to make new Paliſades, and new Retrenchments, though they had loſt the greateſt part of their Inſtruments, which were to be employ'd in caſting up the Earth, and cutting of the Turfs. They wanted Tents to receive the weary Soldiers, and Salves

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. The greedineſs of Soldiers, who are commonly more intent upon Enriching themſelves, than upon Fighting, is the cauſe that there is ſcare ever a compleat Victory. This is an Evil that ſeems to be without Remedy, ſeeing, that after ſo many Ages, the Prudence and Severity of Princes and Generals have not been able to put a ſtop to it.

3. Re-

Salves to dreſs the Wounded. Their Food, which they divided into Portions, was ſoak'd in Mire and Blood; and they deplor'd that fatal Night, which only hid them till the approach of Day, which was to be the laſt to ſo many Thouſands of valiant Men [3].

LX. By chance a Horſe, who was broken looſe from his Standing, and terrifi'd with the Cries of his Purſuers, bore down thoſe whom he encounter'd in his way. The whole Camp poſſeſs'd with a panick Fear, took the Alarm; every one believing, that the *Germans* were breaking in upon them, they ruſh together to the Gates, and chiefly to the *Decumane* [a], which was the farthеſt from the Enemy, and conſequently the moſt ſecure. *Cecina* found it was a falſe Alarm; but not being able to retain the Soldiers, either by Authority, or Prayer [1], though he took hold upon their Arms to ſtop them, he laid himſelf acroſs the Gate, and block'd up the Iſſue [2], through

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. Reflections of this kind do Soldiers no good, becauſe they ſerve only to abate their Courage; witneſs the falſe Alarm, ſpoken of in the following Chapter.

1. When an Army hath been beaten, it is very ſubject to take falſe Alarms: And it is on theſe Occaſions, ſaith *Xenophon*, that a General is much perplex'd, for the more he encourages his Soldiers, the greater they imagin is the Danger. *Quanto magis jubeat illos bono eſſe animo, tanto exiſtimabunt in majore ſe eſſe diſcrimine.* Lib. 5. Cyropæd.

2. When Foreſight and Counſel have preceded the Danger, Fear is eaſily overcome; but when Fear hath prevented Foreſight and Counſel, Advice and Exhortations will hardly find place.

3. If it happens, ſaith *Onoſander*, that a vain Terrour, or even a reaſonable Fear, hath ſeized the Spirits, it is then that a General ought to ſhew the Soldiers an aſſured Countenance, and upſhaken Courage. *Stratag. cap.* 15. There is nothing that more perplexes the Prudence of a General, than theſe kind of falſe Alarms, in which the diſorder'd Minds of an ignorant Multitude are tion

HISTORICAL NOTES.

a The Camp, which was always of a ſquare Figure, had four Gates, the greateſt of which was called the *Decumane*, and ſerved for a Poſtern, through which the Soldiers paſſed, who were carried to Puniſhment. It was oppoſite to the *Prætorium*, ſo called from the *Prætorium*, or the Gene-

through the Horrour which they had to paſs over the Body of their General[x]: And at the ſame time, the Tribunes made it evident to them, that their Fear was groundleſs.

LXI. After this, being aſſembled in the *Place of Arms*[y], *Cecina* deſir'd them to hear him with Silence and Attention, and to conſider well the preſent Juncture of Affairs. He told them, there was no other Hope of Safety remaining, but in their Courage, which alſo they were oblig'd to manage with Prudence; that their Safety was to continue in their Camp, till the *Germans* ſhould approach near it, being allur'd with the hope of Victory; then all at once to ſally out upon them from every Side: This Onſet, ſaid he, will open you a Paſſage to the *Rhine*; whereas if you ſhould fly, you have to croſs many other Foreſts, and to paſs over many Moraſſes, more deep than theſe; and, after all, remain expos'd to the Fury of your Enemies: When on the other ſide, if you are Victorious in the Battle, you ſhall not only aſſure your Safety, but obtain Immortal Honour. In fine, he ſet before their Eyes whatſoever they held deareſt in the World, their preſent Friends, their abſent Relations, and

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

not eaſily recovered of their Surpriſe. I obſerve in the Memoirs of *Commines*, that a Squib which fell on a Window, where *Charles* of *France*, the Duke of *Berry*, and *Charles* Count of *Charolois*, were talking together, was like to have confounded and diſorder'd all the Princes and Lords who were in League againſt *Lewis* the Eleventh, if Mr. *John Boutefeu*, who threw it, had not come and declared that it was he, and had not thrown three or four more in their Preſence, to take away the Suſpicion which they had of one another. *L.* 1. *c.* 5.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

ral's Tent, which always ſtood towards the Enemy. The other two Gates, which were on the two Sides, were called *Principales*.

x Don *Juan Antonio de Vera* relates an Action exactly like this done by *Fredrique Enriquez*, Admiral of *Caſtille*, at the Battel fought betwixt the *French* and the *Spaniards* near *Pampelune*. *In the Epitome of the Life of Charles the Fifth.*

y *Tacitus* calls this place *Principia*.

z The

and the Reputation they had gain'd in Arms; but paſs'd over in ſilence the Miſeries they had already ſuffer'd, and thoſe which they were yet to ſuffer. After this, he diſtributed amongſt the braveſt Soldiers, without Partiality, the Horſes of the Tribunes and Lieutenants, and amongſt the reſt, his own; with Order to thoſe Horſemen to begin the Charge, and for the Infantry to ſuſtain them.

LXII. Neither were the *Germans* leſs unquiet, betwixt their Hopes of Victory, and their Deſire of Booty; they were alſo divided in their Councils [1]: For *Arminius* was of Opinion, to leave the Paſſage open to the *Romans*, that marching thence, they might oppreſs them afterwards in other Marſhes which lay before them, and involve them yet in greater Difficulties. *Inguiomer*, on the other ſide, adviſ'd to beſiege them in their preſent Camp, which they ſhould be able to force ſuddenly, and with eaſe; that they ſhould take more Priſoners, and loſe nothing of the Plunder: And this Advice, as the more daring, was moſt to the humour of the *Barbarians* [2]. At break of Day they iſſued out of their Foreſts, and being arriv'd at the *Roman* Camp, they caſt Faggots into the Ditch, and throw in Earth upon them to facilitate their Paſſage to the Rampart; then attack the Paliſade,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. It is rare, for two Generals to agree well together in one and the ſame Army, eſpecially when they are both Men of great Parts and Experience, as *Arminius* and his Uncle were. The Proteſtants, who were in League againſt *Charles* the Fifth, loſt the Battel of *Meiſſen*, becauſe *John Frederick* Elector of *Saxony*, and *Philip* the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, who commanded in conjunction the Army of this League, were both too great Captains, and beſides, of too different a Humour, to yield to one another. This Battel was fought the 24th of *April*, *ann.* 1547. The *Turks* had not failed of taking *Malta*, *ann.* 1565, if *Piali*, the General at Sea, would have held good Correſpondence with *Muſtafa*, the General at Land.

2. Amongſt barbarous People, the moſt violent and raſheſt Perſons have always the greateſt Credit, for Delays ſeem to them a ſort of Slavery. *Barbaris, quanto quis audacia promptus, tanto magis fidus.* Ann. 1. *Barbaris cunctatio ſervilis; ſtatim exequi, regium videtur.* Ann. 6.

ſade [2], where there appear'd but few Defendants, as if our Soldiers had been ſeiz'd with Fear. But when the *Germans* were juſt upon the Rampart, *Cecina* gave the Signal, and ſounded to the Charge: The *Romans* ſally'd out with a dreadful Clamour, and attack'd the *Germans*; crying out, They had them now without their Woods, and on ſtable Ground, unprotected by their Marſhes; that the Gods would do Juſtice to their Valour, by giving them an equal Field of Combat, for the deciſion of their Quarrel. The Enemies, who expected an eaſie Conqueſt over a handful of Men, and thoſe too half diſarm'd, and quite diſhearten'd, were terrifi'd with the ſound of Trumpets, and the clattering of Arms, and ſlain almoſt without Reſiſtance [3], wanting Moderation in their good Fortune, and Courage in their bad. *Arminius* and *Inguiomer* retir'd out of the Battle, the firſt untouch'd, the laſt deſperately wounded. The Slaughter laſted all the Day, and, at the ſhutting of Evening, the Legions return'd into their Camp, many of them being hurt, and all without Victuals, yet well contented, finding in their Victory, Health and Vigour, and large Proviſion of whatſoever they deſir'd.

LXIII. In the mean time, a Report was ſpread, that the

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. It ſeldom happens, that an Army which is commanded by two Generals comes off Victorious. The *Roman* Armies were almoſt always defeated by *Hannibal*, when he had to do with two Conſuls; whereas he was always beaten, or, at leaſt, hindred from being Victorious, when a Dictator was at the Head of the *Roman* Army. As long as the Command of the Army was divided betwixt Monſieur *de Turenne*, and the Mareſchal *de la Ferte-Senecterre*, their Jealouſie rendred the faireſt Enterprizes abortive; but from the time that the former was got rid of his Companion, who put every thing to hazard, Fortune always favoured him.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

2. The Outworks of the Camp had three Things, *viz.* a Ditch, (*Foſſa*;) a Rampart of Earth, (*Agger*;) and a Paliſade all round made of great Stakes, (*Vallum.*)

a In

the *Romans* were defeated, and that the *Germans* were deſcending upon *Gaul*: And they were on the point of breaking down the Bridge upon the *Rhine*, if *Agrippina* had not oppos'd her Courage, to the Cowardiſe of thoſe who had advis'd ſo infamous an Action. During the time of that Conſternation, ſhe diſcharg'd all Duties of a General [a]; ſhe reliev'd the poor Soldiers, ſhe ſupply'd the Sick with Remedies [1], and provided Clothes for thoſe who were periſhing with Cold. *Caius Plinius*, who has written the Hiſtory of theſe Wars, ſays, That ſhe ſtood on the entry of the Bridge to praiſe and thank

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. It is not one of the leaſt Praiſes of a General, to take care of the Health and Lives of his Soldiers. As there is nothing ſo Valuable as Life, ſo there is no Benefit, whereof Men have a more grateful Senſe, than of it; eſpecially Soldiers, who are expoſed to more Dangers, than all the reſt of Mankind. The *Spaniſh* Commentator on *Commines* ſaith, That the Soldiers ſet upon the Tomb of a certain Captain, who died at *Milain*, the Words of the Creed: *Qui propter nos, & propter noſtram ſalutem, deſcendit ad inferos.* The *Spaniards*, adds he, gave not this Praiſe to the Prince of *Parma* in *Flanders*; for whilſt his Army was in want of every thing, he muſt not want Mules to fetch Spaw-Waters for his Baths. *Cb. 9. l. 6.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

a In the Siege of *Tournay*, *ann.* 1581, *Mary* of *Lalain*, Princeſs of *Epinoy*, being not contented inceſſantly to exhort the Soldiers and the Burghers to a vigorous defence againſt the Duke of *Parma* and the *Spaniards*, ſhe ſo valiantly expoſed herſelf, that ſhe had her Arm broken by the Shot of an Arquebuſs, of which ſhe died the Year following. Thus this Lady made good the Character which *Commines* gives of her Family. Meſſire *Philip de Lalain*, ſaith he, was of a Race, of which there have been few who have not been valiant, and have almoſt all died in ſerving their Princes in War. *Memoirs, l.* 1. *c.* 2. *Ann.* 1595, the Lady *De Balagny*, Wife of the Lord of *Cambray*, performed the Duty of a Captain, and of a private Soldier, in the defence of this Town againſt the *Spaniards*. Night and Day ſhe went to viſit the Sentinels, and to obſerve the Battery; ſhe wrought on the Fortifications; ſhe diſcharged the Cannon; with her Pike in her Hand, ſhe expoſed herſelf to all Dangers, and braved the *Spaniards*, and would not hear of a Capitulation. Which might have ſucceeded, if her Husband had not been ſo odious to the City, over which he tyrannized without Pity. *Herrera* calls this Lady, another *Boadicea*, another *Peruviana*. *Hiſt. part* 3. *l.* 11. *c.* 16. *& Don Carlos Coloma, l.* 8. *of his Wars of Flanders.*

thank the Legions, as they paſs'd along. All which Proceedings made a deep Impreſſion of Diſcontent and Melancholy on the Soul of *Tiberius*. He ſtrongly ſuſpected, that this Over-Diligence and Care could not poſſibly be innocent [2] at the bottom; that it was not againſt Foreigners, that *Agrippina* thus fortifi'd herſelf with the Favour of the Soldiers; that the Generals might now ſecurely take their Eaſe, when a Woman could perform their Office, take Reviews of the Legions, march amidſt the *Roman* Enſigns and their Eagles, and make Donatives to the Soldiers. How could it be without Deſign, that her little Son was carried round the Camp in the plain habit of a private Soldier; that ſhe caus'd him to be Sirnam'd *Caligula*: That ſhe had already more Authority in the Army than all the Generals [3], ſince ſhe had

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. In the Opinion of *Livy*, Civility and Liberality are never free in a great Fortune. The Prince can't look upon a great Man, who ſtudies to gain the People's Affections, but as a Rival, who would ſteal from him the Hearts of his Subjects, that he may afterwards deprive him of their Obedience. *Henry* the Third, ſaith a Politick *Spaniard*, one Day ask'd his Confidents this Queſtion: What doth the Duke of *Guiſe* do, thus to charm the People's Hearts? Sir, (ſaid a cunning Courtier,) he gives with both Hands, and when it is not in his Power to grant what they deſire, he ſupplies it with Words: Let them invite him to a Wedding, he goes; to a Funeral, he aſſiſts at it; to be Godfather to a Child, he accepts it. He is affable, careſſing, and liberal; he carries it fair to all People, and ſpeaks ill of none; in ſhort, he reigns in their Hearts, as your Majeſty doth in your Territories. *Gracian's Heroes, cc.*12. Of all that Don *Pedro Giron*, Duke of *Oſſon*, did to continue himſelf in he Viceroyſhip of *Naples*, and to hinder the Cardinal *Gaſpar Borgia* from taking Poſſeſſion of it, nothing rendred him more ſuſpected, or rather more criminal, than what he did after the arrival of the Cardinal to *Prochira*, an Iſle near *Naples*. Having aſſembled the common People, he threw among them abundance of Money, and when he had no more left, he pull'd off the Gold Buttons which he had on his Clothes, and a Girdle of Diamonds; and after that, by an extravagant Liberality, he alſo threw his Hat and his Cloke to them, imploring the Aſſiſtance of this Multitude againſt a Prieſt, who, he ſaid, was not fit to govern a Kingdom, of which the Pope had a deſire to poſſeſs himſelf. *Conjuratio Oſſuniana* 1612, & 1620.

3. *Tiberius* tranſgreſſed through Diſtruſt and Jealouſie, but *Agrippina* through Imprudence; for ſhe better remembred whence ſhe deſcended, and whoſe Wife ſhe was, than whoſe Subject. The ſame Commentator on *Comminus* ſaith, That Diſtruſt is wont to take away the Judgment of Women, but that on the

had appeas'd a Mutiny, where the Name of the Emperour had been of no Conſideration 4. *Sejanus*, who was well acquainted with the ſuſpicious Temper of *Tiberius* 5, was not wanting to foment theſe Diſcontents,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

the contrary it gives Judgment to Princes, and improves it; that it is a Paſſion that abſolutely maſters Ladies; whereas it is a Quality that is abſolutely neceſſary to Kings. Witneſs *Edward* the Fourth, King of *England*, who, according to *Comines*, was driven out of his Kingdom by the Earl of *Warwick*, becauſe he always lived without Suſpicion. *Chap.* 1. *of the Commentary, let.* E. *and ch.* 5. *of l.* 1. *of the Memoirs.*

4. Great Services draw Calamities on thoſe who perform them, eſpecially when they are Men, whoſe Birth, Courage, or Merit, gives Jealouſie to the Prince. The younger *Pliny* ſaith, That it is ſeldom ſeen, that a Prince loves thoſe, to whom he believes himſelf moſt obliged; and, according to the Teſtimony of *Comminet*, *Lewis* the Eleventh was of the ſame Opinion. The Reaſon of this is, becauſe Men do that more heartily which comes purely from Free-will, than that which they are obliged to do by a Motive of Gratitude. *Anthony Perez* ſaith, That it fares with the great Obligations which a Prince hath to his Subject, as with thoſe Fruit-Trees, whoſe Boughs are broken by being overladen; and that to have performed extraordinary Services to his King, is a ſort of Obligation, which ruines the Favourite.

5. There is nothing, which a Favourite, or a chief Miniſter, ought to take more Pains about, than throughly to know his Prince's Humour; for without this it is impoſſible that his Favour ſhould laſt long, or that he ſhould not fall a Victim to his Enemies. *Cabrera* ſaith, That the Prince of *Eboli* was not ſo great a Stateſman as the Duke of *Alva*, his Rival; but withal, that he far better underſtood his Maſter's Humour. And it is to this Knowledge, that he attributes the good Fortune of this Prince, to keep the Favour of *Philip* the Second, to the laſt moment of his Life. He preſerved it, ſaith he, becauſe he kept him company without being troubleſom to him, and without importuning him when he was inclin'd to Solitude. He always bore him a great Reſpect, and this Reſpect always increas'd as his Favour, and the Obligations which he received. He diſcharged the Duties of his Place, without Artifice, and without Conſtraint. He digeſted and prepared with care what he had to Negotiate, and ſpoke his Opinion with a natural Modeſty, and hearkned with Attention to his Maſter's Anſwer, without ever dilating in impertinent Diſcourſes. He ſpoke advantagiouſly of thoſe whom the King loved, and, by a handſom and prudent Diſſimulation, he ſeemed to underſtand no more, than what the King was willing to tell him. He kept every thing ſecret which the King ſaid to him, and if others ſpoke of it, he was the laſt that did it himſelf. When he went to Court, he moderated his Train, and never clothed his Domeſticks in richer Liveries than the King's; and when he reprimanded any one in the King's Name, he avoided ſpeaking with Heat, and keeping a wiſe Mean, he inveighed againſt the Fault, and not againſt the Perſon.

tents [6], but bury'd the Seeds of them deep under Ground [7], and remov'd from ſight, that they might ſhoot up in their appointed time, and produce the Fruits which he deſir'd.

LXIV. *Germanicus*, who was embark'd already with his Legions, intruſted *Publius Vitellius* with the Command of the Second and the Fourteenth, that he might bring them back by Land, thereby to lighten his Tranſport Veſſels, leſt they ſhould knock upon the Sands, or lie a-Ground, the Water during the Ebbs, being extreamly ſholy upon thoſe Seas. At the beginning, *Vitellius*, who coaſted the Shores, found no Inconvenience in his March, becauſe the Soil was dry, and the Tide moderate. But after the Breeze began to blow, and the Sun was in the Equinox [1], (at which time the Seas begin to ſwell,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

His Hiſtory, l. 7. c. 7. & l. 10. c. 1. Anthony Perez ſaith, That the Duke of *Alva* one Day ſpeaking to him of this Favourite, expreſſed his Opinion of him in theſe words: The Lord *Ruy Gomez*, of whoſe Party you are ſo great a Favourer, is not one of the ableſt Stateſmen that we have had; but as for the Art of underſtanding the Nature of Kings, I acknowledge he hath been ſo great a Maſter, that how great ſoever all we that are here are, we meet with the Head where we think to have the Feet. *In a Letter to a great Favourite.* The Reſult of all which is, that a Favourite, or a Miniſter, who is only beloved by his Prince, is better eſtabliſh'd, than he, who is highly eſteem'd by him.

6. A prudent Miniſter, and who loves the Reputation of his Prince, ought to avoid nothing more, than to nourish his Diſquiets, and his Jealouſies. This is ſo dangerous a Fault in Princes, and carries them to ſuch troubleſome Reſolutions, and ſometimes ſo unjuſt, that there can't be too great a Care taken, to calm the Agitation of their Minds. Happy are the Kings, who have Miniſters of ſuch a Temper, as was Don *Antonio de Toledo*, Grand Prior of *Leon*, who having received an Order to bring a *Caſſette*, in which were the Letters and ſecret Papers of Don *Carlos*, tore all thoſe, which might prejudice this young Prince, and his Friends, before he put them into the Hands of *Philip* the Second. *Cabrera's Hiſtory, l. 7. c. 22.*

7. When Princes diſſemble their Reſentment, it is a ſign that they are meditating a cruel Revenge. The Conſtable of *St. Pol*, who had ſo much Wit, was ſo weak as to believe *Lewis* the Eleventh reconciled to him after the Interview at *Noion*; for if the Hatred was ſo great before, it was ſtill greater on the King's ſide, who was aſhamed that he had ſpoken with his Servant, with a Bar betwixt them. *Comines's Memoirs, l. 5. c. 11, & 12.*

1. According to *Oneſander*, Generals of Armies ought to underſtand Aſtronomy. *Incrementum per noctem*

ſuper-

ſwell, and grow tempeſtuous,) all the Campaign was floated on the ſudden, and the two Legions in apparent danger of being loſt. The Sea and Land bore the ſame Figure; the firm Earth was not to be diſtinguiſh'd from the moving Sands, nor the ſordable Paſſages from the Deep. The Billows bore away the Soldiers, and devour'd them; dead Bodies of Men, and Horſes, were ſeen floating confuſedly with the Baggage on the Waves. The Brigades were mix'd with one another; ſome of the Soldiers were wading up to the Waſte in Water; others to their Shoulders; and always one or other their Footing failing, were carried to the bottom. Their Cries, and mutual Encouragements, avail'd them nothing againſt the Fury of the Waves, which ſuck'd them in, and ſwallow'd them; no diſtinction was to be found betwixt the Cowards and the Brave, the Prudent and the Fools, the Cautious and the Bold; all were equally overpower'd by the violence of the Seas and Winds. At length, *Vitellius* having ſav'd himſelf on a riſing Ground, ſhew'd the way of Safety to the remains of his wreck'd Legions. They paſs'd the following Night without Fires, without Proviſions, and without Tents, the greateſt part of them all bruis'd and naked, and more miſerable than thoſe who are ſurrounded by their Enemies, becauſe their Death was without Honour; whereas the others were in a capacity of ſelling their Lives at a dear Rate, and dying not ingloriouſly.

The

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

ſupra terras ſiderum Imperatori peritiam aliquam inſſe oportet. Strategici, c. 39. And *Polybius*, as great a Politician as an Hiſtorian, ſaith, That a General of an Army cannot take juſt Meaſures neither by Sea nor Land, if he doth not well underſtand the Summer Solſtice, and the Equinoxes. *Debet perſpicue cognoſcere ſolſtitium æſtivale & æquinoctias, & intermedias dierum & noctium tam auctiones, quam diminutiones; ſic enim duntaxat ſecundum rationem commendare poteſt, quæ tam mari, quam terra perficienda ſunt.* Lib. 9. *Chriſtopher Columbus* ſaved his Army, which was periſhing by Famine, by the Prediction which he made of an Eclipſe to an *Indian* King, who refuſed to furniſh him with Proviſions. *Pagliari Obſervation* 74.

1. Ca-

The return of Day reſtor'd them to dry Land, and afforded them the means of retiring to the *Rhine*[b], whither *Germanicus* had already brought his Forces. The two Legions reimbark'd with him, while the Rumour yet continu'd, that they were loſt; which was obſtinately believ'd, till all the World had ſeen the return of *Germanicus* with his Army.

LXV. During this Interval, *Stertinius* was gone to receive *Segimer*, the Brother of *Segeſtes*, and brought him, together with his Son, into the City of the *Ubians*. A Pardon was granted to both of them; to the Father without any difficulty, becauſe he had ſurrender'd himſelf of his own free motion; but more hardly to his Son, becauſe he was accus'd to have inſulted the dead Body of *Varus*. As for the reſt, *Spain*, *Gaul*, and *Italy*, ſeem'd to vye with each other, in ſending Horſes, Arms, and Silver, to *Germanicus*, to repair the Loſſes which his Army had ſuſtain'd. But he, with high Praiſes of their Zeal, accepted only of the Arms and Horſes, which he wanted to carry on the War, being reſolved to ſupply the Soldiers with his own Money. And to efface wholly from their Memory, the Thoughts of their late Suffering by his Kindneſs, he viſited the Wounded, deſir'd to ſee their Hurts, commended every one in particular, according to the Merits of his Service [1]; ſome he inflam'd

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Careſſes and Praiſes are inſtead of all Rewards to brave Men. Cardinal *de Richelieu* ſaith, That *Henry* the Fourth being under an extream Neceſſity, paid his Servants with good Words, and made them do Things with his Careſſes, upon which his Weakneſs permitted him not to put them by other ways. *Pol. Teſt. part* 1. *c.* 6.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

b The *Latin* hath the *Weſer*, but it ought there to have the *Rhine*, where was the Winter Quarters of the Legions. For *Vitellius* carried the two Legions into the *Gaules*, whereas to have gained the *Weſer*, which was beyond the *Ems*, had been to have carried them into *Germany*. There is more reaſon to conclude, that the word *Viſurgim* is ſlipt in for *Vidrum*, called now

flam'd with deſire of Honour, others with the hopes of Riches. In ſhort, whether by his Affability, or the Care which he took of them, he won them all to be at his Devotion, and ready to follow him in any Danger.

LXVI. In the ſame Year, the Triumphal Ornaments were decreed to his Lieutenants, *Aulus Cecina*, *Lucius Apronius*, and *Caius Silius*. *Tiberius* refus'd the Title of *Father of his Country* [c], which the People were often deſirous to have given him; nor even would permit, that they ſhould take their Oaths upon his [1] Acts [d], many times repeating theſe words, That there was nothing ſtable in this Life; and that the more he was exalted, the more in danger of a Fall [2]. But this affected Modeſty of his, gain'd him not a better Opinion with the People; for he had lately revived the Law of High-Treaſon for Offen-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. There is no Prince ſo wiſe, ſaith *Commines*, who doth not ſometimes fail, and very often if he lives long; and thus would it be found in their Actions, if Truth had been always ſpoken of them. *Lib. 5. cap. 13.*

2. This Doctrine can never be too much inculcated on Princes, who, for the moſt part, preſume much on their Power. Would to God, that each Prince, in the courſe of his Reign, might only meet with ſuch a Miniſter, or a Confident, as he was, who ſaid to *Philip* the Second, Sir, Be moderate, acknowledge God on Earth, as well as in Heaven, leſt he grow weary of Monarchies, and provoked by the Abuſe which Kings make of their Power, in uſurping

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now the *Wecht*, which is one of the Mouths of the *Rhine*, than to attribute this Error to *Tacitus*, who always places the *Weſer* where it is at this Day.

c *Sueton* ſaith, That he reſolutely refuſed the Title of *Father of the Country*, and the Senates ſwearing to his Acts, for fear leſt one Day they ſhould think him unworthy of two ſo great Honours. *Ne mox majore dedecore impar tantis honoribus inveniretur.*

d It was an Oath which the Magiſtrates took, to hold for well done whatſoever the Prince ſhould do during his Reign. They renewed it every Year, on the Firſt of *January*. It was by this Oath, that the *Romans* open'd the Gap to Slavery; for to ratifie and to hold for Authentick whatſoever the Prince ſhould pleaſe to ordain, was to put an Arbitrary Power into his Hands, and to baniſh Liberty. *Lewis* the Eleventh ſeemed to exact a like Oath, when he ſaid, That none ought ever to withſtand the Prince's Will, no not when he was out of his Wits.

e He

Offences committed againſt the Perſon or Dignity of the Prince; which 'tis granted had the ſame Name in the Times of our Fore-Fathers, but was not of the ſame Extent 3. If any one had betray'd his General in War, or rais'd Sedition, or diſhonour'd the Majeſty of the *Roman* People in the publick Exerciſes of his Function, he was attainted for a Crime of State. Actions were puniſhable, but Words were free. *Auguſtus* was the firſt, who comprehended Libels within the Cognizance of the Law; being provok'd by the Petulancy of *Caſſius Severus*, who had defam'd, in his Writing, Men and Women of the higheſt Quality 4. *Tiberius* afterwards had anſwer'd the Prætor *Pompeius Macer*, who had conſulted him concerning this very Law, That his Pleaſure was, it ſhould be obſerv'd

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uſurping his, he give another form of Government to the World. *Antony Perez, in one of his Spaniſh Letters.* It was very ſtrange Diſcourſe in the Mouth of a Pope, (*Paul* the Fourth,) who told the Cardinals, That he would make his Memory immortal by the Dominions which he would give his Family, according to the Grandeur of the Pontificate, by virtue of which, he had Emperours and Kings at his Feet. *Cabrera's Hiſt. l. 2. c. 2.*

3. Bad Princes turn all Offences into new Articles of Treaſon, to render them unpardonable, under a pretence of not going againſt Reaſon of State.

4. A wiſe Prince ought not to ſuffer thoſe Satyrical Writers to go unpuniſhed, who make a Trade to beſpatter the Reputation of great Men, of Magiſtrates, and of private Perſons. The Prince, who ſuffers them, draws upon himſelf the Hatred of thoſe, who find themſelves injured by theſe Verſes, Portraitures, and ſecret Hiſtories, wherewith they feed, or rather poiſon the Publick:

——— Jam ſævus apertam
In rabiem verti cœpit jocus, & per honestos
Dictus damnis impune minas.
Hor. Ep. l. 2. ep. 1.

It was, perhaps, none of the leaſt of the good Actions of Pope *Sixtus* the Fifth, in puniſhing that Poet, whom he ſent to the Galleys; for a Sonnet which he made on an Advocate's Wife, wherein, whoſe Name he made to rhime with the word *Putana*, notwithſtanding ſhe was of an unblemiſhed Life. A Puniſhment, to which this Pope condemned him for rhiming likewiſe with his Name, which was, *Mastra. Leti's Life of this Pope, part 2. l. 3.* If the Prince is the Protector and the Preſerver of the Lives and Eſtates of his Subjects, with much more Reaſon ought he to defend their Honour, which is the moſt valuable Thing they poſſeſs. *Charles* the Fifth did one day an Action, in which it is not eaſie to ſay, whether he diſcovered more his good Nature, or his Merit. Deſiring to give one of thoſe Diverti ſements, which they call in *Spain*, *Juego de cannas*, i. e. tilt-

obſerv'd; being piqu'd himſelf likewiſe by certain Verſes of conceal'd Authors, which had reproach'd him for his Cruelty, his Pride, and his Ingratitude [e] to his Mother 5.

LXVII. 'Tis not from the purpoſe, in this place, to relate the Accuſations which were carry'd on againſt *Falanius* and *Rubrius*, two *Roman* Knights, but both of very moderate Eſtates, to ſhew the Birth and Riſe of that pernicious Invention, and with what Cunning *Tiberius*

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

tilting with Canes or Reeds, he commanded the Grandees to divide themſelves into Troops. Each Lord took care to make up his own Troop of the moſt conſiderable Gentlemen of his Acquaintance, but not one of them thought fit to take a certain Cavalier, a Man of Merit and Importance, becauſe he had ſome ſort of Blemiſh in his Birth. A Gentleman of the Emperour's Chamber ſpeaking to the Emperour of the Mortification which this Cavalier was under upon this account, who was at that time alſo in the Antichamber; the Emperour, without ſeeming to know any thing of it, appearing at his Chamber Door, ſaid to the Lords who attended at the Entrance; Sirs, Let none take Don *N*.... becauſe he is to be of my Troop. *Epitome of his Life by the Commander of Vera. Cabrera* ſaith, That *Philip* the Second turned his Back on thoſe whom he heard ſpeaking ill of others, and particularly if it was of his Miniſters. *His Hiſtory, l. 5. c. 17.* He anſwered a Canon's Letter in theſe Words: I am informed of what you ſay concerning your Biſhop, and you ought to take care to be more reſerved in ſpeaking of ſuch Perſons. *L. 11. c. 11.*

5. Nothing offends a Prince more, than to attribute his Fortune, or his Exaltation, to thoſe, whom it is not his Intereſt to acknowledge as the Authors of it. If the point of Honour is the moſt tender part of private Perſons, how ſenſible muſt Princes be of it? *Ferdinand* the Catholick, who owed the whole Acquiſition of the Kingdom of *Naples* to *Gonzalo Hernandez*, diſcover'd how uneaſie he was under this Obligation, when he ſaid; I do not ſee that I have reaſon to rejoyce for having acquired this Kingdom, ſeeing that there is no return of Profit to me from it; and that he, who hath conquered it in my Name, ſeems not to have had a Deſign to have acquired it for me, but only for himſelf and thoſe, among whom he hath diſtributed the Lands and Revenues. *Paulus Jovius, l. 5. of the Life of the Grand Capitaine. Maurice*, Prince of *Orange*, could not endure to be told, That he owed his riſe to *John* of *Barneveld*, who, by his Authority, made him leave the College, and put himſelf at the Head of the Armies of *Holland* in his Father's ſtead.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

e. He owed the Empire to her.

f For

rius fomented it: How the Growth of it was ſtopp'd for a certain time, and how afterwards it was renew'd, and increas'd ſo much in Strength, that it ſet the whole Empire in a Flame. He who inform'd againſt *Falanius*, accus'd him to have admitted into the Society of thoſe, who were the Adorers of *Auguſtus*, and were divided into ſeveral Fraternities a certain Buffoon [1], call'd *Caſſius*, who had proſtituted his Body; and that he had ſold, together with his Gardens, a Statue of that Emperour, which was erected there. *Rubrius*, in like manner, was accus'd for violating the Divinity of *Auguſtus* by Perjury. *Tiberius*, having Information of theſe Procedures, writ to the Conſuls thus concerning them: That Heaven had not been decreed to his Father, with intention that his Worſhip ſhould ſerve for a Pretence, to the Ruine of *Roman* Citizens [2]; That *Caſſius* had been accuſtom'd to aſſiſt with thoſe of his Profeſſion at the Plays, which *Livia* had conſecrated to the Memory of *Auguſtus*; That to leave his Images, with thoſe of other Gods, in Houſes and Gardens which were ſold, had not the leaſt reference to Religion; That the Perjury of *Rubrius* ought not to be held a more enormous Crime, than that of Forſwearing himſelf by the Name of *Jupiter* [3].

LXVIII. Shortly after, *Granius Marcellus*, Prætor of *Bithynia*, was accus'd of High-Treaſon by *Cæpio Criſpinus*, his

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. An Inſtance, how Scandalous the Profeſſion of Players is accounted, as who have always been excluded from the Rites and Ceremonies of Religion, not only among Chriſtians, but among Heathens likewiſe. In the Year 1687, the *Italian* Actors being deſirous to offer up publick Prayers for the King's Recovery, had, under the Character of *Italian* Gentlemen, obtain'd Leave to perform their Devotions in the Church of the *Great Auguſtin's* at *Paris*; but the Arch-Biſhop diſcerning the Cheat, recalls his Licenſe, and would not permit it. *Impiæ preces, deteſtanda vota.*

2. Religion ought never to be made uſe of, either as a colour, or inſtrument of Cruelty.

3. 'Tis for this Reaſon, that Crimes againſt Princes are puniſhed with a greater Severity, than Blaſphemy, and many other Offences againſt God, becauſe the Prince hath no other way to make himſelf fear'd, than by preſent Puniſhment. In *Ireland*, where Oaths and Perju-

his Treaſurer, with the corroborating Evidence of *Romanus Hiſpo.* This *Hiſpo*, who was of an unquiet Spirit, had taken up a kind of Life, which the Iniquity of the Times, and the Wickedneſs of Men, turn'd afterwards into a common Practice [1]; for from a poor, unknown, and deſpicable Fellow [2], as he was, he accommodated himſelf ſo well to the Cruelty of *Tiberius*, at firſt by ſecret Memoirs which he gave him, and afterwards by open Accuſations, which he brought againſt the greateſt Men of *Rome*, that becoming as powerful with the Prince, as hated by the People, he ſerv'd for an Example to many others; who, like him, riſing from Poverty to Riches, and from Contempt to formidable Greatneſs, ſplit at length upon that Rock to which they had driven others. He accus'd *Marcellus* to have ſpoken with too great Licenſe of *Tiberius*. An inevitable Crime! becauſe the Informer picking out all the infamous Actions of the Prince, the Perſon accus'd was believ'd guilty of ſaying that, which was notoriouſly true. He added, That a Statue of *Marcellus* had been plac'd higher than any of the *Ceſars*; and that he had taken off the Head from an Image of *Auguſtus*, and plac'd in the room of it the Effi-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

ry are too uſual, they who ſwear falſly by the Hand of the Governor, or Lord of the Place, are bound by the Payment of an heavy Mulct to repair the Injury done to his Name, whereas they who ſwear upon the Bible, upon the Altar, upon the Image of St. *Patrick*, their Apoſtle, or of any other Saint, are paſs'd by without any other Cenſure, than that of being declard Forſworn.

1. For bad Examples, ſaith *Paterculus*, ſeldom or never ſtop at the firſt Author, who begins them; but when once a Gap is opened to them, how ſmall ſoever, they ſoon ſpread themſelves far and near.

2. In matters of Report and Calumny, poor People, as living moſt in Obſcurity, are more to be feared than others. Inaſmuch as ſuch Men are neither by Birth nor Merit qualified for any ſhare in Buſineſs, nor yet honeſt enough to conſider the publick Good, they ſtick not to ſet every place on fire, out of hopes to make their Fortunes in the confuſion. They are ſure to forget nothing, that lies in their power, to diſturb, by flattering ſome, and libelling others, that order of Government, which hinders their Advancement to Offices and Honours. *Ch. 8. of the Second Part of the Pol. Teſtament.*

3. When

Effigies of *Tiberius* 3. At theſe Words, *Tiberius*, without breaking into Choler, cried aloud, That he would deliver his Opinion in open Senate concerning this Affair, and that with a ſolemn Obteſtation [f] of *Jupiter*, to oblige the reſt to the ſame Sentence 4. As there were yet ſome ſmall Remainders of the ancient Liberty, tho now

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. When the Witneſs depos'd all the Ill that was either ſaid or believed of himſelf, he ſhewed no Diſpleaſure at it, leſt he ſhould be thought to confirm the Truth of thoſe Reports, if he had appeared concerned at them; but as ſoon as any mention was made of an Injury done to *Auguſtus*, he immediately vents his Anger againſt *Marcellus*, thus, under pretence of what had been done to the Statue of his Father, revenging the Affront, which he took to be offered to himſelf. *Pro Auguſto conqueretis ſuum dolorem proferebat.* Further, a great many People uſe the Images and Pictures of Princes to the ſame purpoſe, to which Signs or Buſhes are hung out at Taverns: and I remember, I my ſelf have heard it ſaid, That *Onofrio Camaiano*, Preſident of the Apoſtolical Chamber, treated with great Reſpect the Portraiture of *Pius* the Fifth, his Friend and Benefactor, as long as that Pope lived; but as ſoon as he was dead, he orders the Head to be eraz'd, and that of his Succeſſors to be put in its place. *Obſ.* 162. I doubt not many have obſerved oftner than I, what happened a few years ſince upon the Death of a great Miniſter, whoſe Portraitures gave place to thoſe of his Collegue in a great many Houſes in *Paris*, but after this they were changed.

4. A Prince, who deſires to be well adviſed, muſt take care not to give his own Opinion firſt, becauſe none will dare to contradict that. If he ſpeaks firſt, it is a ſign he expects Approbation, and not Counſel; and therefore it is dangerous for him to declare his own Judgment. Upon this account, *Philip* the Second ſeldom aſſiſted at his Council of State, *Becauſe* (ſaith he to *Antonio Perez*) *the Preſence of the Prince intimidates the Spirits, reſtrains the Paſſions, and makes the Counſellors ſpeak by Form, like Preachers from the Pulpit; whereas being by themſelves, they Diſpute, they Heat and Provoke one another, and ſhew without reſerve their real Tempers and Intereſts. This ſerves much for the Information of the Prince, who, on the contrary, if he be preſent, is in hazard to diſcloſe his Sentiments, and to argue with his Subjects as with Equals. A thing incompatible with Majeſty, which is ſupported by outward Reſpects, in the ſame manner, as the Pontifical Ornaments procure to*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

f For, in Matters of great Importance, the Judges were wont to ſwear, That they judg'd according to their Conſcience; uſing this Form, *Ex animi ſententia*; or elſe this, *Si ſciens fallam, ita me Dieſpiter bonis ejiciat, ut ego ſum lapidem*; The Oath was made on the Altar of *Jupiter Lapis*.

g With

now expiring, *Cneius Piſo* demanded of him, In what Place he would give his Suffrage? For if you ſpeak firſt, (added he) I have no more to do, than to follow your Sentence; but if you deliver your Opinion laſt of all, my Vote by misfortune may have been oppoſite to yours. *Tiberius* amaz'd at this unexpected Boldneſs, and ſuddenly mollified, out of ſhame to have been ſurpriz'd in that Tranſport of his Paſſion, ſuffer'd the Accus'd to be acquitted from the Charge of High-Treaſon [f], and remitted him to the common Magiſtrates to be try'd, for his Management of the publick Treaſure.

LXIX. Not ſatisfi'd to aſſiſt only at the Judiciary Proceedings of the Senate, he frequented alſo the Inferior Court [g], where he ſate on one ſide of the Tribunal,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

to Prelates the Veneration of the People. Perez, *in his firſt Spaniſh Letter.* A certain *Italian* Prince ſaid, That when a Prince knows not what to reſolve upon, he muſt hearken to the Advice of his Council, and ſpeak his own Senſe laſt; but that, on the contrary, if his Reſolutions be fully fixed, he ſhould give his own Opinion firſt, that ſo none may preſume to oppoſe it.

5. It happens but too often, that Princes ſuffer for over-talking themſelves. *Commines, chap.* 10. *of the Firſt Book, and ch.* 10. *of the Fourth Book of his Memoirs.* When a Sovereign falls into Paſſion, (ſays a *Spaniſh* Cavalier,) he ſhould call to mind that Emperour, whom his Confeſſor oblig'd to promiſe, never to have any Command put in Execution ſo haſtily, as not firſt to allow himſelf time to ſay over all the Letters of the *Greek* Alphabet. *Don Carlos Coloma, in his Tenth Book of the Wars of Flanders.* Another ſpeaking of *Charles* the Fifth, who, contrary to his Oath, granted a Pardon to the Duke of *Cleves*, ſays, That he never broke his Word, but when it had relation to ſomething of Cruelty. *Don Juan Ant. de Vera, in the Abridgment of his Life.* Moreover, Prince *Ruy Gomez de Silva* had reaſon to ſay, That Words uttered in heat of Diſpute, and unpremeditated, are more regarded by Princes, than all Remonſtrances whatever. *Chinas y varillas arrojadas al deſcuydo ob ran mas que lanſas.* Ant. Perez, *in a Letter, entituled,* To a Grand Privado.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

g With what Gravity, ſaith *Paterculus*, did *Tiberius* aſſiſt at the Tryals of Cauſes, not as a Prince, but as if he had been a meer Senator or Judge. *Ch.* 129. *of his Second Book.*

nal [1], becauſe he would not diſplace the Judge from the Seat of Juſtice; and occaſion'd by his Preſence, that many good Regulations were made concerning the Partial Recommendations of the Great. But while he kept ſo ſtrict a Hand on Juſtice, he extinguiſh'd Liberty. About this time it was, that *Pius Aurelius*, a Senator, petition'd the Senate to be conſider'd for the Loſs he had ſuſtain'd in the Ruine of his Houſe, which was demoliſh'd for the Convenience of Publick Ways, and the Structure of Aqueducts. *Tiberius*, who was always pleas'd to exerciſe his Liberality in thoſe Things which might do him Honour, (a Virtue which he retain'd a long time after he had diveſted himſelf of all the reſt,) order'd, That the Price of his Houſe ſhould be refunded to him: though the Prætors, who were at that time Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, were againſt the Grant. *Propertius Celer*, who had formerly been Prætor, and who deſir'd Leave to lay down the Dignity of a Senator, becauſe of his Poverty [2], receiv'd a Thouſand great Seſterces [h], to *ſupport his Quality*; *Tiberius* being given to underſtand,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Thoſe Princes very much deceive themſelves, ſaith *Pliny* the younger, in his Panegyrick, who think they ceaſe to be Princes, if at any time they condeſcend to do the Office of a Counſellor or Judge. There are ſome, ſays *Pagliari*, who blame Pope *Clement* the Eighth, for going in Perſon to viſit the Courts of Judicature, the Pariſh-Churches, Convents, and even the very Cells of the Monks, as if ſo much Diligence and Concern were beneath the Dignity of the Supream Biſhop. As for my ſelf, I believ it was a matter of great trouble to this Pope, whoſe ſole Study it was, to perform the full Duty of his Station, that he could not inſpect all the Churches and Monaſteries in *Chriſtendom*; ſo throughly was he perſwaded, that, for the diſcharge of his Conſcience, he ought not to leave to the Care of others, the Adminiſtration of Things ſo material to the Salvation of Souls. *Obſerv.* 474. O! would all Biſhops were effectually convinc'd of this momentous Truth, which that faithful Monitor within is always ready to exhort them to the Practice of.

2. Wealth is a mighty Ornament to Greatneſs, and Men in Wealth, who

HISTORICAL NOTES.

h That is to ſay, 25000 Crowns.

[1] Theſe

ſtand, that his Father had left him much in Debt. Some others endeavour'd to obtain the ſame Favour from *Tiberius*, but he order'd them to addreſs to the Senate [3], affecting to be thought ſevere, and hard [4], even in thoſe very Things which were but Acts of Juſtice. Which was the cauſe, that all the reſt ſate down content with ſilent Poverty, rather than endure the Shame of owning it unprofitably [5].

LXX. The

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

who receive ſuch Advantage from outward Splendour, that of two Perſons equal in Merit, it may without ſcruple be affirmed, that the richer is the better, for a poor Magiſtrate muſt have a Soul of a very reſolute and virtuous Inclination, if he doth not ſuffer himſelf to act ſometimes by Conſiderations of Intereſt. Beſides, Experience aſſures us, that the Rich are under leſs Temptation to Extortion, than others. *Sect.* 1. *Ch.* 4. *of the First Part of the Polit. Teſtament of Card. Rich.* The Counſellor *Brouſſel*, whoſe Integrity the Parliament and People of *Paris* did ſo highly Extol, having been promis'd the Government of the *Baſtile* for one of his Sons, became from that time, of a furious Bigot for the Faction of Slingers, a great Royaliſt, and wholly in the Service of *Mazarine*. *Memoirs of L. R.* However, the Chancellor of the Hoſpital, a Perſon the moſt conſiderable for Eſtate and Probity of any of his Age, affirm'd, He preferr'd the Poverty of the Preſident *de la Vacquerie*, before the Riches of the Chancellor *Raulin*; (the one was firſt Preſident of *Paris*, and the other Chancellor to the Duke of *Burgundy*. It is he who founded the Hoſpital of *Beaune*.)

3. Thoſe who, to obtain their Suits, addreſs themſelves directly to the Prince, deſire rather a preſent Denial, than to be referred to his Miniſters, who commonly are little reſpected for the Kindneſſes they do, whether becauſe in truth they are not the proper Donors, or becauſe the number of Petitioners being almoſt infinite, the Diſcontented are a thouſand times more than the others. Beſides, the more Hands the Petition paſſes through, the leſs Share has the Prince in the acknowledgment of the Favour; whereas, indeed, 'tis all his Due. To give immediate Diſpatch, and without reference to Officers, ſays a *Spaniſh* Gentleman, is to Reign more, and Diſoblige leſs. *That is to ſay, when a Prince can, without Inconvenience, give a deciſive Anſwer.* Don *Fadrique Molas*, in his *Audiencia de Principes*. *Hortalus* laid open the State and Reaſons of his Poverty before a full Senate, and yet *Tiberius* made him a very rough and angry Reply. *See Articles the* 37*th and* 38*th, of the Second Book of Annals.*

4. The Denials of a Prince, ſhould be temper'd with Sweetneſs, and Courteſie of Behaviour. 'Tis not the refuſal, but the manner, which occaſions the Hatred and ill-will; for nothing more affronts, than Rudeneſs. *Nihil eſt tam deforme, quam ad ſummum imperium etiam acerbitatem naturæ adjungere.* Cicero, Ep. 1. ad Quint. fratr.

5. According to *Seneca*, Favours that muſt be extorted by the force of Cringes and Intreaties, are as Bread made of flinty Gravel. I had rather buy, than ask, ſays *Cicero*,

LXX. The ſame Year, the *Tiber* being ſwell'd by the continual fall of Rains, overflow'd the nether Parts of the Town, and carried off both Houſes and Men in its Retreat. *Aſinius Gallus* propos'd in Senate to conſult the Sibils [i] Books; which *Tiberius* withſtood [1]; who was as careful to conceal the Myſteries of Religion, as thoſe of State. But the care of reſtraining thoſe Inundations, was committed to *Ateius Capito*, and *Lucius Arruntius*. On occaſion of Complaints, which were made by *Greece* and *Macedonia*, it was order'd, That they ſhould be diſ-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

ſpeaking of thoſe, who are forc'd to ask and beſeech over and over again. *Pliny* the younger commends *Trajan*, for that he never put any to the trouble of attending, either for Audience or Courteſies in his Power to grant. *Audiuntur ſtatim, dimittuntur ſtatim.* Another ſays, ſilence is the beſt Cloke of Poverty.

1. A Prince newly advanced to the Throne, ought carefully to avoid the Introduction of Novelties among the People, eſpecially in Matters pertaining to Religion. If *Tiberius* had given leave to make publick the Sibylline Books, the People, having no fondneſs for one of his Humour, would have been ſure to expound reflectingly the ambiguous Oracles, as alſo the vain and fallacious Predictions, though, perhaps, they were never meant for a Prophecy of his Government. The Books of *Numa* having been found in his Grave, the Senate voted them to the Flames, being informed by the Prætor *Rutilius*, who by their Order had inſpected them, that they contained Points contrary to the Religion then in Vogue with the People. The *Areopagus* condemned *Socrates*, becauſe he endeavoured to make the People believe, there was but one God, when yet at the ſame time many of the Senators were verily perſwaded, that it was true. Witneſs the Altar dedicated to the Unknown God, whom St. *Paul* affirmed to be the God whom they worſhipped. *Acts* 17.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

i Theſe Books were kept in a private Apartment of the Capitol, as an Inſtrument of Policy, to awe the *Populace* and Soldiery during the Calamities of the City and State. The People of *Rome* were always very inquiſitive, to know what was contain'd in theſe and ſome other Books, which were in the cuſtody of the Prieſts; witneſs the Reward one *Flavius* received, the Son of a Freeman, who was created Tribune, Senator, and Edile, for having given to the People a Regiſter of the Ceremonies, which he had purloin'd from the Cenſor *Appius Claudius*, under whom he ſerv'd as a Clerk.

k For

diſcharg'd, at preſent [2], from the Government of Proconſuls, and rul'd by the Emperour [k]. *Druſus*, in the Name of *Germanicus*, and in his own, gave the Spectacle of Gladiators, at which himſelf preſided, taking, as was thought, too great a Pleaſure in the ſight of Bloodſhed, though it was only the Blood of Inferiour Men. And his

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. It is not fitting, a Prince ſhould beſtow all that a People may deſire, becauſe there will be no end of this; but when the Requeſts they ſue for are reaſonable, it then becomes him in Civility and Prudence to yield ſomething, leſt otherwiſe their Minds be exaſperated. If a Country happen to be poor and barren, or hath been ruined by a long War, as it often befals Frontier Towns and Provinces, it is moſt equitable it ſhould be Exempt, and Tax-free, not for ever, but for ſome very ſhort time; I ſay, very ſhort, for when the Time ſhall expire, if the Neceſſities of the Place ſtill continue, the People will be obliged to crave a further Forbearance, and by this means an opportunity will be afforded for a ſecond Favour, which will be eſteemed greater than the firſt.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

k For every Proconſul had three Lieutenants, which was an Oppreſſion to the Provinces, whoſe Government was Proconſular; whereas thoſe in the Emperour's Diviſion were under the Government but of one Lieutenant, called a Preſident, from whence they were called Preſidial Provinces. The Proconſuls were Annual, but the Preſidents continued in their Provinces, till the Emperour ſent a Succeſſor. The Proconſuls exerciſed more Authority than the Preſidents, but ſometimes the Emperour would advance theſe to a Power equal to that of others, by giving them a Commiſſion for Conſular Authority. The Preſidents were ſometimes only of the Order of Knights, whereas the Proconſuls were always of the Senatorial Body, and the Conſular Rank. *Legatus Cæſaris*, and *Præſes*, ſignifie the ſame in the *Latin* Hiſtorians. There are alſo Provinces called *Prætorian*, or *Publicæ Provinciæ*, according to *Tacitus*, *Ann.* 13. becauſe the People diſpoſed of the Governments; but when theſe Aſſemblies of the People were put down by *Tiberius*, theſe Provinces became annexed to the Juriſdiction of the Senate, and were held by Lot as the Proconſular. It may be uſeful to obſerve by the way, That *Auguſtus*, who would aſſume no Title, but that popular one of *Prince of the Senate*, yet made no ſcruple to over-reach them in the diſtribution of theſe Provinces; for he took to his own Share all thoſe, where the Legions were in Gariſon, under colour they were expoſed more to danger, as lying nearer to the Enemy; but the true Reaſon was, That he might make himſelf Maſter of all the *Roman* Militia: *Ut in manu ſua res omnis militaris eſſet*, ſays *Dion*. So that *Tacitus* had good Reaſon to ſay, *Patres & plebem invalida & inermia*. Ann. 1. And in another place, *Speciosa Senatus populique Romani nomina*. Hiſt. 1.

his Father, as it was reported, gave him a ſevere Reprehenſion for it, becauſe it had given the People an Occaſion to murmur, who were apprehenſive of his Cruelty, when it ſhould be his Turn to Reign. It was diverſly interpreted, why *Tiberius* reſtrain'd from that Spectacle. Some conjectur'd, that he lov'd not great Aſſemblies; others, that being of a ſullen and melancholick Humour, he fear'd that an odious Compariſon would be made betwixt him and *Auguſtus* [3], who was always preſent at theſe publick Entertainments, behaving himſelf with great Familiarity and Complaiſance [4]. I cannot think, that it was to put his Son into the ill Opinion of the People [5], by ſhewing his Cruel and Sanguinary Temper, though there were ſome of that Belief.

LXXI. The Licenſe of the Theatre, which began the Year before, was now grown exceſſive. Many Murders were committed, not only on Men of common Rank, but even on ſome Soldiers, and one Centurion, who would have reſtrain'd the Quarrels of the Populace, and repreſs'd the Inſults, which they made on

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. A Prince, who knows he is hated, as *Tiberius* did, muſt induſtriouſly decline the giving any occaſion of Compariſon between himſelf and a Predeceſſor, that was popular; for the People, whoſe only Rule of Judging is wont to be their preſent Humour, will never do him Right, no not even in Things wherein he excels his Predeceſſor. *Invifo ſemel principe, ſeu bene, ſeu male facta premunt.* Tac. Hiſt. 1. I will add on this Occaſion to the two Reaſons, which Tacitus here aſſigns, Why *Tiberius* declin'd appearing at the publick Shews; another, which was, That he might not be conſtrained either to grant or refuſe the People the Demands they were wont to make to the Prince in full Theatre.

4. A new Prince, as was *Auguſtus*, has no better way to keep quiet the People, whoſe Liberties he has invaded, than by Sights and publick Plays, eſpecially if he ſeems to take Delight to be at them himſelf; for then the People, who mind only the outſide and appearances of Things, receive it as a piece of Complaiſance and Courtſhip to them; when it is in truth the main Inſtrument by which they are enſlaved.

5. It was *Tiberius*'s Intereſt to have his Son *Druſus* better belov'd than *Germanicus*. Therefore, it is not probable, he ever intended to render his own Son odious, conſidering the terrible Jealouſie he had of *Germanicus*, his adoptive Son.

1. In

on the Perſons of the Magiſtrates: And the Tribune of a Prætorian Cohort was alſo wounded. A Decree of Senate being made, which impower'd the Prætor, to cauſe the Actors of thoſe Farces to be ſcourg'd; *Haterius Agrippa*, Tribune of the People, oppos'd this Order; and *Gallus Aſinius* ſharply reproving him, *Tiberius* did not interrupt him [1]; for he was willing to ſooth the Senate with that vain appearance of their Power, and publick Liberty. Nevertheleſs, the Oppoſition had the wiſh'd Effect, becauſe *Auguſtus* had declar'd the Farcers to be exempt from the ſervile Puniſhment of the Whip; and *Tiberius* ſeem'd very ſcrupulous, in breaking any of his Edicts [2]. Many other Ordinances were made concerning the Stipends of Comedians [l], and againſt the Licenſe of their Favourers [m]; and the moſt Remarkable are

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. It is ſometimes an Advantage to the Prince, to ſay nothing during the Conteſt and Diſputes his Miniſters and Counſellors fall into one with another, for he may benefit himſelf at their Coſt. In the heat of Oppoſition, ſomething always happens to be ſaid, which both Parties would been unwilling to have ſpoken in their ſober Senſes. *Tiberius*, who bore a mortal ſpight towards *Gallus Aſinius*, for the Reaſons alledged by *Tacitus* in the beginning of this Book, took, it may be, more Pleaſure, to ſee him contending with ſo much earneſtneſs and fury, than *Aſinius* did in inſulting his Collegues.

2. A Prince, who would eſtabliſh his Government, muſt not venture to alter the Laws of his immediate Predeceſſor, but to be ſure not, if this Predeceſſor is one much lamented; for ſuch is the way of the People, that they conſtantly admit kinder Thoughts of a good Prince who is gone, than of him they have at preſent, though no leſs deſerving. 'What hath been ſetled by Prin-'ces, whoſe Management hath been 'eſteemed judicious, muſt not rea-'ſonably be changed, unleſs an inconvenience

HISTORICAL NOTES.

l Tacitus ſays, *De modo lucaris*, which, according to *Turnebius*, is *Merces Hiſtrionum.*

m For every Comedian had his certain Followers, whoſe Employment it was to ſet the Spectators a clapping in his Favour, and to decry all others; whence came frequent Quarrellings and Tumults, in which every one took the Side he moſt fancied; and 'tis for this Reaſon, that *Tacitus* ſtiles them, *Opuræ Theatrales*, *Hiſtrionale Studium*, *Certamen Hiſtrionum*, in ſeveral places of this very Book of Annals.

are theſe: That the Senators ſhould return no Viſits to the *Pantomimes* [n]; That the *Roman* Knights ſhould not accompany them in the Streets; That thoſe Farcers ſhould not be permitted to Play, unleſs only on the Theatres; And that, for the future, the Prætors ſhould have Power to ſend into Baniſhment thoſe Spectators, who behav'd themſelves with Inſolence.

LXXII. *Spain* had leave to build a Temple to *Auguſtus Cæſar*, in the Colony of *Terragona*; and this ſerv'd for an Example to all the Provinces. The People deſiring to be diſcharg'd from the Impoſt laid on the Hundredth part of [1] the *Gains by Commerce*, *Tiberius* declar'd, the Fund for War [o] ſubſiſted chiefly by that Income; and alſo, that the whole Revenue of the Commonwealth

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

[1] convenience be by Experience [1] found to follow from it, or it evi- [1] dently appear, that it may be al- [1] tered for the better. *Sect.* 1. *ch.* 4. [1] *of the Firſt Part of the Pol. Teſtam.* As for the Regard *Tiberius* paid to all the Laws and Edicts of *Auguſtus*, it is not amiſs to obſerve, That it proceeded as much at leaſt from Policy and Precaution, as Gratitude, for he could not do otherwiſe, without weakening the Authority of all that *Auguſtus* had enacted in his Favour, for preferring him before *Germanicus*.

1. Reaſon does not allow People to be excus'd from all Charges or Burdens, for if this Badge of their Subjection be wanting, they will be apt to forget their Condition, and by conſequence, the Obedience they owe. Many Princes have loſt their Kingdoms for want of maintaining Forces ſufficient for their Defence, out of fear to burden their Subjects. And ſome People have become the Slaves of their Enemies, by aſpiring to too much Liberty under their Natural Prince. But there is a ſtated Meaſure, which cannot be exceeded without Injuſtice, common Senſe being able to inform every one, that a a Proportion ought to be obſerved between the Burthen and the Strenghth of thoſe who are to bear it. *Sect.* 5. *ch.* 4. *of the Firſt Part of the Pol. Teſtament.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

[n] Comedians, who play'd by Imitation and Poſture, and counterfeited all ſorts of Perſons.

[o] It was ſomewhat like the *Taille*, or the Extraordinary in *France*, in time of War. This Revenue had three Funds to maintain it; The Twentieth part of all Eſtates by Inheritance, and of Legacies; a Twentieth part in the Sale of Slaves; and an Hundredth part of all Goods imported in Trade. *Auguſtus* firſt laid this Duty.

wealth would not satisfie for the Payment of the Forces, if the *Veterans* were dismiss'd before they had serv'd the term of 20 Years. By which, the Promise made for their Discharge at the end of 16 Years was *virtually* revok'd, which the Seditious Legions had extorted [2] from *Germanicus* and *Drusus* not long before.

LXXIII. *Aruntius* and *Capito* consulted the Senate, concerning the Inundations of the *Tiber*, whether they thought fitting to have them stopp'd, by diverting the Course of the Lakes and Rivers, which discharg'd themselve into it. But before the Debate pass'd farther, they were to hear the Reasons which were offer'd by the Towns and Colonies, which were interess'd in that Affair. It was remonstrated by those of *Florence*, that their Country was lost, if the *Clane* should disburthen it self into the *Arn*: The *Interamnates* [p] alledg'd, that the most fruitful Parts of *Italy* would be turn'd to marish Ground, if the *Nar* should be sluc'd out into many Rivulets, which they were ready to have done. The *Reatines* would not consent, that the Passage should be stopp'd, by which the Lake *Velinus* runs into the *Nar*; declaring, That it would overflow the Neighbouring Country; That Nature

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. Sooner or later Princes are sure to revoke the Priviledges and Acts of Grace, which were at first granted by Constraint. After *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy* had brought the City of *Liege* to Terms, he passed the Law to the Citizens of *Gaunt*, who, the very next day after his entry, mutini'd against him, forcing him to restore all Duke *Philip*, his Father, had taken from them, and to give them whatever Immunities they desired. But being returned to *Brussels*, he orders the 72 Banners of the Inhabitants of *Gaunt* to be fetched away, with all the Letters Patents signed in their Favour: The Banners he sent to *Boulogne*, nulled the Priviledge called that of the Law, which was, That of the Twenty six Sheriffs, the Duke should have power to create but Four; and condemned their City to an Amercement of 36000 Florins. *Commines, chap. 4. book 2. of his Memoirs.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

[p] Now the Inhabitants of *Terni*.

[q] Under

ture had made the beſt Proviſion, for the Convenience of Mankind, in diſpoſing the Courſe of Rivers, ordaining their Outlets, and their Bounds, as ſhe had appointed, where their Springs ſhould riſe; That they ought to have regard to the Religion of their Allies, who had conſecrated Woods, and Altars, and Prieſts, to the Rivers of their Country. That even the *Tiber* [q] would creep along, diminiſh'd of his Glory, if he were robb'd of the Income, which was paid him by his Tributary Rivers. At length, whether deterr'd by Superſtition, or yielding to the Requeſt of the Colonies, or forc'd by the difficulty of the Undertaking, they decreed, That no Alteration ſhould be made, as *Piſo* from the beginning had adviſ'd.

LXXIV. *Poppeius Sabinus* was continu'd in the Government of *Meſia*, to which were added, *Achaia* and *Macedonia*. For it was a Maxim of *Tiberius*, To let the Governours grow old in the Provinces which they commanded, and many of them died [r] in the Poſſeſſion of thoſe Places they held, whether Military or Civil.

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. In *France*, where the Offices are for Life, the Maxim of *Tiberius* hath the Approbation of all the great Men, inaſmuch as it favours their Intereſts; but it is it may be againſt that of the Prince, who, in ſome ſort, ties up his own Hands, in giving what he cannot take away; and likewiſe againſt that of the Publick, where more Perſons would be gratified and requited, if Places were Triennial, as in *Spain*. The Fable of the Fox, which being fallen into a Pit, where the Flies ſorely ſtung and tormented him, refuſed the aſſiſtance of the Hedghog, who proffered to drive them away; Becauſe (ſaith he) if you drive away theſe, others will come half ſtarv'd, and exhauſt all the Blood I have left. This Fable, I ſay; which *Tiberius* alledged as a Reaſon on which his

HISTORICAL NOTES.

q Under the Popedom of *Sixtus* V. there was a Propoſal to enlarge the Channel of the River *Tyber*, thereby to render it more commodious for Navigation; but the Pope changed his Mind, upon an Intimation that this would be a means to facilitate the paſſage of this River to the *Turks*, and other Enemies of the *Roman* Church.

r *Cata*

vil [r]. Various Reaſons are aſſign'd for this: Some affirm, That, to ſpare himſelf the Care and Trouble of a ſecond Choice, he kept conſtant to the firſt; Others ſay,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

his Maxim was founded, concludes nothing in favour of Governments for Life; becauſe the Fear of being no more employed, and the hope of riſing from one Poſt to another more conſiderable, will ſerve as a Curb and Reſtraint to Triennial Officers. Beſides, ſuch a frequent Removal, inclines People to bear the more patiently with the Governours they diſlike, in hopes of better e're long. Cardinal *Richelieu* contends for the Cuſtom of *France*, that is to ſay, for Governments during Life; but I may ſay, that in this matter he was influenced by the conſideration, rather of the Miniſtry he was inveſted withal, than of the Publick; for ſeeing the Governments were diſpoſed of abſolutely at his Pleaſure, 'twas his Intereſt they ſhould be Perpetual, becauſe his Relatives and Dependants, on whom he beſtowed the moſt Valuable, might then render him more puiſſant and favourable in the Provinces where they commanded, than they poſſibly could do, in caſe their Adminiſtration had been only Triennial. And this is ſo true, that if we compare the Arguments he offers for one and the other, (*in the Second Section of the Fifth Chapter in the Firſt Part of his Politick Teſtament,*) it will be eaſie to diſcern, that the practice of *Spain*, in changing Governours ſo often, did not to himſelf appear altogether ſo pernicious for *France*, as he was willing to have it thought in this place. Inſomuch, that had he remained Biſhop of *Luſon*, or Secretary of State, he had been able as well to defend the contrary Opinion, which he in part inclines to towards the cloſe of the ſame Paragraph, where he thus ſpeaks: *I am not afraid to ſay, it is better in this particular to keep to the Uſage of* France, *than to imitate that of* Spain, *which nevertheleſs is grounded on ſuch Policy and Reaſon, with reſpect to the largeneſs of its Territories, that although it cannot be conveniently reduced to Practice in this Realm, yet, in my Judgment, it would do well to be obſerved in ſuch parts of* Lorrain *and* Italy, *as ſhall continue under the Dominion of* France. I conclude therefore agreeably with him, That ſince *Countries remote from the Reſidence of their Princes require change of Governours, becauſe continuance for Life may make them have a mind to throw off the relation of Subjects or Subordinates, and ſet up for*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

[r] *Cato* the Cenſor's ſaying was, That to continue the ſame Perſons long in Offices, did demonſtrate, either that the Commonwealth afforded few that were fit, or that they made ſmall account of Magiſtrates.

[s] Theſe

ſay, That it was to advance as few as poſſible he could [2]. Some have believ'd, that as he had a quick and piercing Wit, ſo his Judgment was always in ſuſpence; for as he could not ſuffer the Extremities of Vice, ſo neither did he love extraordinary and ſhining Virtues: Being jealous of his Authority, he fear'd great Men [3]; and as he was jealous of his own Reputation, and of the publick Honour, he rejected thoſe who paſs'd for Scandalous, or Inſufficient [1]. In ſhort, his Irreſolution was ſo great, that he

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

for Supream, and Maſters of themſelves; the Cuſtom of *Spain* will become abſolutely neceſſary to *France*, if ſhe go on to extend her Frontiers.

2. A bad Policy this: For a Prince, who preſers few of his Subjects, hath not only few Dependents, but always many Enemies, that is to ſay, as many as deſerve to be intruſted or conſidered, and are not. Thus plurality of Places is as oppoſite to the true Intereſt of the Prince, as plurality of Benefices is to that of the Church. I ſhall here remark by the way, That the principal Support of the Regal Authority in *France* is the great number of its Officers. And *Auguſtus* of old had never multiplied Offices, but the better to ſecure his Authority by a multitude of Magiſtrates and Expectants. *Commines* ſpeaking of the laſt Duke of *Burgundy*, ſays, his Favours were not well placed, becauſe he was willing every one ſhould ſhare in them. *Chap. 9. lib. 5. of his Memoirs.*

3. A Perſon of ordinary Parts, and a moderate Capacity, is more likely to make his Fortunes with Princes, than one of a ſublime and great Wit. For all Superiority being ungrateful to them, and they being ambitious to be accounted Chief and Beſt at every Thing, will never love, nor conſequently prefer a Man, whoſe Underſtanding ſeems larger, and more penetrating, than their own. The Letters of *Anthony Perez* contain a great deal to this purpoſe. Among others, there is one directed to a *Grand Privado*, wherein he thus ſpeaks, when the Holy Spirit ſays, *Seem not wiſe in the Preſence of a King*; he meant not to ſay, *Be not wiſe*, but, *Seem not to be ſo*; as if he had uſed theſe Words, *Conceal thy Parts, and thy Prudence, ſhew not thy Intellectuals.* Prince *Rui Gomez de Silva*, the greateſt Maſter in this Art that has appeared for theſe many Ages, told me, he learned this Rule from a mighty Favourite of the Kings of *Portugal*;

HISTORICAL NOTES.

1 Theſe three Reaſons, ſays *Scipio Amirato*, preceeded from his Vices: The firſt, from Lazineſs; the ſecond, from Malice; and the third, from a mixture

he gave Governments to ſome ſuch Perſons, as he had abſolutely determin'd, ſhould never leave the Town to take poſſeſſion of them.

LXXV. As to the Aſſemblies which were held for the Election of Conſuls, I have nothing to affirm for certain, either in the time of *Tiberius*, or after it. So great is the Difference which is found, not only in the Relations of Hiſtorians, but alſo in his own Speeches. Some-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

Portugal; and that in all the Advices he gave, and in all the Conſultations he at any time had with his Prince, he took care to carry himſelf with all the Warineſs and Circumſpection he poſſibly could..... He further added, That he ſo contrived the Matter, that the good Succeſs of his Counſels might ſeem to be only the effect of Chance, and not the return of any Care he had to pleaſe him, or of an intent Application to his Buſineſs, but he ſeem'd to carry himſelf like thoſe Gameſters, who in Play depend more on the favour of Fortune, than their Skill. On this Subject, continued he, the ſame Prince related to me, what paſſed one day between *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, and Count *Lewis de Silveira*. The King having received a Diſpatch from the Pope, compoſed with great exactneſs, ſends for the Count, and commands him to draw up an Anſwer, whilſt he himſelf was making another, for he had a ſtrong inclination to be an Orator, and indeed

HISTORICAL NOTES.

mixture of Lazineſs and Folly. For, if he liked not to employ debauched Perſons, he ſhould have concerned himſelf to find out thoſe that were good; and if he was afraid of virtuous and great Men, let him have but changed often, and he had been ſecure. *In the laſt Diſcourſe of the Firſt Book of his Commentaries. Commines* ſays, All crafty Princes are jealous, that all great Princes are ſo, and particularly, wiſe ones, and ſuch as have made many Enemies, and injured many, as *Tiberius* had done. *Ch. 7. l. 6. of his Memoirs. Yet Jealouſies are to be admitted with Slowneſs and Deliberation, for to be too much addicted to Jealouſie, is not well.* L. 3. ch. 5.

Sometimes, without naming the Candidates for the Conſulſhip, he deſcrib'd them by their Birth; by their Manners, and by the number of Years which they had ſerv'd in War. Sometimes, omitting even thoſe Deſcriptions, he deſir'd the Pretenders not to trouble the Aſſemblies with their Intrigues, promiſing his own particular Care in their Concerns. And ſometimes he ſaid, That no Competitors had preſented themſelves to him, but only they, whoſe Names he had deliver'd to the Conſuls; yet that others were not debarr'd [t] from pretending to that Dignity, who either confided in their own Merits, or in the Favour of the Senate. Specious Words [1], but either void of Meaning, or full of Cunning; and couch'd under a flattering ſhew of Freedom, to

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

indeed was ſo. The Count obeys, but firſt declares his Reluctancy to enter Competition with his Maſter, and the next day he brings his Paper to the King, who, after he had heard it, was loth to read his own; but when the Count had prevailed with him to read it, the King acknowledging the Count's Anſwer to be the better, would have that ſent to the Pope, and not his own. The Count, at his return home, orders two Horſes to be ſaddled for his two Sons, and went immediately with them. And when he was in the Fields, he ſaith to them: "My Children, "ſeek ye your Livelihood, and I "mine, there is no farther means "of living here; for the King "knows, that I am wiſer than "himſelf. Don *Juan Antonio de Vera*, who relates the ſame thing in the Firſt Diſcourſe of his Ambaſſador, ſeems to ſay and believe, that it is a Fable; but be it ſo or no, it is ſtill very Inſtructive.

1. The Words of Princes ſeldom agree with their Actions; and moſt frequently they act directly contrary to what they ſay.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

t *Tacitus* ſaith, *Poſſe profiteri*. *Profiteri* therefore was what we call, to ſtand for an Office, or to get his Name put into the Liſt. *Quæſturam petentes*, (ſaith *Paterculus*) *quos indignos judicavit, profiteri vetuit*. *Hiſt.* 2. *cap.* 92. That is to ſay, the Conſul forbid ſome of

to break out afterwards with greater danger of a worſe Servitude.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

of thoſe, who pretended to the Queſtorſhip, to give in their Names, becauſe he believed them unworthy of it.

THE

THE ANNALS OF *Cornelius Tacitus*, From the Death of Augustus.

Book II. Vol. I.

IN the Conſulſhip of *Siſenna Statilius Taurus* and of *Lucius Scribonius Libo*, a War began in the Kingdoms of the Eaſt and the Roman Provinces on that ſide, whereof the *Parthians* were the occaſion', who having

Politick Reflections.

1. As ſoon as a Powerful Prince hath taken Arms, the War ſpreads it ſelf as it were by contagion, into all the Neighbouring States. Some arm for their own ſafety; others for the defence of the weaker ſide; others follow the fortune of the Stronger, either that they may have a ſhare in the Spoils of the Conquered, or that they might not themſelves fall a Prey to the Conqueror. Thus there needs but one unquiet Prince to trouble a whole World. For, ſaith *Cæſar*, although in the beginning there are but two or three Princes or inferior perſons, before the Feaſt hath laſted two years, all the Neighbours are invited to it. *Cap. 8. Lib. 3.*

having desir'd, and received *Vonones* from *Rome* for their King, afterwards despis'd him as a Foreigner, although he was of the Family of the [a] *Arsacidæ* [a]. He had been given as an Hostage to *Augustus*, by *Phraates* [b], who, notwithstanding he had repuls'd the Roman Armies and Generals, paid all the respect and submission imaginable to *Augustus* [c], and sent some of his Children [d] as a Pledge of his Friendship, not so much out of fear of us, as because he distrusted the Fidelity of his own Subjects [e].

II. After

Politick Reflections.

2. The People look upon those Princes as Strangers, who have had a Foreign Education. Indeed Education is a second Birth. The first forms the Body, but the second forms the Manners. It is of little Importance to Subjects, that the Body of the Prince is Foreign, but it is of great Importance to them that his Manners be not so; forasmuch as it is not the Body but the Mind that governs. *Cicero* saith, That the Romans freely tolerated Sacrifices after the Grecian fashion, provided that the Ceremonies thereof were performed by a Roman Citizen, *ut Deos immortales scientia peregrina & externa, mente domestica & civili precarentur.* *Pro. Corn. Balbo.* The Dutch would never permit *Philip-William* of *Nassaw*, Prince of *Orange*, the Eldest Son of their Deliverer, to reside in their Country, till after the Truce was made with the Spaniards, for he having been almost thirty years a Prisoner in *Spain*, they believed his humour to be Spanish. For the same reason Princes ought not to absent themselves any long time from their Dominions, because it is believed at their return, that they bring Outlandish humours with them.

3. A Prince who is not beloved by his Subjects, ought to avoid as much as possibly he can, engaging in War, or having any misunderstanding with his Neighbours. *Lewis* XI. saith *Commines*, would put nothing to hazard, and he did so not only for fear of the Duke of *Burgundy*, but also out of an apprehension of Seditions that might break out in *France* if he should happen to lose a Battel; for he knew that he was not much beloved by his Subjects; and particularly by the Great Men. And he hath often said to me, that he should find it, if his affairs went ill. *Ch.* 2. *Lib.* 2. *of his Memoirs.*

Historical Notes.

[a] Which is as much as to say of the Royal Family of the Parthians, which began with two Brothers, named *Arsaces* and *Tiridates*, who threw off the Yoke of the *Seleucidæ*.

[b] *Justin* saith, That when *Vonones* was put into the hands of *Augustus*, this Prince said, that the Kingdom of the Parthians would in time become a Part of the Roman Empire, if the Romans gave Kings to the Parthians. *Juris Romanorum futuram Parthiam affirmans, si ejus regnum munaris ejus fuisset, Lib.* 42.

[c] In the interview, which *Caius Cæsar* and *Phraates* had on the *Euphrates*, this King passed over first to the Bank on which *Caius* was, and afterwards *Caius* to the Bank on which the King was. *Paterc. Hist.* 2. *Cap.* 101.

[d] Four Sons, and four Grandsons.

[e] He

II. After the Death of *Phraates* and the [two] succeeding Kings, the Principal Men amongſt them, being weary of domeſtick ſlaughters[1], ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rome* to demand *Vonones*, the Eldeſt of his Sons. *Tiberius* looking on this to be much for his honour[2], ſent him away with rich preſents, and the Barbarous People receiv'd him with joy, as they uſually do new Kings[3]. But they ſoon began to be aſham'd[4], that they had ſo far degenerated, as to go to another World for a King that had been trained up in the Arts of their Enemies, and that the Kingdom of the *Arſacidæ* was thereby eſteem'd, and

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. To preſerve Peace in a Monarchical State, it is neceſſary that the Great Men intermeddle not with the Adminiſtration of Affairs; for their ambition never ſuffers them to agree together. The weaker deſiring an Equality, and the more powerful not being contented with that, they perpetually bandy into Factions one againſt another; ſo that the State is torn with their quarrels, until a Prince comes, who hath the Courage and the Skill to reſume all the Authority which both ſides have uſurped.

2. The greateſt Honour that a Foreign Nation can do to a Prince is to be willing to receive a King from his hands, eſpecially, when it is a Nation equal, or very near equal in power, as the Parthians were to the Romans. *Sociis virium æmulis*, ſaith *Tacitus*, *cedentibuſque per revi, rentiam. Ann.* 12. *i. e.* The Parthians who do not give place to the Romans, but out of Reſpect and Friendſhip.

3. A new Reign, ſaith *Cabrera*, or a new Miniſter, always pleaſeth the People beſt, who in this croſs the Cuſtom that is almoſt Univerſal, to praiſe the paſt and condemn the preſent. As the Succeſſor differs from his Predeceſſor, either in Age or Manners, how good qualities ſoever the Predeceſſor had, he that ſucceeds is always more acceptable. People grow weary of, and in time diſreliſh every thing, and particularly every thing that is Uniform; the ſame kind of Diſh ſerved up two days ſucceſſively, becomes inſipid; a way that is all even and alike, tires if it be long. *Lib.* 7. *Cap. ult.* Cardinal *Delfin* ſaid one day to me, that at *Rome* no Popes were hated more than thoſe who reigned long, and that *la lunghezza del dominare* (it was the Expreſſion he uſed) made a good Pope as inſupportable as a Bad one.

4. *Tacitus* ſaith, that the *Parthians* regretted their Princes, when they were abſent, and diſliked them when they were preſent. *Parthos abſentium æqui, præſentibus mobiles, Ann.* 6. By the firſt, *Vonones*, who had been ſo long abſent, ought to have been very agreeable to them at his return; but by the ſecond, he could not fail of ſoon experiencing their Inconſtancy. Beſides, it is common for Men to have a good Opinion of the Abſent, *majora credi de abſentibus*, *Hiſt.* 2. and to find themſelves deceived when they ſee them, becauſe it is much eaſier to form a great Idea of thoſe whom we love, before we know them, than it is to anſwer a great Expectation, when we are known.

and disposed of as a Roman Province. *Where*, said they, *is the Glory of those that slew* Crassus[e], *and yet* Anthony *so slight, if the* Parthians *are to be governed by one, that hath been so many years a Slave to the Roman Emperor?* He himself heightned their Indignation and Contempt, by differing so much from the Manners of his Ancestors, loving neither [f] Hunting[g], nor Horses[h]; passing thro' the

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

5. According to *Xenophon*, Hunting is the truest Image of War, for there is nothing to be seen in War, which is not seen in Hunting; and consequently Hunting is the most profitable Diversion that a Prince can take, who designs to be a great Captain. *David* offering himself to *Saul* to fight with *Goliah*, alledges, as a Proof of his Courage, and of his Experience, that he had pursued the Lyon and the Bear, and that he had strangled and slew them, in stopping their mouths with his hands; (*i*). *Sam.* XVI. An instance of the Resemblance that there is betwixt Hunting and War. *Comines* saith, that of all Diversions *Lewis* XI. took the greatest Delight in Hunting; but that he scarce returned from it, but he was angry with somebody. *For it is a thing*, saith he, *that it not always manag'd to please those, who are the Principal Persons in the Field.* An Observation for Princes, who love this Diversion, and for those who accompany them at it. *Chap.* 13. *Book* 6. *of his Memoirs.*

6. In a Nation, such as the *Parthians*, whose whole strength lay in Cavalry, a King cannot have a greater Fault, than not to be a good Horseman. The *Polanders*, who much resemble the *Parthians*, could never endure a King that was not a good Horseman. It is well known, how much they contemn'd their King *Michael Wisnievecki.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

e He was slain with the greatest part of the Roman Army, by the Cavalry of King *Orodes*, the Father of *Phraates*; and the *Parthians* were going to possess themselves of *Syria*, whereof he was Governor, if *Caius Cassius*, who served in the Roman Army in the Quality of Questor, had not prevented them. *Paterc. Cap.* 46. *Lib.* 2.

f Having entred *Armenia* with 16 Legions, he marched through *Media*, in order to attack the *Parthians*. But as he advanced in the Enemy's Country, he met *Phraates* King of the *Parthians*, and *Artavasdes* King of *Media*, who hinder'd him from passing the *Euphrates*, and defeated his Lieutenant *Oppius Statianus* with two Legions, and all the Cavalry, which he had under his Command. Afterwards, he was forced to raise the Siege of *Praaspes*, the Capital City of *Media*, and to send to beg Peace of *Phraates*, who gave it him on such Conditions as used to be impos'd on the Conquered. *Justin. Lib.* 42. *Anthony*, saith *Paterculus*, stuck not to call his flight a Victory, because he had escaped out of the hands of his Enemies with his Life, although he had lost the fourth part of his Army, all his Baggage and Artillery, *Chap.* 82.

g *Sallust* in the Preface to his *Cataline*, reckons Hunting amongst servile Arts and Exercises, *Non fuit consilium socordia atque desidia bonum otium conterere*;

the Cities in a Litter, and contemning the Parthian Feasts. They made a Jeſt of the Graecians which he had in his Train, and at the ſealing of the Meaneſt Utenſils of his Houſe. But his eaſie acceſs, and his affable way, being Virtues, that the *Parthians* were unacquainted with, paſſed for new Vices, and they equally hated what was good, as what was bad in him, becauſe it was contrary to their Cuſtoms[7].

III. Wherefore they call in *Artabanus*, one of the Blood of the *Arſacidæ*, educated amongſt the *Dahæ*, who having

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

7. A Prince who comes to govern a Foreign Country, will never be agreeable to his New Subjects, if he doth not conform himſelf to their Manners, at leaſt in the beginning of his Reign. Thoſe Virtues, with which they are unacquainted, will appear Vices to them, if he hath not the addreſs to accommodate himſelf, for a while to their Vices, as if they were Virtues. *Italus* King of the *Cheruſchi*, gain'd the Affection of his people, in making a Debauch ſometimes, although he was born at *Rome*, and had been trained up in Maxims directly oppoſite to thoſe of the Barbarians. *Charles* V. according to the report of *Strada*, had ſuch a Command of his temper, that he changed his Manners, as eaſily as his Reſidence, living after the German faſhion in *Germany*; after the Italian in *Italy*; after the Spaniſh in *Spain*; and every where as much belov'd as he was in *Flanders*, the Country where he was born. On the contrary *Philip* II. by ſo much affecting to be and appear Spaniſh to the whole World, render'd himſelf intolerable to the Engliſh and odious to the Netherlands, who had been a long time accuſtomed to the Affable and Popular humour of *Charles* V. *Commines* ſaith, that a Prince who goes into a ſtrange Country, had need be wiſe, to guard every ſide. *ch.* 3. *lib.* 6.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

ceterum; neque vero agrum colendo, aut venando, ſervilibus officiis intentum, ætatem agere. Reaſoning in this like a Roman, for in his time the Romans did not hunt; and it is taken notice of by *Suetonius*, that *Tiberius* branded a Commander of a Legion with infamy, for ſending ſome Soldiers a Hunting. Here we ought to obſerve, that Republicans have never been great Hunters, becauſe they are always taken up with affairs of Government. So we are not to wonder, if the Noble Venetians, are neither Hunters nor Soldiers. They don't ſo much as underſtand how to ſit a Horſe; for beſides that they have no Horſes in their City, they don't care to be Horſemen, becauſe they don't make War but by Sea, all their Military Land-Offices being given to Strangers. *Cabrera* calls Hunting a Royal Exerciſe, *Real exercicio de la caſa*; and ſaith, that *Philip* II. took great delight in it. *Chap. of his Hiſtory.*

having been defeated in the firſt Battel, raiſeth new Forces, and Diſpoſſeſſeth *Vonones*, who fled into *Armenia*, where he found an empty Throne, and a Nation fluctuating betwixt the Parthian and the Roman Power[a], ever ſince the Perfidious Act of *Anthony*, who after he had under colour of Friendſhip, invited *Artavaſdes*, King of *Armenia*, to come to him, put him in Chains[b], and at laſt to Death[c], whoſe Son *Artaxias*, reſenting our baſe Uſage of his Father, enter'd into an Alliance with the *Arſacidæ* againſt us, with whoſe aſſiſtance he defended himſelf and his Kingdom, until he was aſſaſſinated by the Treachery of his own Kindred. After which, *Auguſtus* gave this Kingdom to *Tigranes*[d], who was put in poſſeſſion of it by *Tiberius Nero*. But he had no long reign, nor his Children after him, although they, according

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. A Prince whoſe Dominions are ſituated betwixt two Neighbours ſtronger than himſelf, is always forc'd to ſide with the moſt Powerful, or the moſt Succeſsful of them. Now as the Romans and the Parthians were almoſt equal in ſtrength, as I have before obſerv'd; and becauſe Fortune favoured ſometimes one and ſometimes the other; *multa Romanis ſecunda, quædam Parthis evenisſe—— damnis mutuis. Armenia*, which equally depended on each of them, (for the Romans had the Soveraignty of it in Right, but the Parthians in poſſeſſion) eſpous'd the Intereſts of That of theſe two Empires which it feared moſt, being perpetually divided betwixt Obedience and Revolt.

2. It is, ſaith *Comminet*, a great Folly in a Prince to put himſelf in the Power of another; eſpecially when they are in War, or there is any quarrel betwixt them: and it is a great Advantage to Princes to have read Hiſtories, where there are inſtances of ſuch Interviews, and of the great Treachery that ſome of the Ancients have uſed towards one another, having ſeized and Aſſaſſinated thoſe, who have truſted to ſuch a ſecurity.—— The Example of one is ſufficient to make many Wiſe by it, and to take care of themſelves. *Chap. 6. Lib. 2. of his Memoirs.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

b But in chains of Gold, ſaith *Paterculus*, to do the greater Honour to the Royal Character. *Regem Armeniæ Artavaſden, fraude deceptum, catenis, ſed ut quid homini deeſſet, aureis vinxit*, Hiſt. 2. *Argenteis catenis vinxit*, ſaith *Dio*, *quia nimirum turpe erat Regem ferreis in catenis haberi*, Lib. 49. This King had contributed much to the ill ſucceſs of *Anthony*'s Expedition againſt the Parthians.

c Brother to *Artaxias*.

d In

cording to their Custom[k], were united by Enter-marriages, and Partnership in Government. *Artavasdes* succeeded next, by the appointment of *Augustus*, and was afterwards dispossess'd, but it cost us dear.

IV. Hereupon, the settling of the Affairs of *Armenia*, was committed to *Caius Cæsar*[l], who plac'd on the Throne *Ariobarzanes* of Medish extraction, the Armenians consenting to it, he being a Person of a Majestick Presence, and of great Endowments of Mind; but he dying suddenly, they would not admit his Children to succeed him, but were for trying the Government of a Woman, named *Erato*, whom they soon laid aside, and thus

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. A good Meen and fine Shape, are not always indications of the Merits of the Persons, but they serve at least to impose on the People, all whose Judgment lies in their Eyes. So that it is not without reason, that Princes take so much care to have a good outside; for every one sees their Bodies, and very few their Minds. *Cabrera* saith, that the first time that the Queens *Mary* and *Eleanor*, Sisters to *Charles* V. saw *Philip* Prince of *Spain*, he appeared of small stature in their Eyes, which had been accustomed to the sight of Germans. As if Man's Body, saith he, were a Cage, which by being too little or too strait, could not lodge the Soul for which the whole Earth is not a Quarry large enough. *Ch.* 3. *Lib.* 1. *of his History.* Don *John Antonio de Vera*, mentions a Law of King Don *Alonso el Sabio* (the same who compiled the *Customary* which they call *las Partidas*) by which he recommended to the Kings of *Castile* to marry none but handsom well-shap'd Women, that their Children might be handsome and well-shap'd, which is of great importance to the Sons of Kings. The same Author adds, that the Ambassadors of *Poland*, who brought to the Duke of *Anjou* the Decree of his Election, told him, that he was obliged for it in part to his Good Presence, and his Charming Meen, *In the second Discourse of his Ambassador.* His Sister, Queen *Margaret* said, that Beauty which gives a Grace to every action, did shine in him to that Degree, that it seemed to vie with his good Fortune, which of the two should make him most glorious. *Lib.* 1. *of his Memoirs.*

2. *Gynecocracy* is the Worst of all Governments. For this Sex, saith *Tacitus*, is not only weak and voluptuous, and consequently unfit for the Management of Affairs of State; but besides, is Cruel, Untractable, and desirous infinitely to extend its Power, if its Ambition be not restrain'd.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

k In the East the Brother and Sister marry'd together, and reign'd in common. There are several Examples in the Families of the *Ptolomy's* of *Ægypt*. *Dio* saith, that *Cleopatra* was marry'd to her Eldest Brother *Ptolomy*, and *Arsinoe* to another *Ptolomy* her Younger Brother.

l The Son of *Agrippa*.

thus being in an unsettled and confus'd Condition [3], and rather without a Master than in Liberty, they offer the Crown to exil'd *Vonones* [4]. But as soon as *Artabanus* threatned him, and it appeared that there was little reliance on the Armenians, and as little expectation of assistance from the Romans, who could not defend him, unless they would engage in a War against the Parthians, he retires to *Creticus Silanus*, the Governor of *Syria*, who, although he had invited him, set a Guard upon him as soon as he came, leaving him, however, the Title and the State of a King [1]. How he endeavour'd to escape from

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

Anarch'd. The Prophet *Isaiah*, (Ch. 3.) threatens the Jews with the Government of Children, and with that of Women, as with two equal Curses. So that we are not to wonder, if Gynecocracy is so odious in those very States, where Women have right of Succession, nor why divers Nations have for ever excluded them from the Throne.

3. Anarchy is the most miserable Condition that a Kingdom or a Common-Wealth can fall into; and it is the only plague that can make the loss of a Female Government regretted: For it is impossible for Civil Society to subsist without a Master, and without Laws. And this is the reason that Anarchy hath been always of short duration.

4. A State, however it changes the Form of its Government, sooner or later, will return to that which it had in its Original. The first Government to a Body-Politick, is what the Natural Air is to a Humane Body.

5. It is not the Royal Title or Enligns, that make a King, but the Authority; The Majesty is in the Function, not in the Ornaments; and it is for this reason that the Title of Majesty did not belong to the Senate of *Rome*, although it had all the exterior Marks of it, as the Rods, the Purple Robe, the Ivory-Chair, *&c.* but to the People, in whom the Supreme Power resided. Witness the Form of Words which was pronounced with a loud voice at the opening of all the Assemblies, *Vultis, Jubatis, Spiritus*, which is the Appellation they gave the People in their Assemblies. *Cabrera* saith, that *Philip* II. having marry'd *Mary* Queen of *England*, and received from his Father the Renunciation of the Kingdom of *Naples* on the score of this Marriage, took it very ill, that his Father kept the Administration and the Revenues of it, and the more because he was hereby King of *Naples* and of *England*, only in Title and Name. There were also some Englishmen, who gave him no other Title but that of the Queens Husband, *Chap. 5. and 7. Lib. 1. of his History.* The Earls of *Egmond* and *Horn* having been arrested by the Duke of *Alva*, without the privity of the Dutchess of *Parma*, Governess of the Low-Countreys, this Princess who saw that the Duke besides his large power, had secret Orders, which left her no more than the Name of Governess, desir'd leave of *Philip* II. to retire out of these Provinces, saying, that

from this Pageant-Royalty, we will relate in its proper place [l].

V. But these troubles in the East were no unwelcome News to *Tiberius*, since they gave him a fair Pretence to draw off *Germanicus* from the Legions that had been accustom'd to his command [m], and to expose him at once to Hazards and Treachery in Provinces where he was a Stranger. But the more he was hated by his Uncle and loved

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

that it was neither for his Service, nor her Honour, whom he was pleas'd to call his Sister, to continue them with a Title without Authority. *Strada Lib.* 6. *of His.* 1. *Decad.*

6. A Prince who is dispossess'd of his Dominions, doth not willingly continue in the hands of him who hath got possession of them, how well soever he is treated by him. For this is to adorn with his presence the Conqueror's or the Usurper's Triumph. *Ferdinand* the Catholick assigned Lands and Revenues to *Boabdilas*, whose Kingdom of *Granada* he had Conquered, or Usurped; but this Prince soon passed into *Africk*. For, saith *Mariana*, those who have seen themselves Kings, have not constancy or patience enough to lead a Private Life, *Ch.* 18. *Book* 25. *of his History of* Spain.

7. How great soever the Fidelity of a Subject appears to be, to whom an Army or a Province hath offered the Sovereignty, it is prudence in a Prince, under some specious pretence, to remove him from that Army or Province, for fear lest the Infidelity of others, and opportunity may at last inspire him with a desire to accept what may be again offer'd him. The Mutineers of *Germanicus*'s Legions, had offer'd *Germanicus* their service being resolved to follow his Fortune, if he would seize the Empire, (*Ann.* 1.) and consequently *Tiberius* had reason to be jealous of the Fidelity of *Germanicus*, and of the Affection which these Legions had for him, and *Agrippina*, who was continually giving them largesses. The Satisfaction which the Neapolitans had in the Government of *Gonsalo Hernandez*, whom they Styled by way of Eminence the Great Captain, was the principal Cause of the Resolution that *Ferdinand* the Catholick took to make him return into *Spain*, with hopes of being rewarded with the Office of Grand Master of the Order of St. *James*, which was the highest Honour in the Kingdom.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

[m] *Philip* II. dealt with his Nephew *Alexander Farnese* almost after the same manner. He sent him into *France* to the assistance of the League, whilst his presence was absolutely necessary in the Low-Countreys, where he had begun to re-establish the Royal Authority, having obliged the Arch-Duke *Matthias* to return into *Germany*; the Duke of *Alençon* into *Britany*, the Earl of *Leicester* into *England*, and the Prince of *Orange* into *Holland*. For his absence gave the Rebels new strength, and was the Cause, that they recovered a great part of what they had lost. So that Don *Carlos Coloma*, had good reason to say, that *Philip* II. acted herein against all the Rules of Policy, *Lib.* 2, *and* 3. *of his Wars of* Flanders.

[l] *Infra.*

loved by the Soldiers, the more he endeavoured to put an end to this War by a Decisive Battel, in order to which, he consider'd well with himself the Methods of Fighting, and what had succeeded well or ill with him, after three years War in this Country. He found that the Germans were always beaten in pitch'd Battels, and on even Ground; that their advantages lay in Woods and Marshes, in short Summers and early Winters; That his Soldiers were more troubled at their long marches and the loss of their Arms, than for the Wounds they had receiv'd; That the *Gauls* were weary of furnishing Horses; That his long train of Carriages, was much exposed to the Enemy, and not easily defended. Whereas if they went by Sea, where they were Masters, and the Enemy Strangers, they would be Earlier in the Field; the Legions together with their Provisions, the Horsemen and their Horses, would be all safely carry'd through the Mouths and the Chanels of the Rivers, into the very Heart of *Germany*.

VI. He resolves therefore on this Method, and whilst he dispatcheth *P. Vitellius*, and *C. Antius*, to receive the Tribute from the Gauls, he appoints *Silius Aunius*, and *Cecinna*, to provide a Fleet. A thousand Ships were judg'd sufficient, and they were soon Equipp'd; some of them were short with a narrow Poop and Stern, and a wide Belly, that they might better endure the Waves; others with flat Bottoms, for the conveniency of landing in shallow places; several with Sterns at both ends, that with only changing the stroak of the Oars, without turning the Vessel, they might advance or retire; many were cover'd with Bridges for the carrying of their Artillery, with conveniencies also for Horses and Provisions, and all of them were made both for Sailing and Rowing, and the eagerness and shoutings of the Soldiers, added much to both to the shew and the terror of the Fleet. The Isle of *Batavia*[a] was appointed for the place of their ren-

HISTORICAL NOTES.

a *Holland.* • Now

rendezvous, because it had good Landings, and lay convenient for receiving the Forces, and for their passage thence to the Seat of the War. For the *Rhine* keeps one Channel, or at most makes but little Islands till it enters the Country of *Batavia*, where it divides it self as it were into two Rivers; whereof, that which runs through *Germany* retains its Name and rapid Course, till it discharges its self into the Ocean; the other which washes *Gaul*, runs with a broader and a gentler Stream, and is by the People of the Country call'd, the *Wahal* [o], which name it afterwards changes into that of the *Meuse*, through whose wide mouth it falls into the same Ocean.

VII. Whilst they were launching the Ships, *Germanicus* order'd his Lieutenant, *Silius*, with a Flying Army to invade the Country of the *Chatti*; and hearing that a Fort which stood on the River *Lippe* was besieg'd by the Enemy, he march'd himself with six Legions to its relief. *Silius*, by reason of a sudden fall of Rain, did nothing more than bring away the Wife and Daughter of *Arpus*, Prince of the *Chatti*, with a little Plunder. Nor did the Besiegers give *Germanicus* opportunity to fight, but stole away from the Siege at the News of his approach; however, they first demolish'd the Monument erected to the Legions of *Varus*, and the old Altar consecrated to *Drusus*. *Germanicus* repaired the Altar, and himself with the Legions, performed funeral rites in honour of his Father, by a Mock-fight before it [p]. It was not thought fit to rebuild the Monument, but he fortified

HISTORICAL NOTES.

o Now *Wahal*.

p This was a Ceremony used amongst the Romans at the Funerals of Princes and Illustrious Persons. *Exercitus*, saith *Sueton* speaking of *Drusus*, *honorarium ei tumulum exciverat, circa quem decursis sacris die quotannis milites decurrerent.* These Altars were like our Epitaphs:

Hellweum ad tumulum, &c.
Et geminas, causam lacrymis, sacraverat aras. Virg. Æneid. 5.
Aggeritur tumulo tellus, stant manibus aræ. Eo. 3.

fortified all that lay between the Fort of *Alison* and the *Rhine*, with the addition of a new Line and Works.

VIII. After the Fleet was arrived, and he had ſent the Proviſions on board, and aſſigned the Legions and the Auxiliary Troops their Ships, he enter'd the *Druſian* Ca-nal[q], which took its name from his Father *Druſus*, to whom he made a Prayer, that he would favour his Son who after his Example was making this attempt. He had a good paſſage thence through the Lakes and the Sea, into the Mouth of the River *Amiſia*, and anchor'd his Fleet at a Port of the ſame Name[r], which was an overſight, it being on the left hand of the River, and not high enough; ſo that ſeveral days were ſpent in making bridges for the Army to paſs over to the other ſide. The Cavalry and the Legions ſafely forded it at low Water; but the Auxiliaries who were in the Rear, eſpecially the *Batavians*, whilſt they ſported in the Waters, and were ambitious of ſhewing their skill in ſwimming, were overtaken by the Tide and ſome of them drowned. As *Germanicus* was Encamping, news was brought him, that the *Angrivarii*[s], whom he had left behind him, had revolted, whereupon he diſpatched *Stertinius* with a body of Horſe, and light-arm'd Foot, who reveng'd their treachery with Fire and Sword.

IX. The Armies of the Romans and the Cheruſci, being ſeparated

Historical Notes.

q It was a Canal which *Druſus* cut betwixt the *Rhine* and the *Iſſel*, from *Arnheim* to *Doesburg*, which is as much as to ſay, the City of *Druſus*, for the Paſſage of his Army from the *Rhine* to the Bay of the *Zuyder*-Sea, and thence into the Ocean.

r There was a Place named *Amiſia*, as there was the Fort and the River of *Aliſon*, and as the Place and the River, ſaith Mr. *Rick* in his Notes, had one Name, they have ſo alſo at this day. For the *Ems* giveth its name to the City of *Embden*.

s A People who dwell betwixt the *Ems* and the *Weſer*.

t Theſe

separated only by the River *Weser*, and *Arminius*, who, with his Principal Officers stood on the Bank, understanding that *Germanicus* was come, desired that he might speak with his Brother *Flavius*, who was in the Roman Army, and who had signaliz'd himself by his Fidelity, and by the loss of an Eye some years before in a Battel, when he served under *Tiberius*. His request was granted, and as *Flavius* came near him *Arminius* saluted him, and ordering those that came with him to withdraw themselves, he desires that our Archers who lin'd the Bank of the River might likewise retire; after which *Arminius* ask'd his Brother how his Face came to be so disfigur'd; who freely telling him the Place, and the Battel where he received the Wound, the other ask'd him farther, *What reward he had received for it*; *Flavius* answers him, *That his Pay was augmented, and that he was adorned with a Chain, a Crown*[u], *and other Military Honours*[1],

HISTORICAL NOTES.

u These Crowns were of several sorts, but all of very common nature. The *Triumphal* Crown, which was the Noblest of all, was of Laurel; but Luxury, which is always at War with Moderation, brought afterwards in use Crowns of Gold for Victorious Generals, and this Fashion was call'd *Aureæ Coronæ*. The *Obsidional* Crown which the Soldiers presented to their General, for raising the Enemy's Siege, was made of Grass; because heretofore the Conquer'd gave a handful of Grass to the Conqueror, to shew, that he took possession of their Lands. *Plin. Lib.* 22. *and Ch.* 3. *and* 4. This Crown was esteemed above all the rest, because it was the only one, which was given to the Generals by the Soldiers; whereas the Soldiers received the others from their General. *Sicinius Dentatus*, who had obtain'd eight Crowns of Gold, three Mural, and fourteen Civick, had never but one Obsidional Crown. The *Civick* was of Oak or Holm, and was given for saving the Life of a Citizen, and killing him who was going to take it away. The *Mural* and the *Camp* or *Trench* Crown, was given to those who first mounted the Breach, or forced the Enemy's Camp: Which was represented by Battlements or Pallisadoes engraved on these Crowns. They who obtain'd an Ovation, *i. e.* The lesser Triumph, wore a Myrtle Crown on their Heads. *Paterculus* saith, that *Agrippa*, Son-in-Law to *Augustus*, was the first Roman who was honoured with a *Naval* Crown, *Hist.* 2. *Ch.* 81. This sort of Crown had for distinction the Beaks of Ships engraved round it, whence it was called *Corona rostrata*. The Romans, saith *Cicero*, used Crowns of Grass and Wood, and rings of Iron, to exclude mercenary rewards, by separating Profit from Glory, and to engrave the Love of Virtue on their Hearts, with the graving Instrument of

nours[1], which *Armenius* ridicul'd as baſe prizes of Slavery.

X. Whereupon they begin to be hot; *Flavius, extols the Roman Grandeur, and the Power of the Emperor; His Severity towards thoſe that are Conquer'd, and his Clemency towards thoſe that ſubmit; and that his Wife and his Son were well treated. Arminius*, on the other hand, *inſiſts on the Rights of his Countrey, their ancient Liberty, the Tutelar Gods of* Germany; and adds, *that it was their common Mother's requeſt as well as his own, that he would at laſt chuſe rather to be the General of his own Nation, than the Deſerter and the Traytor of it.* They proceeded by degrees to bitter reproaches[1],

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. It is not the matter of the Gift which is regarded in theſe rewards, but the Opinion which Men have of them. Their Eſteem is not paid to the Metal of the Collar, of the Crown, or of the Croſs, but to the Reaſon for which they are given. Thus it ſignifies little whether theſe Exterior Marks be of Gold, Silver, Braſs, Wood, or Stuff. Theſe are *Arms of Inqueſt*, which by exciting the Curioſity of thoſe that ſee them, draw Reſpect and Admiration on him that wears them. *T. Labienus* having given Golden Bracelets, (a Military Gift which Soldiers wore on the left Arm) to a Trooper, who had perform'd ſome great actions, *Scipio* ſaid to this Trooper, for whom he had a great Eſteem; *You have the ſhare of a rich Man*: as much as to ſay, *You have not the ſhare of a Soldier*. The Trooper bluſhing at this Raillery, went and threw this Preſent at the Feet of *Labienus*, after which *Scipio*, his General, having ſent him Bracelets of Silver, he eſteem'd himſelf highly honour'd therewith. An inſtance, that it is eaſie for Princes to reward their Soldiers and Servants at a Cheap Rate, and that brave Men ſet a Greater Value upon that which honours them, than upon that which enriches them. *Sebaſtian* King of *Portugal*, preſenting a Sword ſet with precious Stones to the young Duke of *Paſtrana* the Son of *Ruy Gomez de Silva*, Prince of *Eboli*; this Duke, who was but fifteen years old, immediately unſheath'd it, and touching the Blade, without regarding the precious Stones, ſaid, *It is very good. Cabrera, Chap.* 10. *Lib.* 11. *of his Philip* II. To conclude, Princes give what value they pleaſe to things, and Iron and Lead are more precious in their hands, when they know how ſeaſonably

HISTORICAL NOTES.

Honour, *Ch.* 12. *of the* 8*th Book of his Hiſtory*. Rewards of this kind, ſaith a Modern Author, have no bounds, becauſe the Royal Power is a Fountain, whence new Honours and new Dignities inceſſantly ſpring, as Rays of Light every moment emane from the Sun, which are ſo far from exhauſting that they increaſe its light, *Chap.* 9. *of the Politicks of France*.

2 The

reproaches[1], and had certainly come to blows, notwithstanding the River was betwixt them, had not *Stertinius* ran and held *Flavius*, who in a Rage[2] call'd for his Horse and Arms. *Arminius*, on the other side, with a Menacing Countenance, was heard to Challenge us to a Battel, for he spake several words in Latin, having formerly serv'd in the Roman Army, as a Commander of some Auxiliaries of his own Nation.

XI. The next Day the German Army was drawn up in Battel, on the other side of the *Weser*. *Germanicus* thinking it not prudence in a General to hazard the Legions[1], before he had laid Bridges and Guarded them, orders the Cavalry to pass the River where it was Fordable

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

sonably to make use of them, than Gold is in the hands of Subjects. If the shameful Hair of a Lady of *Bruges*, hath served for the Occasion and Institution of an Order, of which the Kings of *Spain*, and the Emperors of *Germany*, think it a Glory to wear the Collar; what is there so Base and Vile, which may not furnish Princes with an inexhaustible Fund wherewith to recompence Great Merit?

1. The Interviews of Great Men do rather exasperate than sweeten their Spirits; for there is always something said, either by themselves, or by those that accompany them, whence they take an occasion to part Enemies.

2. Even those who have renounc'd their Honour, and who glory in their Wickedness, are offended when they are call'd Traytors. *Flavius* had patiently endur'd the cutting Raillery of *Arminius*, who had reproach'd him with being a Slave of the Romans; [*irridente Arminio vilia servitii pretia*] but so soon as his Brother call'd him Traytor, he could no longer dissemble; and had it not been for *Stertinius*, who stopt him by main force, he was going to revenge the Affront. I cannot omit here the Answer of one *John Bruce*, when he was on the Scaffold to be beheaded, at these Words of the Sentence, *a estes Cavalleros por traidores*, which the Executioner pronounc'd with a loud Voice; he cry'd out, *You Lie in that, and all those who make you say it.* A Heat which did not indeed discover a Contrite Heart; but it shew'd at least one that was but little stained with the Guilt of Treason: Which are the words of Don *Juan Antonio de Vera*, *in the Epitome of the life of* Charles *the Fifth*.

1. A good General ought never to hazard a Battel till he hath put all things in good order. To begin to be in a Condition not to be Conquer'd, is to begin to Conquer. *Lewis* XI. saith *Commines*, understood this Point very well; He was slow in Undertaking, but when once he undertook, he took such care for every thing, that it was a very great chance if he did not succeed in his Enterprize, *Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 13. *Prosper Colonna*, and the Duke of *Alva*, who took him for his Pattern, would never give their Enemies Battel, till they were sure of gaining it. *See the*

able under the Command of *Stertinius* and of *Æmilius* a Primipile[x], who paſſed over at diſtant places from each other, that they might divide the Enemy. *Carivalda*, General of the *Batavi*, paſſed the River in the moſt rapid part of it, but was by the *Cheruſci*, who feigned flight, drawn into a Plain environ'd with Woods, where they had planted an Ambuſcade, whence they ſallying out on a Sudden, and ſurrounding them on all ſides, they knocked down thoſe that made reſiſtance, purſued thoſe that gave ground, and broke the reſt that had drawn themſelves into a Ring, either by fighting with them hand to hand, or by galling them at a Diſtance, with their Darts and Arrows. *Carivalda* having ſuſtain'd the Enemy's Fury a good while, exhorted his Men to draw into a Cloſe Body, and to break through the Enemy's Troops, and he himſelf led the way into the thickeſt of the Fight, where his Horſe being kill'd under him, and himſelf over-power'd with Darts, bravely fell with many of the Nobility by his ſide: The reſt eſcaped either by their own Valour, or by the Aſſiſtance of *Stertinius* and *Æmilius*, who came in with the Horſe to their relief.

XII. When

Politick Reflections.

the firſt Note of the 40th Article of the firſt Book. Henry the IV. having ſent to demand Battel of the Dukes of *Parma* and *Maine*; the firſt anſwered the Herald, (they are the Words of Chancellor *de Chiverny*) *that the King of* Spain *had ſent him to prevent the Alteration of the Catholick Religion in France, and to raiſe the Siege of* Paris: As for the Former he had already done it; and for the Latter, if he ſhould find that the ſhorteſt way to ſucceed in it, was to give Battel, he would do it, and force the King of *Navarre* to accept it; or that, in fine, he would take what other reſolution he ſhould think fit. *In his Memoirs.*

Historical Notes.

x The Primipiles were the Lieutenant-Colonels of Legions. Every Primipile commanded all the Centurions or Captains of his Legion. *Qui primus Triariorum Centurio, ſive Triariorum manipulo in prima cohorte præerat, atque reliquas omnes Centuriones dignitate antcibat, Primipilus, ſive Primipilus, ſive Primipili Centurio vocabatur. Roſin. Antiquit. Rom. Lib.* 10. *Cap.* 7.

y This

XII. When *Germanicus* had pass'd the *Weser*, he was informed by a Deserter, that *Arminius* had chosen the Place of Battel; that other Nations had joyned him in a Forrest consecrated to *Hercules*, and that they designed to Storm our Camp by Night. He gave credit to this Intelligence, and the rather because their fires were discern'd, and the Scouts who had been sent out brought back word, that they heard the Neighings of Horses, and a confus'd Noise like that of a Numerous and Undisciplin'd Army on their march. It being like to be a Decisive Battel, and this the critical time of Danger, *Germanicus* thought it fit to try how the Minds of the Soldiers stood affected, but how to be assur'd of this was not so easie; He consider'd, that the Tribunes and Captains used to give rather acceptable than true Accounts; that the Freemen were of slavish Tempers, and that Friends were too prone to flatter. That if he should call a Council of War, nothing was more common than for all the rest to applaud that Advice, which happen'd to be approv'd by a Few at first[1], and therefore he concluded, that the only certain way of knowing the Soldiers Minds, was when they were at their Meals in their respective Tents and unobserv'd, at which time, if ever, they discoverd their Hopes or Fears.

XIII. Where-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. In such a Council, saith *Comines*, there are a great many People, who are only Ecchoes to others, without scarce understanding the Matter, and desire to shew their complaisance to some Person, who hath spoke and who is esteemed to be in authority, *Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 2. There are others who will not contradict, because they make it a Point of Honour not to be over-born by their Adversary; insomuch, that they had rather suffer an opinion, which they believe must be prejudicial to pass, than not to have the Gloty of carrying what they appear for. Which Vanity is yet more blameable than Complaisance. It is much better, saith *Cabrera*, to pass for Wise and Prudent, than for a Man of Authority; for if your Advice is rejected, and there follows thence any Evil to the Prince or the Publick, this turns to your Honour, and to the Disgrace of him who carry'd it by his Credit or his Favour, *Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 7.

XIII. Wherefore, the Evening being closed he goes out of his Pavillion by the Augural Gate[y], cover'd with the skin of a Wild Beast[z], having no more than one Person to accompany him, and as he passes the Lanes of the Camp through By-ways that were unknown to the Sentinels, he listens at the Tents, enjoys his own Fame; *hearing* some extoll his high Birth and his good Mein, others his Patience, his Affability, and his even Temper both in Business and Pleasures, and all of them acknowledging, that they were oblig'd in gratitude to serve him to the utmost in the Battel; and that these perfidious violaters of the Peace, ought to be sacrificed to his Glory and Revenge. In the mean time, one of the Enemy that understood the Latin Tongue, came on Horseback up to the Line of our Camp, and with a loud Voice declares in *Arminius*'s Name, that as many as would come over to him, should have each 100 Sesterces[a] a day, during the War, and Wives and Lands assigned them for the rest of their Lives. This Affront exasperated the Legions, who said, *the Day was coming in which a Battel would decide that*; in the mean time, they accepted it as a good Omen, that the Germans Lands and Wives were to be the Fruits of their Victory. About the third Watch of

Politick Reflections.

1. Princes cannot make themselves familiar with Truth, unless it be disguis'd; nor Truth with them, unless they are disguis'd. When Truth knows them, it flys from them, whereas it seeks them, when it doth not know them. There is scarce any Prince, who at the End of his Reign is not yet to know, as well as *Pilate, what is Truth.*

Historical Notes.

y This was the Prætorian Gate, where the Augural always stood, *i. e.* the Place where the General took the Augury and the Auspices, before he Enterprized any thing. The Augural was on the Right hand, and the General's Pavilion on the Left.

z. This was the common Habit of the German Auxiliaries, and *Germanicus* wore it at that time, to pass for one of the Germans of his Guard. *Tergis ferarum horrentes.* Hist. 2. *Gerunt & ferarum pelles. In Germania.*

a About 12 Shillings of our Money.

b The

of the Night[b], they approach'd our Camp, with a Deſign to Storm it; but finding it ſtrongly guarded and no advantage to be taken, they did not attempt it.

XIV. The ſame Night *Germanicus* had a pleaſing Dream, wherein he ſeemed to himſelf to Sacrifice, and that his Robe being ſtained with the Blood of the Victim, he received a more ſplendid one from the hands of his Grandmother *Auguſta*. Encourag'd by this Preſage, which was confirmed by the Auſpices[c], he calls an Aſſembly, wherein he propoſes the Meaſures which he had reſolved on for the enſuing Battel. *The Romans*, ſaid he, *with good Conduct, can fight as well in Woods and Foreſts, as on the Plains, for the Unweildy Targats, and the long Pikes of the Enemies are not ſo eaſie to be manag'd amongſt the Trunks of Trees and the Shrubs, as your Darts and Swords, and your Armour which fits tight to the Body; ſo that you may redouble your blows, and make directly at the Faces of your Enemies. The Germans have neither Breaſt-plate nor Helmet, and their Bucklers are not ſtrengthened with Iron or Cords, and are made only of* Oſier *Twigs, or of thin Painted Boards. Their foremoſt Ranks indeed are armed with a ſort of Pikes, but the reſt have only Stakes hardned in the fire, or ſhort Darts. And although they are terrible in their Looks, and vigorous in their firſt Charge, yet they will not ſtand after they are once wounded, but run away without any concern for their own Honour or their General's Safety. They are utterly diſpirited under ill-fortune, as they are a moſt inſolent People upon Succeſs, having regard neither to Divine nor Humane Laws. To conclude, if being fatigued with long Voyages and Marches, you deſire to ſee an End of this War, the* Elb[d] *is now nearer*

to

HISTORICAL NOTES.

b The Night was divided into Watches or Guards, each of which conſiſted of three hours.

c The Auſpices were taken from the Flight of Birds.

d The Reaſon of this was, becauſe the Romans would have the *Elb* the Boundary of their Empire on that ſide, according to the Counſel of *Auguſtus*. *Coercendi intra terminos Imperii. Ann.* 1.

to us than the Rhine, *and as I follow the Steps of my Father and my Uncle, ſo I do not deſire to carry my Conqueſts farther than they did theirs.* The General's Speech was follow'd with the Acclamations of the Soldiers, and the Signal of Battel was given.

XV. Neither was *Arminius* and the reſt of the German Nobility wanting to encourage their Men, telling them, that *theſe were the fugitive remains of* Varus's *Army, who rebell'd to avoid the fatigues of War, of whom ſome having ſhameful Wounds on their Backs, others their Limbs diſabled by ſtorms at Sea, were now again expoſed to their incens'd Enemies, without any hopes of ſucceſs, the Gods being againſt them. Although they had gotten a Fleet, and taken the moſt unknown ways of the Sea, that none might meet them as they came, nor purſue them after they ſhould be defeated; yet when they joyn'd Battel, they ſhould find that Oars and Winds would prove but little ſuccour to a routed Army. Let the Germans only remember the Avarice, Cruelty, and Pride of the Romans, and reſolve either to defend their Liberty, or die with it.*

XVI. The Germans thus encourag'd, and eager to fight, *Arminius* draws them down into a Plain call'd *Idiſtaviſo*, which winds with an uneven ſpace betwixt the *Weſer* and the *Hills*, as the Courſe of the River gives way to it, or the Hills jet upon it; behind it grew a Wood of high Trees with ſpreading tops, but with void ſpaces betwixt their Trunks. The Barbarians[e] poſſeſs'd themſelves of this Plain and of the Entrances of the Wood, only the *Cheruſci* kept the Hills that they might fall down upon the Romans when they were engag'd. Our Army marched in this order: The Gauliſh and German Auxiliaries were in the Front, follow'd by Archers on Foot, next to whom was *Germanicus* himſelf with four Legions, two Prætorian Cohorts and the Flower of the Cavalry: After them as many Legions more, with Light-arm'd

Historical Notes.

e Thoſe, which *Tacitus* ſaid, joyn'd *Arminius*.

f Dee

arm'd Soldiers and Archers on Horſe-back, and the reſt of the Confederate Troops, all of them being very careful to march in order of Battel.

XVII. *Germanicus* perceiving the *Cheruſci* to advance boldly towards us, commands ſome of the beſt of the Cavalry to charge them in the Flank, and *Stertinius* with another Party of Horſe to ſurround them, and to fall upon their Rear, promiſing that he himſelf would be ready to ſupport them if there ſhould be occaſion. In the mean time appear'd an auſpicious Omen[f], eight Eagles were ſeen to fly into the Wood, which as ſoon as *Germanicus* obſerv'd, he cry'd out, *That they ſhould march and follow the Roman Birds, which were the Tutelar Gods*[g] *of the Legions*'. The Infantry charg'd them, and the

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. It is Prudence in a General of an Army always to interpret Prodigies to his advantage; for nothing ſhould be ſaid to Soldiers, how Brave and Warlike ſoever they are, which may diſcourage them. Beſides, a General who lets his Army know, that he preſages ill from any appearance or caſual Event, is ſuſpected to be himſelf under fear; which always produces bad Effects.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

f Don *Juan Antonio de Vera & Ulloa*, relates in the Life of *Charles* V. that as he was upon the point of giving Battle to *John Frederick* Elector of *Saxony*, there appeared an Eagle, which after it had flown for a long time round the Imperial Army, at laſt took his flight towards the North, as it were to carry the News of the Emperor's Victory. *Herrera* ſaith, that another Eagle came from the Turk's Camp, pitched on the Pavillion of *Sigiſmund Batturi*, Prince of *Tranſilvania*, and ſuffer'd himſelf to be taken and manag'd like a tame Bird, *Lib.* 21. *Cap.* 21. *of the third part of his Hiſtory*. It is reported in the Chronicle of *Paul Piaſecki*, that the Scholars of the College of *Zamoyski* playing one day in a Neighbouring Field, caught an Eagle, about which a Serpent had turn'd it ſelf, which was taken for a Preſage, that the Crown-General, *John Zamoyski*, who departed that day, to joyn his Army at *Cracow*, would ſoon reſcue the Poliſh Eagle out of the Snares of *Maximilian*, Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*, Elected King by the Faction of *Zborowvi* and *Gorka*, who were for annulling the Election of *Sigiſmund*, Prince of *Swedeland*, 1587. If theſe Prodigies paſs for Truths, I know not for what reaſon that which *Tacitus* mentions here, appear'd fabulous to *Lipſius*. He ought to have remembred that *Tacitus* ſaith, that as it would be beneath the Dignity of Hiſtory to entertain the Reader with fabulous Stories, ſo it would be raſhneſs not to give credit to what all People have publiſhed. *Hiſt.* 2.

g The Romans had ſo great a Veneration for their Eagles, that they

the Detachments of Horſe that were ſent before, at the ſame time attack'd them both in the Flank and Rear, and which was moſt ſurprizing two Bodies of the Enemy fled counter to one another; they who were poſted in the Wood fled into the Plain, and they who were drawn up in the Plain betook themſelves to the Woods. The *Cheruſci* who were poſted betwixt theſe two Bodies were beaten from the Hills, amongſt whom *Arminius*, who might be diſtinguiſhed by the motion of his Hand, by his Voice, and by his Wounds, bravely maintain'd the Battel. He charges furiouſly on our Archers, and had broken them if the *Rati*[h], *Vindelici*[i], and the Gauliſh Cohorts had not ſupported them; however, through his own ſtrength and the fleetneſs of his Horſe, he made his way through them, having beſmeared his Face with his own blood that he might not be known. Some ſay, that the *Chauci* who were amongſt our Auxiliaries, knew him, but let him paſs. *Inguiomerus* eſcaped by the like Stratagem or Valour. Almoſt all the reſt were ſlain, many as they endeavour'd to ſwim over the *Weſer*, of whom ſome were either kill'd by our Darts, or carry'd away by the Force of the Stream, or were ſunk by the Weight of People that threw themſelves into the River after them, or of the Banks that fell upon them. Some cowardly climbing to the top of Trees to hide themſelves in their Boughs, were ſhot by our Archers, as Birds, by way of Diverſion, and others fell to the Ground with the Trees which were cut down. This was a great Victory, and coſt us but little blood[a].

XVIII. The

Politick Reflections.

a. A Victory which coſts little blood is a double Victory, and conſequently this Name is not very properly given to Battels, wherein they loſe fifty or ſixty thouſand Men, as the Spaniards did at *Oſſun*. And this

Historical Notes.

made them their Military Gods, and even preferred them before the other Gods. *Religio tota cultorum*, ſaith *Tertullian* in his Apology, *ſigna venerantur, ſignis jurat, & diis omnibus præmit.*

h The Grisons.

i The Bavarians.

k more

XVIII. The slaughter lasted from Eleven a Clock[k] in the Morning, until Night; so that for the space of ten miles all the Country was strewed with Arms and Dead Bodies, and amongst their spoils were found Chains which, as being sure of the Victory, they had prepared for the Romans. The Soldiers proclaimed *Tiberius* Emperor in the Field of Battel and raised a Monument, whereon they fixed, in the Form of Trophees, the Arms which they had taken, and inscrib'd underneath the Names of the Conquer'd Nations.

XIX. The

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

this was *Pyrrhus*'s meaning, when he said, after he had gain'd two Battels against the Romans, that he was ruin'd if he should gain a Third. The Romans refused the Honour of a Triumph to Generals who had paid dear for a Victory, they refused it amongst others, to the Consul *Attilius*, who had made above seven thousand Samnites pass under the Yoke, because he had lost almost as many of his own Men; and to his Collegue *Posthumius* for the same reason.

1. *Quintus Curtius* saith, that there are no little Enemies. You strengthen those whom you despise. They who do things with fear, saith *Commines*, make good Provision, and succeed oftner than those who act with Pride and Security, *Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 4. The Emperor, *Frederick* III. said wisely, *that we ought not to sell the Skin before we have kill'd the Bear. Lib.* 4. *Cap.* 3. The Duke of *Alva* who promised *Philip* II. to smother the Hollanders in their Butter, had the dissatisfaction to see before he dy'd, *The Union of Utrecht*, that is to say, The first Establishment of their Common-Wealth on the Ruines of the Spanish Government. *Sebastian* King of *Portugal*, thought himself so well assur'd of the Conquest of the Kingdom of *Morroco*, that before his departure, he caused a Crown and Regal Ornaments to be made on purpose, to be used at the Ceremony of his Coronation in *Africk*; whereas he ought to have carry'd thither Funeral Ornaments. *Lib.* 1. *of the History of the Union of* Portugal. The Spanish relation of the Entrance of *Philip* II. into *Portugal*, saith, that this Crown, which *Sebastian* carry'd with him, was made after the Fashion of that of the Empire, because he intended to take upon himself the Title of Emperor, after the Victory, which he thought himself as good as possessed of. *Creyendo intitularse Emperador con las esperanzas de la victoria. Cap.* 103. It had been more for the Honour of the Governor of *Luxemburg*, not to have made a shew of Violins on the Rampart of the Town, in derision of our Army that was approaching it, and to have consider'd that he had to do with Enemies who knew how to dance to the Sound of Cannon.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

k Forenoon.

XIX. The Germans were more incens'd and troubled at the ſight of this, than for their Wounds and their Defeat [1]. They that before thought of nothing but leaving their Countrey, and retiring beyond the *Elb*, now take Arms again, and will have another Battel. The Commons and Nobles, Old and Young, ſurprize the Roman Army, and put them in ſome Diſorder. At length they Encamp on a Wet-piece of Ground, having a River on one ſide of it, and a Wood on the other, ſurrounded with a deep Marſh, except in one place, where the *Angrivarii* had caſt up a large Work to ſeparate themſelves from the *Cheruſci*. The Infantry were poſted in this Place; the Cavalry cover'd themſelves in an adjoyning thicket, that they might fall upon the Rear of our Legions, as ſoon as they were entred the Wood.

XX. *Germanicus* was ignorant of none of theſe things, he knew the Enemy's Poſture, and their ſecret Deſigns [1], as well as what they gave out, and turn'd their own

Politick Reflections.

1. The Conqueror ought never to reproach the Conquered with his Victory. Such Monuments exaſperate their Minds, and provoke them to revenge it, if they are Equals; and to revolt if they are Subjects. The Braſs Statue of the Duke of *Alva* trampling under his Feet two Statues more, which repreſented the Nobility and Commons of the Low-Countrys, coſt the King of *Spain* the Revolt of *Antwerp*, and of ſeveral other Cities. Wherefore Don *Luis de Requeſens*, who ſucceeded him in the Government of theſe Provinces, enter'd on his Adminiſtration with the Demoliſhing of this Statue, not, ſaid he, that ſo great a Man did not deſerve this Honour, but to remove out of the Peoples ſight, a Monument which ſhock'd them, and to give them hopes of a milder Treatment. *Herrera, Ch.* 11. *Lib.* 3. *of the ſecond Part of his Hiſtory*, (1575.) *Diodorus Siculus* ſaith, that heretofore the Greeks did not ſuffer Trophees to be made of any other Materials but of Wood, to the end that theſe Monuments of Diſcord, (for ſo he calls them) might be ſoon deſtroy'd and conſum'd, *Lib.* 13. *of his Hiſtory*.

1. There is nothing more neceſſary, nor more uſeful to Generals of Armies than Spies, whom *Strada* had reaſon to call the Ears and Eyes of Princes. God himſelf, as it may be ſeen in the Holy Scriptures, commanded *Moſes* to ſend Spies into the Land of Promiſe. *The Lord ſpake unto Moſes ſaying, ſend Men who may ſearch the Land of Canaan, which I give unto the Children of Iſrael.* All the Inſtructions which a General can give to the Spies that he employs are expreſſed in this Chapter.

2. When

own Stratagems on themſelves to their ruine. Having given his Lieutenant *Sejus Tubero* the Command of the Cavalry, with orders to draw them up in the Plain, he divided the Infantry, that one part of them might enter the Wood where the Ground was even, whilſt the other part forced the Works which the Enemy had thrown up, and which, as being the moſt difficult to attack, he commanded himſelf [2], and left the other to his Lieutenants. They who were to gain the Even Ground, eaſily brake in; but thoſe who were to force the Works, found almoſt as much reſiſtance, as if they had been to ſcale a Wall. *Germanicus* perceived that they fought with great diſadvantage ſo near, and therefore cauſing the Legions to retreat a little, he order'd the Slingers and the Engineers [1] with their Stones and Darts to beat off the Enemy from their Works: And they no ſooner began to play upon them, but they galled them extremely, and diſlodg'd them; eſpecially thoſe that were in ſight. This Poſt being taken, *Germanicus* at the Head of the Prætorian Cohorts broke into the Wood, where the Germans made a ſtout Reſiſtance. They were ſhut in by a Moraſs behind them, and the Romans by the River and the Hills, ſo that both were under a Neceſſity to ſtand their Ground, and no hopes but in their Valour, nor ſafety but in Victory [3].

XXI. The

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. When a General undertakes the moſt dangerous part himſelf, the Officers and Soldiers very chearfully do all the reſt.

3. Nothing makes an Army more invincible, than a Neceſſity either to Conquer or to Die. Count *Maurice* of *Naſſaw*, being juſt going to fight the Battel of *Newport*, ſent back all the Ships which had brought his Army to *Flanders*, telling his Soldiers, that they muſt either cut their way through the Enemy, or drink up all the Water of the Sea. Which was follow'd

HISTORICAL NOTES.

1 Theſe Engines threw pieces of Stone, of Lead, of Wood, and Darts, whoſe Iron Points were two or three foot long.

m *Tacitus*

XXI. The Germans were not inferior to the Romans in Courage, but their disadvantage lay in their Arms and in the Manner of the Fight; for they being very numerous, and couped up in strait Places, had not room to wield their long Pikes, nor was their Agility of Body of any use to them, when they were forced to a standing Fight, without moving scarce a Foot: Whereas our Soldiers, who were armed with Breast-plates, and who had their Hands guarded with the Hilts of their Swords, made terrible thrusts at the large Bodies and the Naked Faces of the Enemy, and opened themselves a way by the Slaughters that they made. *Arminius* now began to flag, being either fatigued with continual labour, or disabled by a fresh Wound, but *Inguimerus* did his utmost to rally the Forces, and wanted rather Fortune than Valour[1]. *Germanicus*, that he might be the better known, took off his Helmet, and desir'd them to give no Quarter, telling them, *That they had no need of Captives, and that there was no way of ending the War, but by the entire Excision of the Nation*[2]. Towards the Evening he retir'd with one Legion

Politick Reflections.

followed with a Victory so much the more Glorious, as the Army of Arch-Duke *Albert* was much stronger than his. [*July* 2. 1600.]

1. Fortune may rob great Captains of Victory, but not of the Glory which is due to them, when they have acquitted themselves well of their Duty. We ought not to judge of them by the Success, which is oftentimes the Effect of meer Chance, but by their Conduct which shews their Ability, or their Insufficiency. Notwithstanding the Admiral *Gaspar de Coligny* had lost four Battels, he was so far from losing his Reputation thereby, that *Charles* IX. was even obliged to sue to him for Peace, so well was the Court satisfy'd that his Courage was much greater than the Malignity of his Fortune.

2. When two Nations have been Engag'd in many Quarrels, there is always either open War betwixt them, or Preparations for War; and whatsoever Peace they patch up, good Faith or Confidence is never found amongst them., *Aut bellum inter eos populos, aut belli preparatio, aut infida pax. Paterculus Hist.* 1. For the hatred, saith the same Author, lasts longer than the Fear, and the Victorious Nation never ceases to hate that which is conquer'd, (although it has no more to fear from them) until it is entirely extinguished, *Odium ultra metum durat, & ne in victis quidem deponitur, neque ante invisum esse desinit, quam esse desiit. Ibidem.*

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gion out of the Fight, to prepare a Camp, and the reſt purſued the Enemy with a great Slaughter till Night. As for the Cavalry, they drew off without any advantage on either ſide.

XXII. *Germanicus* having made a Speech in praiſe of his Victorious Army, erected a Trophy of Arms, with this lofty Inſcription; *The Army of the Emperor* Tiberius *having conquer'd the Nations which are betwixt the* Rhine *and the* Elb, *have conſecrated this Monument to* Mars *to* Jupiter *and to* Auguſtus. He made no mention of his own Name[1], either to avoid Envy, or becauſe he thought his own Conſcience was Theatre enough[2]. He ordered *Stertinius* to march againſt the *Angrivarii*, unleſs they would immediately ſubmit, which they did, and by accepting

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. A wiſe Miniſter ought to diſſemble his own Glory, and refer all to the Honour of his Prince. The Duke of *Alva* having cauſed his Elogium to be put on the Pedeſtal of a Statue which he had erected for himſelf at *Antwerp*, with theſe Words in the Cloſe, *Regis optimi Miniſtro fideliſſimo poſitum. Ruy Gomez de Sylva*, a Favourite of King *Philip* II. ſaid very ſmartly, That the Character of the moſt Faithful Miniſter, agreed very ill to him who robb'd his Prince of his Glory, *Strada Lib. 7. of his firſt Decad.* *Cabrera* adds, That Cardinal *Spinoza* and *Ruy Gomez* ſaid, that to make this a Monument of the Duke's Fidelity, he ought to place King *Philip*'s Statue there inſtead of his own, *Ch.* 12. *Lib.* 8. *Aubery du Maurier* obſerves farther, That *Alva* having built the City of *Antwerp* with five Baſtions, he called four of them after his own Name and Titles, *viz.* The *Duke*, *Ferdinand*, *Toledo*, and *Alva*, and the fifth *Paciotti*, which was the Name of the Ingineer; without making any mention of his Prince, whoſe moſt faithful Miniſter he call'd himſelf, *In his Memoirs of Holland.* There is an Example in the ſecond Book of *Samuel*, which ought never to be forgotten by Miniſters, to whom the Prince commits the Command of his Armies, or the Direction of his Affairs; *Joab*, *David*'s General, having reduc'd the City of *Rabbah* to a Neceſſity of Surrendring it ſelf, wrote to *David* in theſe Words; *I have fought againſt Rabbah, and the City is reduc'd to extremity; Now therefore gather the reſt of the people together and Encamp againſt the City and take it, leſt I take the City and it be called after my Name*, Ch. 12. Cardinal *d'Oſſat* ſpeaking of *Hilary* of *Grenoble* a Capuchin-Fryar, who boaſted that he had an abſolute Power over the Mind of *Henry* IV. Although, ſaid he, he had given ſuch Counſel to the King, it was more decent for a good Servant, ſuch a one as he would paſs for, to have concealed himſelf in it, and to have left the praiſe of it to the Goodneſs and Prudence of his Majeſty, *Letter* 251.

2. Virtue hath its reward in it ſelf, and the Wages of a good Action is to have done it, *Seneca Epiſt.* 81.

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cepting what Conditions were impoſed on them, obtain'd their Pardon.

XXIII. The Summer declining, ſome of the Legions were ſent back by Land into Winter-Quarters; *Germanicus* with the reſt Embark'd on the River of *Amiſia* to return by Sea; which was ſo calm at firſt, that there was no noiſe heard but of the Oars or Sails of a thouſand Ships, but the ſky being all on a ſudden darkned with black Clouds, which pouring a Hail-ſtorm upon them, and tempeſtuous Winds blowing at the ſame time from all quarters, the Waves ran ſo high, that they were neither able to ſteer their Ships, nor ſee their Way. The Soldiers unacquainted with ſuch diſaſters, were under a great Conſternation; and whilſt they endeavour'd aukwardly to help, they hinder'd the Seamen. At laſt the Heavens and the Sea yielding to the Force of the Southwind, which gathering ſtrength from a vaſt tract of Clouds, the rapid Rivers and High Mountains[m] of *Germany*, as well as from the Cold Neighbourhood of the North, is generally very violent in thoſe parts, and diſperſed theſe Ships through the Ocean, or ſplit them on Rocky Iſlands, or threw them on Quick-ſands[1], whence thoſe that were upon

Politick Reflections.

1. It hath been often obſerv'd, that Captains who have been Succeſsful in Expeditions at Land, have always been Unfortunate in thoſe at Sea. Every thing ſucceeded to *Germanicus*, when he fought at Land, and all things conſpir'd againſt him when he was on the Seas. On the contrary, the Prince of *Orange*, who was the Founder of the Common-Wealth of *Holland*, was always beaten at Land, where he loſt four or five Battels, whereas in a continu'd War of ten years he gain'd every Battel that he fought againſt the Spaniards at Sea, *Memoirs de M. Aubery du Maurier*. Thus it was not without reaſon, that that brave Spaniard, *Julian Romero*, who had ſignaliz'd himſelf by ſo many Exploits in Land-fights, having been worſted in a Sea-fight, out of which he ſwam for his Life, ſaid to the Governor Don *Lewis de Requeſens*; "Your Excellency know-"eth well, that I was no Seaman, "but a Good Foot Soldier: I deſire "you therefore to truſt me no more "with a Fleet, for if you ſhould "commit a Hundred to me, it is "much to be fear'd, that I ſhould "loſe them all, *Bernardin de Mendoza, Cap.* 2. *Lib.* 11. *of his Memoirs of the Low-Countreys.*

Historical Notes.

m *Tacitus* ſaith, That Mountains are the Cauſe and the Matter of Tempeſts, *Montes cauſa & materia tempeſtatum.* In *Agricola.*

n *Dan*

upon the return of the Tide, got off with great difficulty, were afterwards driven at the Mercy of the Winds, the Mariners not being able to caſt Anchor, or to pump out the Water which broke into them. Their Horſes, Arms, and Baggage were thrown over board to lighten the Veſſels, which were often driven on their ſides, the Waves beating over them.

XXIV. As *Germany* hath the moſt boiſterous Sea, and the ſharpeſt Climate, ſo this Wreck exceeded all others for the Greatneſs and Uncommoneſs of it. They had no proſpect but of an Enemies Country, or of a Boundleſs and Bottomleſs Ocean, wherein ſome of our Ships were ſunk, others caſt on remote and deſart Iſles, where the Soldiers were ſtarv'd for want of Food, except ſome that kept themſelves alive with the Fleſh of the Horſes which the Waves had thrown up on the ſame Shores n.

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HISTORICAL NOTES.

n *Don Juan Antonio de Vera*, relates a Diſaſter altogether like this, which befel the Fleet of *Charles* V. at *Algiers*. Moſt of the Galleys, ſaith he, were broken to pieces, and moſt of the Ships periſhed in the Emperor's ſight, who had neither Bisket nor Powder left; inſomuch, that for the Subſiſtence of his Army that Night and the Day following, they were forc'd to kill Horſes, and to diſtribute them through the Quarters. At laſt, after he had marched twenty Leagues, he Embarked his Troops at the Cape of *Metafuz*; and when there remain'd not a ſufficient Number of Ships to receive them, he cauſed all the Horſes to be thrown into the Sea, which increaſed the general Grief, every one being troubled to ſee theſe poor Creatures ſwim, and as it were, beg help from the Men who abandon'd them; for, according to the Proverb, a Man ought to have Humanity even for the Beaſts that ſerve him. *In the Epitome of the Life of* C.V. *Cabrera* recites a Conſolatory Letter, which his Son *Philip* wrote him upon this Diſaſter, wherein he ſaid to his Father, " That to return from difficult Enterprizes, " without Victory, never took from Kings nor Great Captains that Glory, " which is always due to Martial Valour; the moſt Prudent and moſt Proſ- " perous having loſt as well as won; that he ought ſo much the more to " comfort himſelf, becauſe he had yielded to nothing but the Force of For- " tune, which had conſpir'd with the Elements againſt his Prudence and " Greatneſs; that he ought never to be angry with accidents, which de- " pended purely on Chance; that one hath acquitted himſelf well, when " he has projected and ordered things well; that the good Fortune of *Au-* " *guſtus*, and that of King *Ferdinand*, Grandfather to his Imperial Majeſty, " by the Mother's ſide, appeared prodigious; and that nevertheleſs, if we " compare their Succeſſes with their Misfortunes, it is hard to ſay, whe " ther Fortune was a Mother or a Step-mother to them, *Cap.* 2. *Lib.* 1. *of his Hiſtory.*

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The Galley in which *Germanicus* was, came alone to the Coast of the *Chauci*, where as he continu'd several days about the Rocks and Promontories, hoping to get sight of some of his Ships, he was always condemning himself as the Cause of this Calamity, and so sensibly was he touch'd with it, that his Friends had much ado to restrain him from

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. There are Men, saith the same *Antonio de Vera*, who to shew that they are above Events, affect a Stoical Constancy in their Afflictions; and Glory, as of a Greatness of Soul, in not shedding a Tear, or changing their Countenance under the most sensible Calamities: But, for my part, I believe, this is altogether contrary to what they ought to do, because such People by their insensibility or their hardness, offend the Providence of God, who sends them these Afflictions. A certain Person hath said with great judgment, that *Job* that he might not be charged with Pride, lamented his Calamity, and expressed his Grief, even to the rending of his Cloaths, not that he had lost his Patience, but to shew his Docility and Submission. And this Doctrine concludes yet more strongly, when a People fall under some very great Misfortune by obeying the Will of their Prince; for in this case indeed, the Prince may glory of Constancy in not appearing sorry, but not of his Gratitude: St. *Paul* saying, *that he who hath not care of his own, hath renounced the Faith and is worse than an Infidel.* And if a Passage of the Holy Scriptures is not sufficient to convince the Author, [who blames the Tenderness and Grief, which *Charles* V. expressed under this Adversity] he will have, it may be, a greater Difference to the Authority of *Tacitus*, who saith, that *Germanicus* being afflicted for the loss of part of his Army, ran up and down, accusing himself as the Cause of this Disaster, and was about to have kill'd himself. *Augustus* was troubled to that degree for the loss of the Legions of *Varus*, that for several days he would eat nothing; and he was heard to sigh often in the Night, and to cry out, *Varus, Varus, give me my Legions.* It is therefore commendable for a Prince to be sensible of the Calamities of his People, and to give outward Expressions of it; but with all he ought not so far to indulge to Grief, as to neglect his Health, or the Publick Affairs. *Commines* with reason blames the Duke of *Burgundy*, for shutting himself up above six weeks, after he had lost the Battels of *Granson* and *Morat*. Which made an alteration not only in his Health, but also in his Sense and his Spirit. "Such, saith he, are the Passions of "those, who seek not the true Remedies; and especially of Proud "Princes. - - - - No man ought "to be asham'd to shew his Grief "to his private Friends; for this "lightens the Heart, and makes the "Spirits return; and if not, he ought "to seek for some other Remedy, as "Exercise and Business, and not to "take the way this Duke took, to "hide himself, and be Solitary, "but on the contrary, to drive "away all Austerity, *Cap. 5. Lib. 5. of his Memoirs.* Lastly, the same *Commines* relates with commendation, what *Charles* Duke of *Berry*, Brother to *Lewis* XI. said on the occasion of 7 or 800 Men of Count *de Charolois* being wounded at the Battel of *Montlhori*, *That he had much rather that things had never been begun, than to see so many Evils come to pass upon his account*, *Cap. 5. Lib. 1.*

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from throwing himſelf into the Sea. At length the Sea ſettling, and the Wind favouring them, ſeveral Ships returned very much ſhatter'd, ſome almoſt without any Oars, others with Cloaths ſpread inſtead of Sails, and many ſo diſabled, that they were tow'd by thoſe that were in a better Condition. Having order'd theſe to be refitted with all haſte, he ſent them to the Iſles in ſearch of their Companions, by which means many of them were recover'd. The *Angrivarii*, who had lately ſubmitted, brought ſeveral whom they had ranſom'd from ſome of their Neighbouring Nations. Some who had been driven on the Britiſh Coaſt, were ſent back by the Petty-Kings of that Iſland. Thoſe that came from remote Countrys made ſtrange relations of uncommon Whirlwinds, Monſtrous Birds and Fiſhes, and Creatures half Man and half Beaſt, which they had ſeen, or which their fears made them fancy ſo.

XXV. As the News of this great Diſaſter that befell our Fleet, reviv'd the Hopes of the Germans, ſo it awakned the Care of *Germanicus* to prevent them[1]. He orders *C. Stertinius* to go againſt the *Chatti* with thirty thouſand Foot and three thouſand Horſe, whilſt he himſelf with a greater Army invades the *Marſi*, whoſe General, *Malovendus*, lately come over to us, diſcover'd that the Eagle of one of *Varus*'s Legions was hid under ground in

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Misfortunes are ſo far from ſinking the Courage of Great Captains, that on the contrary, they refine their Prudence, rouze their Activity, augment their Conſtancy, and accuſtom them to Brave dangers. The loſs of *Oſtend*, which after a Siege of above three years, was no better than one great Church-yard or Burying-place, inſpir'd Prince *Maurice* of *Naſſau* with a Reſolution to take *Eſcluſen*, which was a Place of much greater importance, and which he took in a few Days. The Arch-Duke *Albert*, having cut off two Regiments of his Foot, and four Troops of his Horſe, which he had ſent to take a Paſs, he nevertheleſs the next day fought the Battel of *Newport*, in which the Arch-Duke was wounded; above ſix hundred men ſlain; the Admiral of *Arragon*, and ſeveral other Principal Spaniſh Officers made Priſoners; and all their Cannon taken, with a hundred and five Colours.

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in an adjacent Wood, and but ſlightly guarded °. A Party was immediately ſent out to attack the Enemy in the Front, and by light Skirmiſhes to draw them from their Poſts, whilſt another detachment was to wheel about behind them, and open the Earth where the Standard lay, and both ſucceeded. Wherefore *Germanicus* advances farther into the Country, which he lays waſte, and preſſeth upon the Enemy, that durſt not give him Battel, or whenever they did make reſiſtance were immediately beaten, and as the Priſoners reported, were never under greater Conſternation. For they now ſaid, that the Romans were invincible, and to be broken by no Misfortunes, who after ſuch a loſs of their Fleet and of their Arms, after the Shores had been cover'd with the Carcaſſes of their Men, and of their Horſes, fought with their wonted Courage and Vigour, and as if their Numbers had been increaſed.

XXVI. Hence the Army returned into Winter-Quarters, rejoycing that they had repair'd their Loſſes at Sea, by this proſperous Expedition, and *Germanicus* with his Bounty increas'd their Joy, by making up to every one of them what loſs they had receiv'd; And there is no doubt but that the Enemy was brought ſo low, that they deſign'd to ſue for Peace, and that the next Summer would have put an End to the War. But *Tiberius* by repeated Letters importun'd him *to return* home to the Triumph that

Historical Notes.

° I have already obſerv'd, that the Romans reverenc'd their Eagles, as their Tutelar Gods. So that we need not wonder that *Germanicus* was ſo much concern'd to recover that Eagle which *Malovendus* gave intelligence of. For as it was ignominious to loſe the Eagles, it was Sacrilege and Impiety, not to reſcue them out of the Enemy's hands, when an occaſion offer'd it ſelf. It was for this Reaſon, that *Auguſtus* reckon'd it amongſt his moſt glorious Actions, that he had obliged the Parthians to reſtore the Eagles, which *Craſſus* and *Marc-Anthony* had loſt amongſt them, *Sueton in his Life, and Paterculus, Cap.* 91. *Lib.* 2. *Charles* V. ſet ſuch a Value on his Standard, that when he was about to give Battel to *Francis* I. before *Landrecy*, he commanded thoſe who Environ'd it, to ſave the Standard, rather than his Perſon, if it ſhould come to that paſs, that they muſt chuſe one or the other. *Don Juan de Vera in the Epitomy of his Life.*

that was decreed him; telling him, That he had seen variety of Events, had run hazards enough, and had fought great and successful Battels. That he would also remember the great Losses he had receiv'd [1], not through any Error of his own, but from the Winds and Waves. As for himself who had been by *Augustus* sent nine times into *Germany*, he did more there by Conduct than Force [2]. It was by this way that he oblig'd the *Sigambri* [p] to submit, the *Suevi*, and King *Marobodues* to accept a Peace. That now the Romans were reveng'd and their Honour repair'd; the *Cheruſci* and the other rebellious Nations might be securely left to worry one another by Domestick Quarrels. *Germanicus* desiring one Year more to compleat his Undertaking [3], *Tiberius* more briskly attacks his Modesty

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. There was never a Captain so Fortunate, whose Undertakings have not been sometimes checquer'd with Misfortunes; and the greatest Generals of Armies, have had the greatest Disasters. Besides, that Fortune is fickle in War, there are a thousand Accidents, which the greatest humane Prudence is not able to foresee, nor able to prevent, if it could foresee them.

2. Men more easily wind themselves out of difficulties by address, than break through them by force. *Lewis* XI. the *Tiberius* of our Kings, obtain'd his ends of the King of *England*, and the Dukes of *Normandy*, of *Britany*, of *Burgundy*, and of the Dutchess of *Savoy*, who were all in a Confederacy against him, by as many Particular Treaties, which batfled all their ill designs. After the Death of the Duke of *Burgundy* he Re-united to his Crown *Peronne*, *Mondidier*, *Roie*, *Arras*, *Hesdin* and *Boulogne*, by gaining the Lord of *Cordes*, who was Governor thereof. And *Commines* saith, that he could not in a long time have done that by Force, which he did by secret Intelligence, by the means of this Lord, *Lib.* 5. *Cap.* 15. & 16. And of all the Persons that I ever knew *Lewis* XI. was the most dextrous in getting himself out of the Briars in times of Adversity, and in gaining to his interest a Man that could serve or hurt him, *Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 10.

3. Jealous and Suspicious Princes, as *Tiberius* was, had rather lose a certain Good, than to be oblig'd for it to a Captain, whose Glory gives them jealousie. They love Conquests very well, but commonly they cannot endure the Conquerors. Cardinal *Richelieu* said, that there is no Prince in a worse Condition than he, who instead of governing himself with respect to the Publick Interests, hath Passion for his Guide; and who being not able always to do himself the things which he is obliged to, is unable

HISTORICAL NOTES.

[p] The People of *Guelderland* and *Friesland*.

Modeſty with the Offer of a New Conſulſhip, which he was to execute at *Rome* in Perſon; adding, That if the War ſhould continue, he ought to leave it as a Scene of Glory for his Brother *Druſus*, who, now the Empire had no other Enemies, could not acquire the Title of *Imperator*, nor merit a Triumph, unleſs in the German War[s]. *Germanicus* preſs'd it no farther, though he knew well enough[t], that theſe were no other than ſpecious Pretences, and that he was recall'd through Envy, when he was at the very Point of accompliſhing his glorious Enterprizes[q].

XXVII. About the ſame time *Libo Druſus* of the Family of the *Scribonii*, was accus'd of a Conſpiracy againſt the Government. I ſhall give an exact Account of the Riſe, Progreſs, and Iſſue of this Affair, becauſe this was the

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

uneaſie to let them be done by another; and that to be capable to ſuffer himſelf to be ſerved, is not one of the leaſt Qualities which a great King can have. *Chap. 6. de la 1 partie de ſon Teſtament Pol.* Obſerve by the way, the Malignity of *Tiberius*. He calls *Germanicus* to the Enjoyment of the Conſulſhip, and to the Honour of a Triumph, before he had compleated the Conqueſt of *Germany* to turn that into Grace and Favour to him, which he was upon the Point of meriting under the Title of a Reward. By this advance, he chang'd the Obligation, and would have that appear to be the Effect of Paternal Kindneſs, which was Tyrannical injuſtice.

4. Thus Princes endeavour to juſtifie their Reſolutions, by ſpecious Reaſons, notwithſtanding they have power to command abſolutely. Modeſty ſerves for a Cover of the Injuſtice.

5. The more inſight we have into the Thoughts of Princes, the leſs we ought to diſcover it; for nothing offends them more, than to ſhew them that we are more cunning than themſelves. Part of our reſpect, ſaith *Tacitus*, conſiſts in feigning that we underſtand nothing of their Artifices. *Intelligebantur artes, ſed pars obſequii in eo, ne deprehenderentur* Hiſt.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

q *Philip* II. of *Spain*, a Prince who had much of *Tiberius* in him, dealt, almoſt in the ſame manner with his Brother *Don John of Auſtria*, in giving the Command of the Army in the War of *Grenada*, to *Don Lewis Fejaraa* Marquis of *Velez*, under colour of eaſing *Don John* who had the whole weight of the Government of this Kingdom upon him; but in truth to take out of his hands the Glory of reducing the Rebels, which were already much weakned. *Diego de Mendoza, Cap. 5. Lib. 3. of the War of* Grenada.

r Monſieur

the first time those pernicious Practices were set on foot, which for a long time after afflicted the State, and prey'd on the very Vitals of it. *Firmius Catus*, a Senator, and an intimate Friend of *Libo*, puts this imprudent Young-man, who was apt enough to be amused with vain Hopes[1], upon trinketting with Astrologers, Magicians, and Interpreters of Dreams[1]; and to kindle his Ambition reminds him at the same time of his Illustrious Ancestors, that *Pompey*

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. The Predictions of Astrologers and Fortune-tellers, have in all times been fatal to Great Men, who have given credit to them; for either they have render'd them suspected to their Prince, as Persons who build their hopes on Revolutions and Opportunities which they wait for, or they have engaged them in Unfortunate Enterprizes, of which they would have never dreamt, if their Credulity had not blinded them. *Mariana* relates a remarkable Instance of this in Don *Diego*, Duke of *Viseu*, who being at the Head of a Conspiracy against *John* II. King of *Portugal*, had the Confidence or rather Rashness to go to the King, who sent for him; being persuaded that he should escape so great a Danger, because it had been predicted to him that he should reign; and that if the King seized him, he should be succour'd in the very nick of time, by all the Great Men that were engag'd in the Conspiracy. But he was mistaken in his reasonings, for the King stabb'd him with his own hand; saying to him, *Go and tell the Duke of* Braganza *the issue of the Plot which he laid.* Whereupon *Mariana* concludes with the Words of *Tacitus*, That Astrologers are a Generation of Men fit only to abuse Great Persons, by Vain and Flattering Promises, who have and always will find Belief and Applause in all Countrys, notwithstanding their Lies are so common, and so well known to all the World. *Lib. 24. Cap. ult. of his History.* 'Tis true, saith Father *Paul*, these Predictions sometimes come to pass by Chance, or by some other secret Cause; but most commonly they are the Cause that a great many Credulous People run themselves upon ruine, *Hist. of the Council of Trent, Lib. 5.* To conclude, it looks as if God permitted Great Men to be befet by Astrologers to humble them; for he hath always sent them so many Disgraces and Afflictions, as these Rascally Cheats have promised them Grandeurs and Successes. These study only to make them Prognosticks, which set them above the Condition of Mortals; and God, on the contrary, sooner or later lets them see, that their Hopes are Vain and Wicked.

2. Behold

HISTORICAL NOTES.

1 Monsieur *de Cinqmars*, Grand-Ecuier of *France*, much resembled *Libo*; but with this Difference, that *Libo* was ruin'd by the Treachery of his Confident, whereas Monsieur *de Cinqmars* ruin'd his Confident, Monsieur *de Thou*, a Man of as great Virtue, as *Catus* was of Villany.

Pompey was his Great Grandfather; *Scribonia*, *Auguſtus*'s firſt Wife, his Aunt; and the *Cæſars* his Kinſmen [a]; perſuades him to a more Splendid way of Living, to borrow Money to ſupport it; and that he might have the greater Evidence againſt him, becomes himſelf a Companion in his Debaucheries, and a Surety for his Debts.

XXVIII. As ſoon as *Catus* got witneſſes enough, and ſome of them *Libo*'s Slaves, who were ready to corroborate his Evidence, he gave *Tiberius*, by the means of *Flaccus Veſcularius* a Roman Knight who had his Ear, ſome account of the Perſon, and of the Matter which he had to diſcover, and deſir'd that he might himſelf have acceſs to him. *Tiberius* did not ſlight the Diſcovery, but refus'd to admit him into his preſence [c], ſeeing whatſoever was to be ſaid on either ſide, might as well be communicated by the intercourſe of *Flaccus*. In the mean time, he honours *Libo* with the Prætorſhip; takes him to his Table; diſcovers not the leaſt anger or ſtrangeneſs in

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2. Behold here what is incident to moſt great Mens Children, their Governors foment their Ambition, inſtead of giving a Check to it: they entertain them with nothing but their Noble Extraction, with their great Alliances, with the Pretenſions of their Family, which are very often imaginary; and with the great Eſtate they have in reverſion, the Proſpect of which plunges them in Luxury, and ſometimes reduces them to a ſhameful Poverty. They puff them up with the Titles of your Highneſs and your Serenity; which in a little time will grow as common, as thoſe of Count and Marquis, which are now taken by the Sons of Farmers of the King's Revenues, and ſuch upſtart Men: Inſomuch, that if this Abuſe continues, one may ſay in *France* and *Italy* what was ſaid to the Emperor by an Italian Ambaſſador, who went from his Court in very ill Weather, That there was no need to fear either Rain or Thunder, ſince his Imperial Majeſty had ſtill'd the World with ſo much Serenity.

1. It is a Niceneſs becoming the Prudence of Princes, to have no communication with Traytors. *Guicardin* commends it as a Noble Reſolution of a Spaniſh Lord, who would not lend his Palace to lodge the Duke of *Bourbon*, Conſtable of *France*, who was come to *Madrid*. *I can refuſe your Majeſty nothing*, (ſaid he to *Charles* V.) *but I do declare, that if the Duke of* Bourbon *lodges in my houſe, I will burn it as ſoon as he hath left it, as a Place infected with the Contagion of his perfidiouſneſs, and conſequently not fit to be ever inhabited by Men of Honour. Lib.* 16. *of his Hiſtory of Italy.* And it is for this Reaſon, that they raze to the Ground, the Houſes of Traytors, and ſow the Place with Salt, that nothing may grow there.

2. There

in his Countenance, or in his Words, ſo dextrous was he in concealing his Reſentments; and when he might have ſtop'd him in his courſes, he choſe rather to let him go on that he might know all [1]; Until one *Junius* who had been ſollicited to raiſe Infernal Spirits by Spells, diſcover'd the Matter to *Fulcinius Trio*, an Eminent Promoter, and one that was ambitious of making himſelf famous by Villanies [3]. He immediately draws up an Accuſation

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2. There is nothing more dangerous than the Silence of Princes, with reſpect to thoſe whom they hate. For this Silence, as *Commines* obſerves well, emboldning thoſe who are in fault, to attempt imprudent things, gives the Prince an opportunity to take a full Revenge on them. *Cap.* 1. *ult. Lib.* 3. And ſpeaking of *Lewis* XI. and of the Duke of *Burgundy*: The King, ſaith he, more effectually made War againſt him, by letting him alone, and by ſecretly raiſing Enemies againſt him, than if he had declar'd againſt him; for had the Duke ſeen a Declaration againſt him, he would have quitted his Undertaking, and ſo have prevented all that which afterwards came upon him, *Lib.* 5. *Cap.* 4. By a contrary Reaſon, a Prince can never do a greater Favour to his Subject, than to admoniſh him of his Faults, or to prevent him from committing them. Nothing can be more kind, than what Cardinal *de Richelieu* did to a Page of his, who was a Relation of the Meſſieurs *de Marillac*. Having aſked this Page, *Whether theſe Gentlemen knew that he was in his ſervice, the Page anſwer'd, No, but that he intended to go and ſee them with the firſt Opportunity*; not knowing that they were the declar'd Enemies of his Maſter: The Cardinal, who had a Kindneſs for this Youngman, ſaid to him, *Don't do it, if you would have me continue my kindneſs to you; but never ſpeak a Syllable of this that I have now ſaid to you; for if you do, you muſt never expect any thing from me. Memoirs au C. de R. concerning the Miniſtry of the Cardinals de Richelieu and Mazarine.* But to return to the Honour which *Tiberius* did *Libo*, to admit him to his Table, and to give him a Prætorſhip; I may ſay, that there are Princes who diſſemble their reſentments, as *Horace's Entrapelus*, who gave rich Cloths to thoſe whom he would deſtroy, knowing that theſe Cloths would puff them up, and make them forget their Duty. *Epiſt.* 18. *Book* 1.

3. There are People of ſuch corrupt Minds, that they had rather perpetuate their Names by deteſtable actions, than lead an obſcure Life, which will never be ſpoken of after their Deaths. *Tacitus* ſaith *Ann.* 11. that the Greater the Infamy is, the more Charms it hath for great Villains. Such a one was *Cabrino Fondüli*, Lord of *Cremona*, who as he went to Execution, told his Confeſſor and thoſe alſo that were preſent, that he repented of nothing more, than of having let ſlip one brave opportunity, which was of throwing headlong from the top of the Turret of a Caſtle, Pope *John* XXIII, and the Emperor *Sigiſmund*, who went up alone with him, ſaying, that this Action would have made him been talk'd of for ever. *Panius Jovius in the Elogy of Philip Maria, Duke of Milan.*

cuſation againſt the Criminal, goes to the Conſuls, requires the Senators to be aſſembled. The Senators are ſummon'd with this Notice, that they were to conſult about a Criminal Matter of great Importance.

XXIX. In the mean time, *Libo* puts on a Mourning Habit, and accompany'd with ſome Ladies of the Greateſt Quality in *Rome*, goes from Houſe to Houſe to intreat their Relations that they would appear in his behalf, but they excus'd themſelves upon different pretences, but all from the ſame Fears[1]. On the Day of his Tryal, being much enfeebled with Grief and Fear, or becauſe, as ſome ſay, he would be thought ſick, he was brought in a Litter to the Door of the Senate-Houſe, where leaning on his Brother, in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner, he begs Pardon of *Tiberius*, who appear'd not in the leaſt mov'd thereby: By and by the Emperor reads the Accuſations, and the Names of their Authors, with ſuch temper, that he ſeemed neither to extenuate nor aggravate the Crimes.

XXX. Beſides *Trio* and *Catus*, there came alſo two Accuſers more, *Fonteius Agrippa*, and *C. Livius*, amongſt whom there was ſome diſpute which of them had the Right to accuſe him; but when they could not agree amongſt themſelves, and *Libo* came without an Advocate, *Livius* declar'd, that he would exhibit the ſeveral Crimes wherewith he was charged. Of which one was, That he had conſulted with the Aſtrologers, whether he ſhould ever be rich enough to cover the Appian way from *Rome* to *Brunduſium* with Money, and the reſt were much of the ſame nature, Ridiculous and Pitiful. Only there was a Writing in *Libo*'s hand, upon which the Accuſer inſiſted very much, wherein were the Names of the *Cæſars*, and of ſome Senators, with Dangerous and Myſterious Notes added to them. *Libo* diſowning it, 'twas thought

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1. There is a Proverb which ſaith, That the Unfortunate have no Kindred. *Infœlicium nulli ſunt affines.*

1. There

thought fit to put ſome of his Slaves who knew his hand to the Queſtion. But becauſe it was forbidden by an ancient Decree of the Senate, to examine a Slave by torture againſt the Life of his Maſter; *Tiberius*, who was ingenious at inventing new Laws[1], order'd *Libo*'s Slaves to be ſold to the Publick Regiſter, that they might be examin'd againſt him by torture, without infringing the Law[2]. Upon which *Libo* having deſir'd that he might have

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1. There are occaſions wherein the Prince for the Safety of his Perſon, or for the Repoſe of his People, is conſtrain'd to accommodate the Laws to the Neceſſity of his Affairs. Politicians pretend, that the Laws conſiſt not in words, but in the Senſe which the Publick Authority gives them; and that they have no force but as far as the Prince lends it them, who is the ſole legal Interpreter of them. Howſoever that be, a good Prince ought as much as is poſſible to avoid coming to new Examples of ſeverity therein; for whatſoever the Cauſe or the Colour may be, the Novelty of the procedure makes him paſs for Cruel. The action of Pope *Sixtus-Quintus* who order'd a Youth to be put to Death, who was under Seventeen years old, telling the Governor of *Rome*, that he would give him ten of his own years, that he might be of the Age requir'd by the Laws *, this Action I ſay ought rather to be forgotten, than imitated.

* *Leti lib.* 1. *part* 2 *of his Life.*

2. It ill becomes Princes to uſe certain tricks and ſhams of Art, to put a colour upon Frauds, and real Injuſtice. The manner of the ſame *Sixtus-Quintus*'s dealing with the Author of a Paſquinade upon his Siſter *Donna Camilla*, is another action that did no honour to his Pontificate. We have promis'd you your Life and 1000 Piſtols, ſaid he to this Unhappy Man, and we freely give you both, [for coming and making the Diſcovery your ſelf] but we reſerv'd in our mind a Power to have your Tongue and both your Hands cut off, to hinder you from ſpeaking or writing any more. *Leti lib.* 2. *part* 2. *of his Life.* It is of him that the *Pagliari* ſpeaks *in his* 210 *Obſervation*, where he ſaith. We have ſeen in our days a Prince, who did not invent new Laws, but who extended the old ones to all caſes which he had a Mind to comprehend under them; ſaying, that this was the Intention of the Prince, who made them, although theſe Caſes were not expreſſed in them. Not only all *Germany*, but alſo all *Europe*, deteſted the Fraud which *Charles* V. put upon the Landtgrave of *Heſſe*, by the help of one word of the Treaty, wherein his Miniſters ſlipt in a W inſtead of an N, ſo that in the Copy which the Landtgrave ſigned, it was written *Ewvige*, whereas the Minutes or the rough Draught had *Einige*; which entirely alter'd one of the Eſſential Conditions of the Treaty, which was, that the Landtgrave ſtipulated to be ſent back *without any Impriſonment*, *ohne einige ge fangus*; whereas the Emperor on the contrary, having caus'd him to be arreſted by the Duke of *Alva*, ſaid, that by the Treaty he was obliged only not to hold him in *perpetual Impriſonment*, as the Word *Ewvige* ſignifies. *Heiſſ. li.* 3. *part* 1. *of his Hiſtory of the Empire.* Don *Juan Antonio de Vera* endeavours to

have time given him till the next Day for his anſwer, went home, and ſent, by the Hands of his Kinſman *P. Quirinius*, his laſt Petition to the Emperor; whoſe Anſwer was, that he muſt addreſs himſelf to the Senate.

XXXI. In the mean time, his Houſe was beſet with Soldiers, who made ſuch a Noiſe in the Porch, as if they deſir'd to be taken notice of; ſo that perceiving what he was to expect, he was Melancholly at this laſt Feaſt, which he had made to take his farewell of Pleaſure, and called for ſome body to kill him; laid hold on his Servants, and put a Sword into their Hands; but they trembling and drawing back threw down the Light that ſtood on the Table, and the Horror of the Darkneſs ſuiting with his deſign, he immediately gave himſelf two ſtabs in the Belly. His Freed man hearing him groan as he fell, ran to him, and the Soldiers retired at the ſad Spectacle. The Accuſation was ſtill proſecuted in the Senate with the ſame Heat: However, *Tiberius* ſwore, that he would have interceeded with the Senate for his Life, notwithſtanding his Guilt, had he not prevented him by a Voluntary Death.

XXXII. His Eſtate was divided amongſt the Accuſers, and his Prætorſhip was given to ſome of the Senate before the Aſſembly was held for the Election of Officers. At the ſame time *Cotta Meſſalinus* moved, that *Libo*'s Image might not be carry'd in the Proceſſion of the Funerals of his Kindred. *Cneius Lentulus*, that none of the Family of the *Scribonii* might take the Sirname of *Druſus*. *Pomponius*

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juſtifie *Charles* V, by ſaying, that the Landtgrave had no reaſon to complain, ſeeing that a Promiſe to exempt him from perpetual Impriſonment, did ſuppoſe, that he was to be impriſon'd for a time. But this doth not remove the Difficulty; for how will it ſuffice that the Landtgrave had ſign'd this Act, and that *Charles* V, had obſerv'd it according to the Letter (*Lavigo* having been written in it) yet he can't be excuſed from breaking his Word, ſeeing he knew, that the Landtgrave and his Mediators, *Maurice* Duke of *Saxony*, and the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, had agreed, and capitulated for the Contrary.

1. The Names of Traytors ought to be bury'd in Eternal Oblivion. To bear their Name, is to partake of their Infamy with them, and in ſome

ſort

ponius Flaccus, that a Publick Day of Thankſgiving might be appointed for this Deliverance. *Lucius Publius*, *Gallus Aſinius*, *Papius Mutilus*, and *Lucius Apronius*, that an Oblation might be made to *Jupiter*, to *Mars*, and to *Concord*; and that the 13th of *September*, being the Day on which *Libo* kill'd himſelf, might be obſerv'd as an Anniverſary Feſtival. I have given the Names and the Flattering Opinions of theſe Men, to ſhew that this is no new Evil in the Common-Wealth. The Senate alſo made a Decree to baniſh Aſtrologers, and Magicians out of *Italy*, of which number *Lucius Pituanius* was thrown headlong from the *Tarpeian* Stone. *Publius Martius*, according to the ancient Cuſtom [f], was executed without the *Eſquiline* Gate, the Conſuls having firſt pronounced Sentence on him with ſound of Trumpet.

XXXIII. In the next Aſſembly of the Senate. *Q. Haterius*, who was a Conſular Perſon, and *Octavius Fronto* who had been Prætor, ſpoke much againſt the Luxury of the City; and a Decree paſs'd, that for the time to come, none ſhould be ſerv'd at their Tables in Veſſels of Maſſy Gold, nor ſhould Men wear [t] *Indian* Silk. *Fronto* went

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ſort to approve of what they have done. *John* II. King of *Portugal*, giving to *Emanuel*, who afterwards ſucceeded him in the Throne, the Confiſcation of the Duke of *Viſeu*, his Brother's Eſtate, made him take the Title of Duke of *Beja*, inſtead of that of *Viſeu*, that this young Prince might not bear the Name of a Traytor who would have kill'd his King, *Mariana*, *Cap. ult. Lib.* 24, *of his Hiſtory*. And ſince that time, there have never been any Dukes of *Viſeu*, notwithſtanding *Emanuel* and his Son *John* III had a great many Children. The Family of *Valieri* at *Venice*, is, as they ſay, a Branch of the ancient Family *Faliers*, which changed the firſt Letter of their Name, to ſhew, that they deteſted and execrated the Memory of the Doge, *Marin Falier*, who was beheaded for attempting to make himſelf Sovereign of the State.

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f Which was to whip the Criminal before his Head was cut off.

t A very Rich and Coſtly Silk, much different from ours, in which the Great Men of *Rome*, ſo magnificent in their Habits, would have thought themſelves poorly clad.

went farther, and mov'd that Silver Plate, Furniture, and the Number of Servants ſhould be regulated by ſumptuary Laws; for it was yet cuſtomary for the Senators to propoſe any thing elſe which they thought for the Good of the State, as well as to give their Opinion on the Matter already propos'd. *Gallus Aſinius* oppos'd this, ſaying, *That the Empire being enlarg'd, the Wealth of Private Perſons was alſo proportionably Encreas'd, and that this was no new thing, but agreeable to the Manners of our Anceſtors. There was quite another manner of living in the Age of the* Scipio's, *than what had been in that of the* Fabricii, *and yet both ſuitable to the Condition of the Common-Wealth at thoſe ſeveral times. When That was little, the Romans liv'd in little Houſes; but after that was raiſed to ſuch a pitch of Glory, it was but fit that its Citizens ſhould make a greater Figure. That there is no way to determine what is Exceſs or Moderation in Plate, Equipage, and in thoſe things which are for the conveniency of Life, but from the Riches of the Poſſeſſor. That the Laws had made a Diſtinction betwixt the Revenues of Senators and Knights, not for any natural difference that was betwixt them, but that thoſe who were in the greateſt Places and higheſt Stations, might be beſt accommodated with every thing that might contribute to the Satisfaction of the Mind, or the Health of the Body*[1]; *unleſs they would have the*

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1. It is but juſt, that Princes who have ſo great Cares, and ſuch laborious Employs, ſhould have Diverſions in proportion to their Toyls, that there may be ſuch a Conſort betwixt the Mind and the Body, that one might not be a Burthen to the other. The nature of Affairs of State, ſaith *M.* the Cardinal *de Richelieu*, ſo much the more requires an unbending of the Mind, as the weight thereof is heavier than that of all other Affairs; and the ſtrength of the Mind and the Body being limited, continual labour would in a little time exhauſt them. It allows all ſorts of honeſt Diverſions, which do not take off the Perſons, who make uſe of them, from thoſe things whereunto they ought principally to apply themſelves *The firſt Part of his Politick Teſtament, Sect. 5, Ch. 8.* But it is not with the Pleaſures of Princes as with thoſe of the Common People; it is their Mind that meaſures them, and not their Body. They keep a certain Mean, by the help of which the Mind grows ſtronger and more vigorous, in not applying themſelves either to any buſineſs or pleaſures, but ſuch as are neceſſary to maintain a good Habit of Body, and conſequently

the Greateſt Men be oppreſſed with a greater Weight of Cares, and be expos'd to more Dangers, and not be allow'd the means to ſweeten their Lives, and ſecure their Perſons. *Gallus* with theſe ſpecious Colours, gain'd an eaſie aſſent from Perſons whoſe Inclinations lay the ſame way; which, however, was no better than a Confeſſion of their Vices [2]. *Tiberius* added, That this was not a time for Reformation, and that if any diſſolution of Manners appeared, the State ſhould not want one to Reform it [3].

XXXIV. Upon

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quently, to continue ſtill Princes. For in effect, they are not ſo, when Health fails them, ſeeing that Affairs are not diſpatch'd, Audiences not given, their Deſigns broken or ſuſpended, and every thing is at a ſtand upon the failure of the firſt Movement: Whereupon follow Complaints, Murmurings, Change of Minds, Tyranny in the Miniſters, and Deſpair in the Subjects. In ſhort, nothing is wanting to a Prince who hath Health, ſince without it there is no true Pleaſure, and with it any labour is ſupportable, *Cap.* 1. *Lib.* 9. *of his Hiſtory.* And in another place, he ſaith, that it is Health that makes great Kings, whereas Sickneſs makes Subjects of them. And from this Principle he concludes, that Princes ought not to have much commerce with Women; the Frequency of which enervates the Vigour both of the Mind and Body, and is the Cauſe, that moſt of them die in the Flower of their Age, *Lib.* 4. *Cap.* 2. And ſpeaking of the Dukes of *Joyeuſe* and *Epernon*, who drew *Henry* III. to a Soft and Voluptuous Life, under a Pretence of taking care of his Health, he ſaith, That on the contrary, there have never been any Princes who have liv'd longer, than thoſe who have employ'd their Minds moſt about the Affairs of Government, *lib.* 11. *cap.* 11. Witneſs *Charles-Emanuel* I. Duke of *Savoy*, and *Chriſtian* IV. King of *Denmark*, both of them the moſt laborious Princes of *Europe*, and both threeſcore and ten years old. Happy was that King of *Portugal*, (*Alphonſo*) who having ſpent ſome days ſucceſſively in hunting, met with Counſellors at his return, who took the Liberty to tell him, that at the Hour of his Death, God would not require an account of him of the Beaſts and Birds which he had not kill'd, but of the Men whoſe Prayers and Complaints he ſhould have neglected to hear, * Words that deſerve to be Engraved on the Hearts of Princes. * *In a Spaniſh Treatiſe, Entituled, Audiencia de Principes.*

2. Men are always of that opinion which is moſt agreeable to their Manners; and by this Maxim we may make a good Judgment of their Manners by their Opinions,

Laudibus arguitur vini vinoſus Homerus, ſaith *Horace*, *Ep. lib.* 1. *Ep.* 19.

3. Princes are never pleas'd to hear Diſcourſes of Reformation; for under the Colour of reforming Luxury, and other Abuſes, which creep into Civil Societies, the Cenſors often go up to the very Springs of Government, the Secrets of which ought not to be laid open to Subjects. Beſides, the Reformation of Abuſes is not proper to be made at all times. If Phyſicians need wait for a Proper time to purge a ſick Perſon, a Prince hath

XXXIV. Upon which *L. Piſo* complain'd of the Illegal ways of obtaining Offices: of the Corruptions of the Courts of Judicature; of the Inſolence of Advocates; who menac'd People with Accuſations; proteſting that he would retire from the City, and live in ſome remote and obſcure Country, and at the ſame time went out of the Senate-Houſe. *Tiberius* was incens'd, however he careſſed *Piſo* with fair words [1], and put his Relations upon uſing their endeavours to prevail with him to ſtay. A while after, *Piſo* gave another inſtance of as great freedom, when he commenced a Law Suit againſt *Urgulania*, who was ſo much in favour with *Auguſta*, that ſhe thought her ſelf above the reach of the Laws. As *Urgulania* inſtead of appearing to the Summons, went to the Emperor's Palace [2], ſetting *Piſo* at defiance; ſo he deſiſted not from his Proſecution, notwithſtanding *Auguſta* complain'd that ſhe her ſelf was Affronted, and expoſed thereby. *Tiberius* thinking it was but decent for him to ſhew ſo much complaiſance to his Mother [3], as to promiſe to go himſelf

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hath much greater reaſon to uſe this Precaution, ſeaſonably to apply the Remedies which are neceſſary to the Body-Politick, which is always charged with many humours, which it is dangerous to ſtir too much. A great Perſon ſaid to ſome who ſpoke to him of the Diſorders of his age; Let it run, it will die ſoon, for it is very ſick. *In the Aphoriſms of Anthony Perez.*

1. It is the Quinteſſence of Knowledge, to paſs ſometimes for Ignorant; and the greateſt Victory of Reaſon, to ſuffer ones ſelf to be overcome by the preſent Neceſſity. *David* himſelf put this Reaſon of State in practice. He was willing enough to puniſh *Joab*, for killing *Abner*; but it being dangerous to raiſe troubles in the beginning of his Reign, he defer'd the Puniſhment of this Crime, ſaying, *I am this day weak though anointed King*, 2 Sam. 3.

2. It is of pernicious example for a Prince to permit his Palace to be a Sanctuary to thoſe who contemn the Authority of the Magiſtrates. A famous Carver, who fled into *Arragon*, for having reſiſted the Juſtice of *Madrid*, could never obtain his Pardon of *Philip* II. notwithſtanding that he was the beſt Workman of his Profeſſion, and that this King had great need of him to work on the *Eſcurial*.

3. It is very becoming a Prince to be complaiſant to his Mother, ſo long as it is not to the prejudice of the Laws and his Reputation. A certain Prince being importun'd by his Mother, to grant her an unjuſt thing, excus'd himſelf, ſaying, that ſhe would ſell him too dear the Nine Months that ſhe had carry'd him. The *Pagliari* ſaith, after the *Goſelin*, That that which ruined *Ferrante Gonzaga*,

himſelf to the Prætor's Court, and appear on *Urgulania*'s behalf; and in order to it went out of his Palace, ordering his Guards to follow him at a Diſtance. As the People flock'd about him, he appear'd very compoſed, talking freely of ſeveral things as he went to prolong the time; in the mean time, *Piſo*'s Friends importun'd him to let fall his ſuit, but to no purpoſe; however, before the Emperor had reach'd the Court, he was acquainted, that *Auguſta* had order'd *Piſo* the Sum of Money that he demanded: So that the Iſſue of this Affair was not inglorious to *Piſo* [4], and very much for the Honour of *Tiberius*. But *Urgulania* grew ſo aſſuming, that ſhe refuſed to come and give her teſtimony in a Cauſe that was heard before the Senate, ſo that the Prætor was ſent to examine her at her own houſe; whereas it was always the Cuſtom, even for the Veſtal Virgins themſelves, to come into the Courts whenever they were ſummon'd to give their Teſtimony.

XXXV. I would not mention the ſtop that was put to Publick Affairs this Year, but that it is worth the while to know the different Opinions of *Cn. Piſo* and *Aſinius*

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

Gonzaga, Governor of *Milan*, with C. V. was his ſuffering his Daughter and his Son-in-Law *Fabricius Colonna* to intermeddle in recommending the Cauſes of private Perſons to the Publick Magiſtrates. *Obſervation* 40. Queen *Margaret* blamed her Brother *Henry* III. for ſuffering himſelf to be influenc'd by the Perſuations of his Minions *Maugiron* and *Saint-Luke*, to that degree, that he went himſelf to ſollicite a Law-ſuit for *Madame de Senecterre*, againſt *M. de la Chaſtre*, becauſe the Latter was in the Service of the Duke of *Alenſon* his Brother, *Lib.* 2. *of his Memoirs*, The Majeſty of Kings, ſaith Cardinal *de Richelieu*, obliges them to reſerve themſelves for the Party of Reaſon, which is the only one that they ought to eſpouſe on all occaſions. They cannot do otherwiſe, without diveſting themſelves of the Quality of Judges and Sovereigns, to take upon them that of Parties, which in ſome ſort ſinks them into the Condition of Private Men. Thoſe who are to defend themſelves againſt the Power of a King, know too well that they cannot do it by force, and therefore have recourſe to Intrigues, to Artifices, and ſecret Practices to ſecure themſelves, which often raiſes great diſturbances in Kingdoms. *Pol. Teſt. part* 1. *c.* 6.

4. There is nothing more dangerous for a Great Man, than to come off with advantage from an Affair wherein the Prince's Authority ſeems to have been ſlighted.

Asinius Gallus[1], on this Occasion. *Tiberius* having said, that he should be absent for a few days, *Piso* was of Opinion, that they ought the rather to proceed in publick Business, it being for the Honour of the Common-wealth, that the Senators and the Knights could exercise their Offices in the absence of the Prince[2]. *Gallus* seeing that *Piso* had prevented him in taking the Popular side, opposed him; saying, That nothing could be done with Majesty, nor suitable to the Gaandeur of the Roman Empire, but in the Emperor's presence, and therefore the Affairs of *Italy* and of the Provinces, ought to be adjourn'd until his Return. This Debate was manag'd with great heats on both sides, in the Presence of *Tiberius*, who held his peace; however *Gallus*'s Opinion prevail'd.

XXXVI. *Gallus* had also a Contest with the Emperor, for he moved, that the Assemblies for Election of Magistrates should be held but once in five years; that the Commanders of Legions who had not been already Prætors, should be then chosen Prætors Elect; and that the Prince should then nominate 12 Prætors for every year. There

Politick Reflections.

1. It is the Duty of an Historian, as *Tacitus* saith in the Preface to his History, to relate not only the Events of things, but also the Causes and Motives which produced them, nothing can make a History more instructive, than faithfully to report the Opinions of those who have had a share in the Consultations of the Great Affairs which it speaks of. For it is in these Opinions, that we discern the Ability, the Interests, the Passions, and all the Good or Evil qualities of those who have deliver'd them. Amongst the Modern Writers, those who have excell'd in this Kind, are the Famous Fryar *Paul* in the Histories of the Council of *Trent*, and of the Interdict of *Venice*; the *C. Bentivoglio* and *Strada* in their History of the Wars of the Low-Countrys; *Lewis Cabreta* in his *Philip* II. The Author of the History of the Union of *Portugal* with *Castile*, attributed by the Italians to *Jerom Conestaggio* a Genoese Gentleman; and restor'd by Father *Baltazar Gracian*, and by some other Spanish Writers, to Don *John de Silva*, Count of *Portalegre* in *Portugal*.

2. A Republican Opinion, as *Piso*'s was, was not in season under an absolute Prince. And although Opinions ought to be free, they ought however to be suited to the Form of the present Government. And it is thus that *Tacitus* makes a Roman Senator speak, who remember'd the Times he was born in, and the Form of Government in the City and the State, under his Fathers; that he admir'd the Past, and conform'd himself to the Present, *Hist.* 4.

1. Princes

There is no doubt but that there was a farther Design in this Motion, which ſtruck at the very Soul of the Monarchy [1]. However, *Tiberius*, who would ſeem to take it, as if it had been deſign'd to enlarge his Power, anſwer'd, *That he could ſcarce with modeſty chuſe ſo many Perſons, and exclude as many more at the ſame time; That if it is ſo hard a matter to prevent Diſcontents now the Elections are every year, and the Diſappointment more tolerable, by reaſon of ſo near hopes, what hatred ſhould he incurr from thoſe, who ſhould be put out of a Capacity of being choſen in 5 years. Beſides, what aſſurance could there be had ſo long before-hand, of the Continuance of any Man's Behaviour or Fortunes? Perſons are ſo apt to be aſſuming upon annual Deſignations to Offices, how much more exalted would they be, when they have the Honour of them for five years, either in Poſſeſſion or Deſignation.*

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Princes can't be too careful in examining the Opinions and Counſels of their Miniſters; for it happens oftentimes, that they loſe their Authority by the Methods which appear to them proper to enlarge it, for want of reflecting ſufficiently on the Motives which they who adviſe them may have, *Ipſe qui ſuadet, conſiderandus eſt*, ſaid *Mucian* to *Veſpaſian*, *Tacit. Hiſt.* 2. *Ferdinand* the Catholick, told his Son-in-Law, *Philip* I. the Father of *Charles* V. *That the Miniſters and Counſellors of Princes, were like Spectacles, which although they are convenient for thoſe who have not good Eyes, are of ſuch a uſe that it is unfortunate to ſtand in need of them.* The Treatiſe Entituled, *The Audience of Princes.*

2. Men, ſaith *Anthony Perez*, *in the Epiſtle Dedicatory to his Relations*, preſent themſelves before Kings as a Picture, and with the beſt Colours, that Artifice can lay on. Thus, it is almoſt impoſſible, but Princes muſt be often deceived in the Choice of their Miniſters and their Counſellors. Cardinal *de Richelieu* comments thus upon this Aphoriſm of *Perez*. Oftentimes, ſaith he, Men have no ſooner chang'd their Condition, but they change their Humour, or to ſpeak more properly, they diſcover that, which they had diſſembled until that time, to compaſs their Ends, *Section* 1. *Cap.* 2. *of the firſt Part of his Polit. Teſtam.* If, ſaith he in another place, the Mask with which moſt Men cover their Faces; and if the Artifices which they commonly make uſe of to diſguiſe themſelves, and conceal their Faults, keep them from being known, until that being poſſeſs'd of great Places, they appear as much Unworthy, as they were eſteem'd Virtuous when they were choſen, the miſtake ought immediately to be redreſs'd; and if indulgence may bear with ſome ſlight incapacity, it ought never to go ſo far in favour of particular Intereſts, as to ſuffer Vices which are prejudicial to the State, *Cap.* 7. *of the ſecond Part of the ſame Teſtament.*

2. All

tion [3]. *That this would in effect, make the Magiſtrates five times as many as they are, and ſubvert thoſe Laws, which to improve the Induſtry of Competitors, have limited the time both for acquiring and enjoying Offices.* And with this plauſible Speech he prevented the Diminution of his Power [4].

XXXVII. The addition which he made to the ſcanty Revenues of ſome of the Senators, makes the ill Reception which he gave to the Petition of M. *Hortalus*, who was notoriouſly Poor, the more ſurpriſing. This young Nobleman was Grandſon to the Orator *Hortenſius*, and *Auguſtus*, by the Gift of a Thouſand great Seſterces, had prevail'd with him to Marry, that ſo Noble a Family might not be extinguiſh'd [1]. *Hortalus* having plac'd his four

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. All theſe Reaſons conclude againſt the Perpetuity of Governments, which is ſpoken of in the firſt Note on the 74th Chap. of the firſt Book of the Annals.

4. Princes, ſaith *Anthony Perez*, get rid of a troubleſome Affair, by anſwering upon ſome other ſubject, quite different from what is propos'd to them, when they ſee that there is a deſign to ſurprize them. This Policy was much practis'd by Cardinal *Mazarine*, who affected to anſwer as if he had been at Croſs-purpoſes, when any thing was deſir'd of him which he was not willing to grant; or when he was ſpoken to upon a Buſineſs, on which he did not think it fit to explain himſelf. He told one of his Confidents, that nothing had been more uſeful to him in Audiences, than to feign ſome difficulty to expreſs himſelf well in French.

1. *Ammirato* in the 8th Diſcourſe of the ſecond Book of his Commentary on *Tacitus*, ſaith, That it is the Glory of Princes to preſerve the ancient Nobility, *perche a quanto piu nobili perſone commandano tanto piu la lor gloria ne divien maggiore*; That is, the more Noble Subjects they have, the more Honour and Eſteem redounds thence to their Government. And half a Page after, he adds, "I am not ignorant that "ſome may be ready to tell me, "that I reaſon more like a plain "Simple Man, than like a Stateſ-"man, becauſe the meaner Birth "and the meaner Fortunes the Sub-"jects are of, the more the Prince "lives in Peace and Safety. - - - I anſwer, *That my Intention is not to give leſſons to Tyrants, but to ſhew what good Princes ought to be.* [An anſwer which would give offence to many at this day, who make their greatneſs conſiſt in the depreſſing of great Families.] As for *Ammirato*'s reaſon for the Preſervation of Illuſtrious Families, it puts me in mind of that, which a Duke of *Oſtrock* gave me at *Venice*, to prove to me, that the King of *Poland* is the greateſt of all Kings, *eſt enim*, theſe are his own Words, *dominus dominantium, & rex Regum Rex, quia Palatinorum.* To whom I anſwer'd, That this reaſon proved, that his King was the leaſt of all Kings, ſeeing that all the Palatines of *Poland* were Kings. And it was in this

our Children before the Door of the Senate, who met that day in the Palace, instead of delivering his Opinion on the Matter which was under debate, he deliver'd himself to the Senate in these words, (casting his Eyes sometimes on the Statue of *Augustus*, and sometimes on that of *Hortensius*, placed amongst the Orators.) *I should never, my Lords, have troubled you with these Children, whose number and tender Age you see, had not my Princes commands prevail'd with me against my own Inclinations. My Ancestors have indeed deserv'd to live in a late Posterity, but when by reason of the Changes and Calamities of the times, I was not able to raise an Estate*[2], *or to gain the Affections of the People; or to acquire Eloquence, which hath been the Hereditary Riches of our Family, I was contented if my narrow Fortune*[3] *would preserve me from Contempt, and from being a Burthen to others. It was in obedience to* Augustus *that I marry'd, and beheld here the Posterity of so many Consuls and Dictators, which I do not mention to reproach any man, but to move compassion. These Children,* Cæsar, *may hereafter, under your auspicious reign and the influences of your favour, arrive at Honours; but in the mean time I beseech you, rescue them from Poverty,*

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

this Sense that the last Duke of *Burgundy* said unpleasantly, that for one King that there was in *France*, he wish'd there were six. *Commines, Chap.* 8. *Book* 3. *of his Memoirs.* Whence it follows, that the fewer great Men that there are in a State, the Greater is the Prince of it.

2. *Tacitus* confirms here what he hath said in the Preface to the first Book of his Annals, that Flattery which insinuates it self into Courts, corrupts brave Minds; and he takes notice farther, that it is much more difficult to arrive at honours in a Monarchy than in a Republick. Indeed *Hortalus* made here an odious Comparison, betwixt the ancient Republick in which Eloquence flourished, and the Government of *Tiberius*, whereby he seemed to say, that Eloquence expired with Liberty. By these words *varietate temporum*, he offended *Tiberius*, who desir'd to pass for a Popular and a Republican Person, especially in the Senate, where he made as great a shew of modesty as he was able.

3. A single Life is the most commodious Seat, and the most honourable cover of Poverty. *Gaston* Duke of *Orleance* had reason to say of the Marriage of two Persons of Quality who had very little Estate, that Hunger and Thirst had marry'd one another.

Poverty, as they are the Grand-children of Hortenſius, *and the Foſter-children of* Auguſtus [1].

XXXVIII. The Favour which the Senate ſeem'd to have for him, was a Motive to *Tiberius* to oppoſe him [1], as he did in the following words: "If all that are needy "ſhould begin to come hither and beg Money for their "Children, the State would be ſoon exhauſted [2] and they "never ſatisfy'd. When our Anceſtors gave the Sena- "tors a Liberty ſometimes to make a Digreſſion from the "Matter in Hand; and inſtead of giving their Opinions "upon that, to propoſe ſomewhat elſe which they "thought would be more for the Publick Good; they "did it not with an intention that the Publick Debates "ſhould be interrupted by Private Affairs, or that ſuch "things ſhould be propos'd which muſt draw on the "Prince and Senate certain hatred from the Petitioners, "if the Requeſt be denied, or from the People if it "be granted [3]. Nor can theſe be call'd Petitions, but "un-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

4. It is ſeldom ſeen, that a Prince ſhews favour to his Predeceſſor's favourites, for he looks upon them as the Creatures of another. And beſides, he can no more ſuffer others to ſhare with him in Acknowledgments than in Authority. And it is for the ſame Reaſon that moſt Princes make little account of the Recommendations which their Fathers make to them at their Death, in favour of their Miniſters or other Servants, whom they have loved.

1. He that would obtain Favours from a Prince, ought to beware of asking him before thoſe whoſe preſence may ſeem to impoſe a Neceſſity on him to grant them. It was the Error which *Hortalus* committed, who truſted more to the Protection of the Senate, than to the Compaſſion of *Tiberius*.

2. The Prince who knows not how to deny, knows not how to reign. If he gives to all who ask of him, he muſt give a thouſand People, who deſerve to have nothing given them. *If I gave to all who ask of me*, ſaid *Philip* II. *I ſhould ſoon ask my ſelf. Cabrera Cap.* 26. *Lib.* 12. *of his Life.* By being too liberal, Men are reduc'd to an incapacity of being ſo at all. Therefore a Prince, who would be reſpected and well ſerv'd, ought never to ſuffer the Sources of his Bounty to be drein'd; for Men are more forward to do ſervice for the Good they expect, than for that which they have receiv'd.

3. The People like a Frugal Prince better than a Liberal one, for they always believe that he is Liberal at their Expence, and that he would be more ſparing if he did not reckon on recruiting himſelf out of their Purſes.

unſeaſonable and importunate Demands [4]. When the "Senate is met about other buſineſs, for a Man to riſe "up and preſs their Modeſty with a Story of the Num- "ber and Age of his Children; and then to turn upon "me with the ſame importunity, and as it were to break "open the Treaſury, which if we exhauſt by Vain-"Glorious Bounties, muſt be ſupply'd by ill practices [5]. "*Auguſtus* gave you Money, *Hortalus*, but without im- "portunity, and not with a Condition that he ſhould "be always giving you. If Men have no reliance on "themſelves, Induſtry will flag, and Lazineſs will grow "upon them; and as long as they can ſecurely depend on "relief from others, they will do nothing for themſelves, "and be a conſtant Burthen to us [6]. This Speech, though it

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

4. A Prince who gives to deliver himſelf from the Importunity of thoſe who ask, draws upon himſelf that of a thouſand People who never durſt have ask'd any thing of them, had they not known his Weakneſs. Beſides, they are not oblig'd by what he gives, being perſuaded that he would not give it, if he had reſolution enough to refuſe it. *Commines* ſpeaking of *Henry* IV. of *Caſtile*, ſaith, "That this King was very "weak or puſillanimous, for he gave away his whole Eſtate, or ſuffer'd it to be taken from him, by any one "that would or could take it. I "have ſeen him abandon'd by his "Servants, and the pooreſt King I "ever ſaw, *Memoirs*, *Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 8. Indeed there is not a more Noble Error in a Prince than Bounty, but withall there is not a more Dangerous one, if it be not regulated by reaſon. The Spaniſh Commentaries on *Commines* ſpeaking of that inſtruction which *Lewis* XI. gave his Son, *Qui neſcit ſimulare, neſcit regnare*, adds, that *Charles* VIII. ſtood in great need to have been taught another Rule which his Succeſſor *Lewis* XI. made his Principal Maxim of State, *Neſcit regnare, qui neſcit negare*, *i. e.* He that underſtands not how to Deny, underſtands not how to Govern. There is no doubt, but that if this King, and Don *Henry* IV. of *Caſtile*, had govern'd themſelves, they would have been better govern'd, than they were by their Favourites, *Cap.* 34.

5. The Liberality of Princes is often an Effect of their Vanity and of their Ambition, than of their Goodneſs and of their Juſtice. This Counterfeit Liberality is the Fault of all Kings who love Flatterers; and our Hiſtorians have very well obſerv'd it in our Kings *Henry* II. and *Henry* III. who abandon'd the Government to their Minions.

6. An able Prince ought to keep his Favours for thoſe who do, or are capable of doing ſervice to his State. *Machiavel* ſaith, that he ought by Privileges and Rewards to encourage People who excell in any art, and eſpecially thoſe who are well skill'd in Commerce, to invent whatſoever may enrich his Subjects, *Cap.* 21. *of his Prince*. It hath been a ſaying,

it met with Approbation from thoſe, whoſe cuſtom it was to applaud right or wrong, whatſoever the Emperor ſaid or did; yet many mutter'd ſoftly, and others by their ſilence ſhew'd their diſlike[7], which *Tiberius* perceiv'd well enough[8], and therefore after a little pauſe he added, That he had given *Hortalus* ſuch an Anſwer, as he thought his Speech requir'd; however after all, if the Senate thought fit, he would give his Sons two hundred great Seſterces a-piece[9]. The whole Senate thank'd him, only *Hortalus* ſaid nothing, either out of Fear, or out of a Senſe of his Noble Birth, which he retain'd in his loweſt Fortune. Nor did *Tiberius* ever after ſhew him any Compaſſion, although his Family was reduc'd to ſcandalous Poverty.

XXXIX. The ſame year, the bold attempt of one Slave, if it had not been timely prevented, had embroyl'd the Empire in a Civil War[1]. He was a Slave of *Poſthumus*

Politick Reflections.

That Princes ought not to keep Fowls, which lay no Eggs. An Apotheegm againſt Uſeleſs and Voluptuous Perſons.

7. As it is dangerous to blame Princes, and ſhameful to flatter them, when they do ill, honeſt Men keep a Mean betwixt Complaiſance and Liberty, which is Silence.

8. When Courtiers keep Silence, it is eaſie for the Prince to perceive, that they approve not that which they durſt not condemn. Witneſs the Young Italian, who going into the Chamber of Cardinal *Salviati*, when he was in diſpute with a Perſon who was playing at Cheſs with him, at firſt ſight gave it againſt him, without hearing the Reaſons on either ſide. And the Cardinal asking him, why he judg'd ſo, before he knew the Fact: *Becauſe*, ſaid he, *if you were in the Right, all theſe Gentlemen* (*pointing to the Company*) *would have immediately given it for you; whereas no body durſt ſpeak his Opinion, becauſe you are in the Wrong.*

9. When a Prince gives a little, and thoſe to whom he gives are Perſons of Merit or of Noble Birth; it is a ſign that he gives unwillingly, and conſequently that no more is to be expected from him. There are Princes who have not reſolution enough to give a Denial: but who in revenge give ſuch ſmall Gifts, that notwithſtanding they give to all that beg of them, paſs for as Covetous and ſordid Perſons, as if they gave nothing. Such was Cardinal *Henry* King of *Portugal*. *The Hiſtory of the Union of* Portugal *and* Caſtille, *Lib.* 4.

1. A whole Council hath work enough to ſettle a State that is troubled with Civil Diſſentions, but there needs but one dangerous Man to diſturb a State that is in Peace; eſpecially if he be one who hath nothing to loſe. *Anthony Perez* ſaith, That the Fear which the Lion hath of the Crowing of a Cock, and the Elephant to ſee a Mouſe, is an Example which teacheth Princes, that the leaſt Inſtruments are capable to put their Kingdoms in flames. *In his Aphoriſms.*

2. They

humus Agrippa[u], named *Clemens*, who as ſoon as he heard that *Auguſtus* was dead, laid a Deſign that had nothing of the Slave in it; which was to reſcue his Maſter *Agrippa* by Force or Stratagem from the Iſle of *Planaſia*, whither he was Baniſh'd, and to convey him to the German Army. But the ſlowneſs of the Merchant Ship on which he embark'd, made him too late for this Deſign, *Poſthumus* being kill'd before he came; which, however, put him on a greater and more hazardous Enterprize; for having ſtolen away the Aſhes of his Maſter and gain'd *Coſa*[x], a Promontory of *Etruria*, he conceal'd himſelf in deſart Places, till his Hair and Beard were grown long, intending to Perſonate *Agrippa*, being much about his Age, and not unlike him[y]. After which, by means

HISTORICAL NOTES.

u In the laſt Age one *Cornelius Hock*, who liv'd at *Rotterdam* and marry'd there, had the Boldneſs to affirm that he was the Son of *Charles* V. and the People began to reſpect him as ſuch, and to hearken to the Propoſals which he made for the new Modelling the Common-Wealth, when the Council of *Holland* cauſed him to be beheaded and quarter'd at the *Hague*. 1583. *Herrera's Hiſt. l.*12. *c.*14.

x In *Tuſcany* near *Porto-Hercole*.

y In the Year 1585. *Portugal* ſaw two Counterfeit *Sebaſtians*, one of them a Native of the Town of *Alcaſova*, and the Son of a Tile-maker; the other named *Matthew Alvarez*, a Native of the Iſle of *Tercera*, and the Son of a Stone-cutter; both Hermites, and drawn out of their Hermitage, to be imaginary Kings of *Portugal*. When a Report was ſpread through the whole Kingdom, that Don *Sebaſtian* had eſcap'd with his Life from the Battel of *Alcaſar*; and that to do Penance for having been the Cauſe of the Death of ſo many Men, which fell in that Battel, he had retir'd into a Deſart for ſeven years, the Term which the Portugueſe by a Ridiculous Superſtition, believe to be neceſſary for the Expiation of the Sins of a King, who hath loſt a Battel. The Country People, who ſaw the Auſtere Life which theſe Hermits led, ſuſpected, that this might be King *Sebaſtian*. The firſt was taken with the Imaginary Biſhop of *La Garde*, who received the Alms that were given him, and had ſet down the Names of all thoſe who gave; to the end, ſaid he, that *Sebaſtian* might recompence them, when he ſhould return to *Lisbon*. This Biſhop was hang'd, and the King his Diſciple ſent to the Galleys, that the Incredulous and the Over-credulous might have the Opportunity to ſee him; and to undeceive themſelves by ſeeing him, for he was not at all like King *Sebaſtian*, *Herrera*, *Cap.* 18. *Lib.* 15. *of the ſecond Part of his Hiſtory*. As for *Matthew Alvarez*, in the beginning

means of his Accomplices he gives out that *Agrippa* was alive, which they whiſper'd firſt in cautious and ambiguous Words, as they uſually do obnoxious Reports; but it ſoon ſpread among the Credulous Multitude, and was readily entertain'd by turbulent Spirits, who are always diſpos'd for Revolutions [2]. About the Evening-twilight he went to ſome little Towns, but would never appear

Politick Reflections.

2. They who hate the Preſent Government, have not a fairer occaſion to Embroil the State, than that of a Counterfeit Prince, who ſets up againſt the True one. When Don *Anthonio* Prior of *Crato*, was not able to ſucceed his Uncle King Cardinal *Henry*, he always countenanc'd the Belief, which the People had, that King *Sebaſtian* was alive, to raiſe a general Inſurrection againſt *Philip* II.

Historical Notes.

beginning he was ſincere; telling all thoſe who took him for Don *Sebaſtian*, becauſe he had the Air of his Face, and brown hair as he had, that he was the Son of a Poor Stone-cutter; but when he ſaw that his words were interpreted to proceed from Humility, and from a Deſire not to be known, and that the more he deny'd himſelf to be Don *Sebaſtian*, the more obſtinate they were in believing it; he cunningly confirm'd in their Error, thoſe who would not be cur'd. He roſe at Midnight to give himſelf diſcipline, and beg'd leave of God to diſcover himſelf to his Subjects, and to return to the Throne of his Anceſtors. An Artifice, which ſucceeded as he deſir'd with thoſe who were within hearing. For they being perſuaded after this, that he was the True *Sebaſtian*, ſtuck not to publiſh it every where. In fine, all the People flocking about him, to kiſs his hand, he acknowledg'd that he was Don *Sebaſtian*, and eat in publick with all the Royal Ceremonies in the little City of *Rezeira*, or *Elzera*. And ſome days after he had the Confidence to write a Letter to the Arch-Duke Cardinal *Albert*, Vice-roy of *Portugal*, in which he commanded him in rough terms immediately to quit his Palaces, becauſe he was coming to take poſſeſſion of his Throne. The Arch-Duke ſent *Diego de Fonſeca* with ſome Forces to the Place. *Alvarez* had about a thouſand Men, which after ſome reſiſtance were defeated, and as he fled the third Day through Rocks, he was taken and carried with his two Companions to *Lisbon*, where his hand being firſt cut off, he was Hang'd and Quarter'd. *Herrera*, *c.* 18. *and* 19. *of the ſame Book.* It is not amiſs to obſerve here by the way, that the Incredulity of the *Portugueſe* about the Death of King *Sebaſtian*, was grounded upon that of King Cardinal *Henry*, who would never dwell in the Palace Royal at *Lisbon*, out of reſpect to *Sebaſtain*, whom he believed to be yet alive. For before his Coronation he dwelt in the Houſe of the Duke of *Braganſa*, and after it he took for his Palace, the Houſe of *Martin Alphonſo de Souſa* near the Cordeliers. *Cap.* 4. *and* 6. *of a Relation*, Entituled, *La Entrada de Don Filippe en el Reino de Portugal.*

appear publickly, nor ſtay long in a Place, becauſe Truth is confirm'd by Sight and Continuance, and Impoſture gains credit by Precipitation and uncertain Abode; he commonly came to a Place before he was expected, and left it as ſoon as he was known to be there; that he might prevent too curious Obſervation, or at leaſt leave them in ſuſpence.

XL. In the mean time, it was generally reported through *Italy*, that *Agrippa* was by the ſpecial Providence of the Gods preſerv'd alive. It was believ'd at *Rome*, that he was already come to *Oſtia* [1], and he was all the ſubject of Diſcourſe in their private Cabals. *Tiberius* unreſolv'd whether he ſhould chaſtize the Slave by force of Arms, or leave the Peoples Credulity to be undeceiv'd by time, fluctuated betwixt Hope and Fear [2], ſometimes conſidering that nothing was to be ſlighted [3], and again that not every thing was to be fear'd. At laſt he commits the Conduct of the Buſineſs to *Saluſtius Criſpus*, who order'd two of his Creatures (ſome ſay they were Soldiers) to go to *Clemens*, and pretending to know his whole Affair, to engage their Lives and Fortunes in his Service, and as a Pledge of their Fidelity, to preſent him with a Sum of Money. They punctually execute their Orders; after which, having found a Night when he was unguarded,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. People eaſily belive that to be true, which they deſire ſhould be ſo; for Deſire, when it is not guided by Reaſon, finds probability in the moſt impoſſible things.

2. On ſuch Occaſions, where the People ſide with the Male-contents, it is prudent and ſafe to Fear. It is an honour, ſaith *Comminæ*, to fear what one ought, and to provide well againſt it. Thoſe who win have always the Honour, *cap.* 5. *lib.* 3. & 9. *of lib.* 5. If *Diego da Fonſeca* had puniſh'd the Portugueſe Gentleman, (*Herrera* calls him Don *Diego de Melo*) who entred *Arzille* by the Name of King *Sebaſtian*, and who had been that day at the Battel of *Alcaſar*, they would poſſibly never have thought fit to have reviv'd him again, to impoſe upon the World, *Cabrera, cap.* 9. *lib.* 12, *and Herrera, cap.* 14. *lib.* 8. *of their Hiſtories.*

3. Great Conflagrations ariſe from little Sparks: whoſoever extinguiſhes one of them, knows not what a Fire he hath prevented; but to know that, if he leaves one of them unextinguiſh'd, he will find himſelf it may be in ſuch extremity, as he is not capable to remedy. *C.* 8. *Part* 2. *of the Politick Teſtament.*

guarded, they ſeiz'd him with a ſtrong Party of Soldiers, which they had ready, and hurry'd him away to *Rome* gag'd and bound. It is ſaid, that when he was brought before *Tiberius*, and ask'd by him, *How came you to be* Agrippa? He anſwer'd, *As you came to be* Tiberius. He could not be brought to diſcover his Accomplices; nor durſt *Tiberius* ſuffer him to be executed publickly [1], but commanded him to be put to Death in a ſecret Part of the Palace [2], and his Body to be privately carry'd out. And although he was inform'd, that ſeveral Courtiers and Senators, had aſſiſted him with their Counſel and Money; yet no farther enquiry was made [3].

XLI. Towards

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

4. There are Occaſions wherein it is dangerous to proceed according to the ordinary Forms of Juſtice. A publick Puniſhment had been more Honour than Shame to this Counterfeit *Agrippa*, whom the People did not look upon as an Impoſtor, but as a Man who deſign'd to revenge his Maſter's Death. And beſides, poſſibly the People might not have been idle Spectators of his Execution. If *John* II. King of *Portugal* had referr'd the Duke of *Viſeu* to the ordinary Courſe of Juſtice, he would it may be have given ſucceſs to this Duke's Conſpiracy, who had almoſt all the Great Men his Accomplices; or at leaſt he would have run the riſk of a General Inſurrection.

5. A Prince who cauſes Criminals to be executed in ſecret, expoſes himſelf to the Suſpicion and Reproach of having put them to Death unjuſtly. Wherefore, all Executions ought to be Publick, either for Example, or for the Honour of the Prince; unleſs it be ſome matter, which the People ought not to know, or ſome Perſon on whoſe behalf they may deſire to make an Inſurrection. Don *Juan de Vega*, anſwer'd a Lady of *Palermo*, who offer'd a hundred thouſand Ducats, that her Husband might not be Executed at the publick Place, *La juſtitia no tiene lugar, ſi no ſe haze en ſu lugar*; that is, Juſtice takes not place, if it be not done in its Place. *Gracian Diſcourſe*, 30 *of his Agudeza*. When there is a great Number of People involv'd in a Conſpiracy, or any attempt againſt a Prince or State; and conſequently, that it requires a long Inquiry to diſcover them all, it is more expedient for him to diſſemble, that he may not irritate Waſps. All Puniſhment, which is extended far, how juſt ſoever it be, paſſes not for an Act of Juſtice, nor for Example; but for a Butchery, and makes the Prince hated as Sanguinary.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

2 A Courier who was carrying Letters from ſeveral Proteſtant Princes and Lords of *Germany*, to the Landtgrave of *Heſſe*, being taken by ſome Captains of *Charles* V. they found among his Diſpatches, a Memorandum of

XLI. Towards the End of this Year, a Triumphal Arch was erected near *Saturn*'s Temple, for the recovery of the Eagles, by the Conduct of *Germanicus*, and under the Auſpices of *Tiberius*, a Temple was dedicated to *Fors Fortunæ*[a], in the Gardens near the *Tiber*, which *Julius Cæſar* bequeath'd to the People of *Rome*. A Chapel to the Family of the *Julii*, and Statues to Divine *Auguſtus*, in a Place call'd the *Bovillæ*.

770 *Years after the Building of* Rome.

XLII. IN the Conſulſhip of *C. Cælius*, and *L. Pomponius*, on the 26th of *May*, *Germanicus* triumph'd for his Victories over the *Cheruſci*, *Chatti*, *Angrivarii*, and the reſt of the Nations lying betwixt the *Rhine* and the *Elb*. Spoils, Captives and Pictures of the Mountains, Rivers, and Battels, were carried before him; (as if the War had been ended, becauſe he would have made an end of it had he not been Countermanded) but the Comelineſs of *Germanicus*'s Perſon, ſitting in his Triumphal Chariot with his Five Children, added much to the Splendor of the Show, and the ſatisfaction of the Spectators. But ſecret Fears allay'd the Joy of thoſe, who conſider'd, that the Favour of the People had not been fortunate to his Father *Druſus*; that his Uncle *Marcellus* was ſnatch'd from their Affections in the Bloom of his Youth, and

HISTORICAL NOTES.

of Succours which they offer'd him, in order to continue the War againſt the Emperor; but this Prince, without reading any more than the Title, threw it into the Fire, judging, as *Julius Cæſar*, who would not read the Letters ſent to *Pompey* from the Nobility of *Rome*, that the moſt agreeable way to Pardon was voluntarily to be ignorant of the Offence. *Epitome of his Life, by Don* Juan Ant. de Vera.

[a] *Tacites* ſaith, *Ædes Fortis Fortunæ*. There was at *Rome* a Fortune, named *Fors Fortuna*, as if one ſhould ſay, Caſual Fortune, or Fortune which decides the Lot of War. With which may agree *Proſperous Fortune*, which *Radulph* the Maſter gave her. This Goddeſs had a Temple firſt at *Rome*, under the Reign of *Servius Tullius*, and receiv'd then Gifts of thoſe, who liv'd on their Rents, without being of any Trade.

[b] About

and that the Love of the People of *Rome* was commonly fatal, and an Omen of ſhort Life to thoſe they lov'd[a].

XLIII. *Tiberius* gave the People three hundred Seſterces[b] a Man in *Germanicus*'s Name, and nominated him for his Collegue in the Conſulſhip[c]; but after all this he was not believ'd to be ſincere in his Affection to him[a], and the leſs when it was known that he reſolv'd to ſend him from Court, pretending it was for his Honour; and in order to it contriv'd Occaſions, or laid hold on the firſt that offer'd. *Archelaus* had reign'd fifty years in *Cappadocia*, and was hated by *Tiberius*[d], becauſe he had never paid him any reſpect during his retreat at *Rhodes*[a], which *Archelaus* did not omit out of any neglect of *Tiberius*,

Politick Reflections.

1. A Great Man who hath the Favour of the People, and cultivates it by popular actions, as *Germanicus* did, and his Father had done, is always hated by his Prince; either becauſe ſuch a Subject ſeems not to ſtand in need of his Favour; or becauſe a Man who hath the People at his Devotion, expoſes himſelf to a thouſand Suſpicions, which his Rivals have opportunity to raiſe and foment in the Prince's Mind. Inſomuch, that this Great Man muſt fall ſoon or late, if he continues at Court, or amongſt the People whoſe Idol he is. Every body knows what the Battel of *Barricades*, *May* 12. 1588. coſt the Duke of *Guiſe*, when the *Pariſians* declar'd ſo openly for him, that *Henry* III. was forc'd to leave the City. To conclude, as the Hatred of the People, is the reward of the Prince's Favourites, the Hatred of the Prince is reciprocally the reward of the Peoples Favourites.

1. When the Prince is hated, his ſincereſt actions are mis-interpreted; but above all, the Careſſes and Honours which he doth to a Great Man, whom the People knows or imagines that he doth not love.

2. *Commines* ſaith, that moſt People have naturally an Eye to aggrandize or to ſave themſelves, and this is the Reaſon, that they eaſily range themſelves on the ſtrongeſt ſide, *Memoirs l.* 1. *c.* 9.

Historical Notes.

b About thirty five Shillings in our Money.

c It is to be obſerv'd, That all the Collegues of *Tiberius*'s Conſulſhips came to Unfortunate Ends: *Quintilius Varus* by Deſpair; *Germanicus* and *Druſus* by Poyſon; *Piſo*, Governor of *Syria*, and *Sejanus*, by the Sentence of the Senate.

d *Dio* ſaith, that when *Archelaus* was accuſed by his Subjects before *Auguſtus*, *Tiberius* pleaded his Cauſe in the Senate. So that *Tiberius* might hate him for his Ingratitude, *Lib.* 14.

Eſtabliſhed

us, but by the Directions of the Principle Favourites of *Auguſtus*, who were of Opinion, that it was not ſafe for him to hold any correſpondence with *Tiberius*, whilſt *C. Cæſar* was living, and had the Government of the *Eaſt* 3. But when *Tiberius* came to the Empire upon the Extinction of the Family of the *Cæſars*; he wheedles *Archelaus* by his Mother's Letters to come to *Rome*, who not diſſembling her Son's diſpleaſure aſſur'd him withal, that he would pardon him upon his Submiſſion 4. He not ſuſpecting

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. The Counſel which *Auguſtus*'s Miniſters gave *Archelaus*, was according to all the Rules of Policy, and ſo much the more becauſe that *Caius Cæſar* had alſo two Brothers, and that they were all three younger than *Tiberius*. Notwithſtanding, this Counſel was the principle Cauſe of this King's ruine. An inſtance that Humane Prudence ſerves for the ſport of Fortune; which, to ſpeak with *Polibius*, often takes delight to give the greateſt Actions of Men, an iſſue directly contrary to what they deſign'd, *Hiſt.* 2. All that *Archelaus* could have done, was to have carry'd himſelf after ſuch a manner towards theſe two Princes, as to have honour'd *Caius* as the Principal, and *Tiberius* as Subordinate, which would not have given jealouſie to *Caius*, nor have affronted *Tiberius*, who had not himſelf retir'd to *Rhodes*, but that he might not by his preſence obſcure the Glory of the Grandſons of *Auguſtus*, who were enter'd on Employments. In fine, Evils that are very remote and not certain, ought not to hinder a Prudent Man, from making his advantage of the preſent Conveniencies; for if one muſt take into conſideration all accidents that may happen one, what can one ever reſolve with ſafety? When *Ferdinand* the Catholick came to take poſſeſſion of his Kingdom of *Spain*, he ſaid to Don *Antonio de la Cueva*, who notwithſtanding he had receiv'd many favours from him, preferr'd *Philip* I. King of *Caſtile* before him: *Who could have thought, Don* Antonio, *that you would have abandon'd me in this Occaſion? But, Sir,* reply'd La Cueva, *who could have thought, that a very old King had longer to live than a Young one; and that* Philip *freſh and blooming like a Roſe was to wither and die in three days?* *Such is the Method of all Courtiers, they adore the Riſing, and turn their backs on the Declining Prince, *Epitome of the Life of* Charles *V. and Lib.* 3. *of the Life of the Great Captain.*

4. Princes who have been neglected, deſpiſed, or perſecuted by the Favourites or Miniſters of their Predeceſſors, rarely forgive them when they come to reign. As ſoon as the Cardinal *Henry* of *Portugal* came to the Throne, he abandon'd all the Miniſters of King *Sebaſtian*, and all the Principal Officers of the Crown, who (little thinking that he, who was ſo old, would ſurvive *Sebaſtian*, who was Young, and who had no great Eſteem or Affection for him) had not paid him that reſpect which was due to his Rank. *Hiſt. of the Union of Portugal with Caſtile, Lib.* 3.

5. Things

ſuſpecting Treachery, or not daring to ſhew his ſuſpicions if he did, for fear of the Emperor's Power, haſtens to *Rome*, when meeting with a rough Reception from *Tiberius*, and an Accuſation againſt him in the Senate, he ſoon ended his Days, whether by a Natural or a Voluntary Death is not certain; not that he was believ'd to be conſcious of thoſe Crimes charg'd upon him, which were meer fictions; but becauſe he was broken with Age and Grief, and a Treatment that is unuſual to Kings; to whom a Moderate Fortune is unſupportable, ſo little able are they to bear Contempt and Miſery[f]. His Kingdom was reduc'd into the Form of a Province, and *Tiberius* declar'd, that by the Addition of the Revenues of it, *Rome* ſhould be eas'd of one half of the Tax of the hundredth Penny[e] impos'd on all Commodities that were ſold; and that for the future no more than the two Hundredth ſhould be paid. The Death of *Antiochus* King of *Comagena*, and of *Philopator* King of *Cilicia*, which happen'd both about the ſame time, produc'd great diſorders in thoſe Nations; ſome deſiring to be govern'd by Kings of their own, others to be Subject to the Roman Empire. The Provinces of

Politick Reflections.

5. Things that are tolerable appear inſupportable to Kings, and thoſe which are really rough and hard to bear, are almoſt always mortal to them. *Commines* comparing the Evils which *Lewis* XI. had made many perſons ſuffer, with thoſe which he ſuffer'd himſelf before his Death, ſaith, that his were neither ſo great nor of ſo long continuance; but beſides that he was in a higher Station in the World than thoſe he had treated ill; the little that he ſuffer'd againſt his Nature, and againſt what he was accuſtom'd to, was harder for him to bear. And four Pages after, ſpeaking of his Phyſician who handled him in the rudeſt manner: This was, ſaith he, a great Purgatory to him in this World, conſidering the Obedience which he had had from ſo many good and great Men. *His Memoirs, lib. 6. cap. 12.*

Historical Notes.

e Eſtabliſh'd by *Auguſtus*, about the Year 760. It is ſpoken of at the End of the firſt Book of the Annals.

f She

of *Syria* and *Judæa* groaning under the Burden of Taxes, petition'd to be diſcharg'd of part of them.

XLIV. He acquainted the Senate with theſe Affairs, and with the State of *Armenia*, of which I have given an account before; telling them withal, that the Troubles of the *Eaſt* could not be compos'd without the Preſence and Conduct of *Germanicus*[1] who was the fitteſt Perſon for this Expedition, *Druſus* being too young, and himſelf in his declining years[2]. Upon which the Senate decreed *Germanicus* all the Provinces beyond the Seas, with a more abſolute Power, than thoſe Governors who obtain'd them by Lot, or by the Prince's Nomination. But *Tiberius* had firſt recall'd *Creticus Silanus* from *Syria*, becauſe he was ally'd to *Germanicus*[3], by the Contract of the Daughter

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. When a Great Man is ſo belov'd of the People, that the Prince is Jealous of him, but dares not ſhew his reſentment of it, the moſt common expedient is to give him ſome remote Government, or ſome ſplendid Embaſſy, to with-draw him from the Eyes and the Applauſe of the People; under a pretence that none but he is capable of that Employment. For if the Prince hath a Deſign to deſtroy him, he eaſily finds ways for it by the advantage of his diſtance, which prevents the People from knowing the Orders that he ſends.

2. There are ſome Employments, for which a good Underſtanding with a long Experience is ſufficient; but there are others, for which vigour of body is alſo neceſſary. *Philibert-Emmual*, Duke of *Savoy*, ſaid, that a General of an Army ought to be of a middle Age, betwixt Manhood and Old Age, that he might be capable of being ſometimes *Marcellus* and ſometimes *Fabius*; That is to ſay, to know how to wait for Opportunities as the Latter, and to fight as the Former. *Charles* V. ſaid of a Count of *Feria*, that by his Prudence he commanded as a Captain, and that his Vigour made him fight as a Common Soldier, *Epitome of his Life.*

3. There is nothing more dangerous than to give two Neighbouring Governments to two Men, betwixt whom there is a Cloſe tye of Kindred, Friendſhip, or Intereſts; for it is to give them an opportunity to act by concert, and to rebel againſt the Prince. *Lewis* XI. having agreed by the Treaty of *Peronne* to give for *Appanage* to his Brother *Charles*, *Champagne*, *Brie*, and ſome neighbouring Places, was careful enough not to accompliſh this Treaty, which left him to the Diſcretion of *Charles* and of the Duke of *Burgundy*. 'For the ſituation of *Champagne* and '*Brie* was convenient for them both; 'and *Charles* might upon a Days no-'tice have ſuccours from *Boulogne*, 'the two Countreys joyning to-'ther. So that *Lewis* choſe rather 'to give him *Guienne*, with *Rochel*, 'although this Partition was of much 'greater value, than that of *Brie* 'and *Champagne*; being reſolv'd 'that his Brother and the Duke 'ſhould not be ſo near Neighbours. *Commines, lib. 2. cap. ult. of his Memoirs.*

4. It

Daughter of the Former, to *Nero* the Eldeſt Son of the Latter, and had put *Cneius Piſo* in his Place; a Man of a Violent and Untractable temper, that inherited all the Haughtineſs of his Father *Piſo*, who had been ſo zealous and vigorous a Supporter of the Civil War againſt *Cæſar*, when it was reviv'd in *Africk*, who follow'd the Party of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, and who after he had Liberty to come to *Rome*, never vouchſafed to put in for any Office[e], until he was courted by *Auguſtus* to accept the Conſulſhip. But he had not only his Father's Spirit, but the Nobility and Riches of his Wife *Plancina* to exalt him[f]; inſomuch, that he would ſcarce yield to *Tiberius*, and thought himſelf much above his Sons. Nor did he believe that the Government of *Syria* was given him for any other Reaſon, but that he might be a Check on *Germanicus*[g], and many believ'd, that *Tiberius* gave him ſecret

Politick Reflections.

4. It is not always a ſign of Modeſty not to ſue for Offices and Honours; on the contrary, it is often a ſign of Pride and Preſumption: for there are people who have ſo great an Opinion of themſelves, that they hold it for a Diſhonor to have Competitors; and there are others who believe themſelves to be ſo neceſſary to the State, that the Prince will be conſtrain'd to offer them what they would not ask. As *Albert Walſtein* obſtinately refus'd the Generalſhip of the Emperor's Armies, that he might be forc'd to accept that which the Extremity of the Affairs oblig'd the Emperor to offer him.

5. A Governor of a Province, who knows that another Governor his Neighbour is hated or ſuſpected by the Prince, never fails to make his Court, at the Expence of his Colleague, either by heightning the Suſpicions of the Prince, or by raiſing Complaints, which may haſten the ruine of him, whom they deſign to ſacrifice. But beſides, of what uſe to *Germanicus* was that abſolute Power, which the Senate decreed him, ſince he had an imperious Superviſor, that was inflexible and charged with orders altogether contrary to his Commiſſion. *Germanicus* had the Name and Show of Governor, and *Piſo* the Power. Don *Diego de Mendoca* ſpeaking of the ſending of Don *John* of *Auſtria* into *Granada*, ſaith, that his Commiſſion was ſo large that it extended to every thing; but that his Liberty was

Historical Notes.

f She was the Daughter of *Munatius Plancus*, a Conſular Perſon, who is mention'd in the 33 Chapter of the Firſt Book of theſe Annals.

g *Vipſania*

cret Inſtructions to this Purpoſe. It is certain, that *Auguſta* out of an Emulation too incident to ſome of her Sex, encourag'd *Plancina* to teaze and contend with *Agrippina*[f]. The Court was divided by the ſecret Favour which they had for *Germanicus*, or for *Druſus*. *Tiberius* loved *Druſus* as his own Son, but others had the greater Affection for *Germanicus*, as well becauſe of *Tiberius*'s Averſion to him[7], as becauſe he was of more illuſtrious Extraction by the Mother's ſide, by whom *Anthony* was his Grandfather, and *Auguſtus* his Great Uncle, whereas *Pomponius Atticus*[8] the Great Grand-father of *Druſus*, who was no more than a Roman Knight, ſeem'd to Diſgrace the Images of the Family of the *Claudii*. Beſides, *Agrippina* the Wife of *Germanicus*, had the Advantage of *Livia*, *Druſus*'s Wife, in fruitfulneſs and reputation; but this Emulation betwixt their Relations and their Dependants, made

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

was ſo ſtrictly reſtrain'd, that he could diſpoſe of nothing Great or Small, without the Conſent of thoſe of his Council; nor even without an Order from *Philip* II. The War of *Grenada*, *Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 26. Thus moſt Princes uſe Great Men, who *for the moſt part, ſaith* Commines, *go only to prepare the Feaſt, and commonly at their own Expence.*

6. A Proud and Imperious Woman, as *Plancina* was, never obeys more willingly, than when the Prince commands her to mortifie her Rival. All Ladies, to whom Princes have given the like Commiſſions, have always well acquitted themſelves therein.

7. There is almoſt always a certain Antipathy betwixt the Prince and his Subjects, whence the Subjects love the Perſons whom the Prince hates, and he reciprocally loves thoſe who are hated by his Subjects. In the Quarrel which happen'd betwixt *Lewis* of *Bourbon*, Count of *Soiſſons*; and *Charles* of *Vaudemont*, afterwards Duke of *Lorain*, who gave him a Box o'the Ear in the Preſence of *Lewis* XIII, every one having declar'd in favour of the Count, the King declar'd for *Vaudemont*. *Memoirs of the Reign of* Charles *IV. Duke of* Lorrain, *by the Marquis of* Beauvau.

8. If

HISTORICAL NOTES.

f *Vipſania* the Mother of *Druſus*, was the Daughter of *Agrippa*, and Grand-Daughter of *Pomponius Atticus*,

h When

made no manner of Impreſſion on the two Brothers, who continu'd Conſtant and Unſhaken in their love [g].

XLV. Not long after, *Druſus* was ſent into *Illyria* to gain the Affections of the Army and Experience in Arms [1], *Tiberius* thinking that he would wear off in the Camp [2] the De-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

6. If the Children of Sovertign Princes knew what prejudice they do themſelves by their Miſunderſtandings and their Quarrels, they would beware of Engaging therein. M. *de Guiſe*, ſaith Queen *Margaret* was not ſorry for the Diviſions which he ſaw break out in our Family; hoping that he ſhould gather up the Pieces of the broken Veſſel, *Lib.* 1. *of his Memoirs*. *Anthony Perez* ſaith in one of his Letters, that Prince *Ruy Gomez* ſaid, That he knew by his own Experience, how much it concerns Courtiers to ſtop their Ears againſt Reports and Calumnies; if they will keep their Friends, and avoid making themſelves Enemies. The Count *de Brion*, ſaith M. *de Montreſor*, ſuffer'd himſelf to be preſſed, although we were very near Relations, and had always liv'd friendly together. When I was adverti's'd of it, I took him aſide, and acquainted him, that I was very well inform'd of what had been told him of me: That if *Monſieur* committed his Secrets to him, I ſhould be extremely glad of it; but that I thought, he ought not to take it ill, that his Royal Highneſs, did me the ſame honour; that in fine, it would be ſhameful for him to ſuffer himſelf to be ſurpriz'd by the Artifices of Perſons who had always deceiv'd their Maſter, and to break with his Kinſman and his Friend, who had never given him any occaſion of complaint. He own'd to me that the thing was true, and we afterwards liv'd in an entire Friendſhip.

1. It is *Machiavel*'s advice, That a Prince apply his Mind wholly to the Art of War, as being the only one that is of importance for him to underſtand, *Ch.* 4. *of his Prince*. For States are not preſerv'd by Cowardice, but by Arms. *Non enim ignavia magna imperia conſtineri, &c.* 15. *Philibert-Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy*, Nephew to *Charles* V. wrote on a time to *Philip* II. who was not of a Warlike temper, that indeed War was not one of thoſe things that was to be deſir'd; but that it nearly concern'd great Princes to underſtand the Management of it; and that therefore he ought to be pleas'd to find in the beginning of his Reign an occaſion to make War; that he might gain betimes the Reputation of a Powerful and a Formidable Prince; and might learn, although at great Expences, what is an Army, Squadron, Battel, Siege, Artillery, Ammunition, Baggage, Spies, Guides, and a thouſand Neceſſities, which muſt be provided for. *Cabrera cap.* 1. *lib.* 4. *of his Hiſtory*.

2. There is no greater Spur than that of Military glory; eſpecially to Princes, who are naturally inclin'd to be dazled with the ſplendid Title of *Conquerors*. *Commines* ſaith, that after the Battel of *Montlhery*, the Count of *Charolois*, who before that day had never been uſeful in War, nor ever lov'd any thing that belong'd to it, entirely chang'd his Humour, and became ſo Warlike, that he purſu'd it as long as he liv'd, deſiring above all things to tread in the Steps of thoſe ancient Princes, who are ſo famous for it, *Cap.* 4. *Lib.* 1. *and Cap.* 9. *Lib.* 5. *of his Memoirs*.

3. The

Debaucheries he had been us'd to in the City; and himſelf would be ſafer, when the Legions were under the Command of his two Sons. He was furniſh'd with a Pretence by the *Suevi*, who came to deſire aſſiſtance from him againſt the *Cheruſci*; for when theſe Nations were deliver'd from the Fear of a Foreign Power by the retreat of the *Romans*, they according to their Cuſtom turn'd their Arms againſt one another [h], out of an Emulation of Glory. The two Nations were equally match'd in Power, and their Generals in Valour; but the Title of King drew upon *Maroboduus* the hatred of his Countrymen, whereas *Arminius* was ador'd as the Patron of Liberty, and one that fought for it [i].

XLVI. Wherefore, not only the *Cheruſci* and their Allies, who had before ſerv'd under him, took Arms for him now; but the *Suevi Semnones* and *Lombards*, who were the Subjects of *Maroboduus* revolted to *Arminius*; with which additional forces he would certainly have been Victorious, had not *Inguiomer* with all that were under his Command, gone over to *Maroboduus*, which he did

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. The Defence of Liberty is the moſt ſpecious Pretext which *Bonteſeus* and *Male-Contents* have always had to kindle a War in their Countreys. The People have been gull'd with it a hundred thouſand Times, and they will be gull'd with it a hundred thouſand times more, before they will be diſabus'd: For they give more credit to Words than Actions, and they judge not of Good and Evil, but by thoſe falſe Ideas thereof which they give them, who talk to them of Liberty, for no other end, but to make them more pliable to be led into Slavery. *Quia apud (eum) verba plurimum valent, bonaque ac mala non ſua natura, ſed vocibus ſeditioſorum æſtimantur, libertas & ſpecioſa nomina prætexuntur.* Tac. Hiſt. 4.

1. The People never love their Prince ſo much, how Good and Valiant ſoever he be, but they love Liberty more; *Nullam tantam poteſtatem cuiquam dari poſſe, ut non ſit gratior poteſtate libertas.* Plin. in Paneg.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

h When in a Civil War amongſt the Athenians, many were for Baniſhing or Extirpating all the Contrary Faction. *We ought not to do it*, ſaid another, *for we ſhall have nothing to exerciſe our ſelves upon.*

i During

did for no other reaſon but becauſe he look'd upon it as a Diſhonour [2] for an Uncle that was in years to be commanded by a young Nephew [i]. The two Armies with equal hopes on both ſides rang'd themſelves in Battel; not as the Germans us'd to do, in little ſeparate Parties which roved up and down, and skirmiſhed without Order or Diſcipline; for by their long Wars with us they had learn'd to follow their Colours [3], to obey the Orders of their

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. There is no tye ſo ſtrong which Jealouſie doth not break. The Duke of *Mayne* would never hearken to the Propoſal, which was made to him, for chuſing the Young Duke of *Guiſe* his Nephew, King of *France*. As he deſir'd to be ſo himſelf, ſaith *Colonna*, he was, it may be more afraid of the Crown, on the Head of his Nephew, than to ſee it on the Head of a Prince of *Bearn*; ſo true is it, that Envy is ſtronger and more obſtinate than Hatred. After, ſaid he, that I have ſuſtain'd the whole Weight of the League, is it juſt, that another ſhould gather the Fruits of my Labours? Muſt I be reduc'd to beg the Government of a Province? I who have govern'd and defended the whole Kingdom at the price of my Blood: Is it becauſe my Nephew is Young and un-married, that they would give him the Crown of *France*, and the *Infanta* of *Spain*? My Eldeſt Son is 17 years old, and for his Perſon, not unworthy ſo high a Dignity. Let them make him King, if they will not have me; for in this Caſe I will content my ſelf with the Honour of being his Governor, and of commanding the Armies of the moſt Serene *Infanta*, *Lib. 6. of his Hiſtory of the Wars of* Flanders. He ſaith, that theſe were the very Expreſſions which the Duke of *Maine* us'd in his private Conferences with the Count *Charles* of *Mansfield*, and the Duke of *Feria*. It was thus that the Uncle and the Nephew weakned, and by degrees ruin'd the Union and good Underſtanding that was neceſſary for them to maintain their Party. *Memoirs de Chiverny*.

3. A Warlike People ought never to make frequent or long Wars with the ſame Neighbours, for fear of training them up to War. This was heretofore the Maxim of the *Lacedemonians*, and is at this Day of the Turks. *Philip* II. King of *Spain* had time to repent that he had not follow'd the Counſel of Don *Gomez Figueroa*, Duke of *Feria*, who would not have had him carry the War into the Low-Countrys, ſaying, that he ought to reduce theſe Provinces by gentle methods for fear of teaching them to handle Arms and make War on their Prince, *Strada*, *Lib. 6. of the firſt Decad*. From the very beginning of the Troubles of the Low-Countreys, Cardinal *Granvelle* had advis'd *Philip* to extinguiſh this War as ſoon as he could, either by a Battel, or by a Treaty

HISTORICAL NOTES.

i During the War of *Paris*, there was the like Jealouſie betwixt the Duke of *Beaufort* and *Nemours*; who, although Brothers-in-Law, could never agree

their Generals, and to keep a Reserv'd Body to succour the rest as there was occasion. *Arminius* took a Review of his Army, and as he rode through it, *he put them in mind of their Recover'd Liberty; of the Enemies Legions which they had cut in pieces, and part of whose Arms and Spoils some of them had now in their hands. He called* Maroboduus *a* [*Coward*] [k] *who understood not how to fight a Battel, and who skulk'd in the lurking Holes of the Wood* Hercinia, *until he had basely bought the Alliance of the Romans, whereby he was become a Traytor to his Country, and a Slave to the Roman Emperor* [l]*, and therefore ought to have no more quarter.*

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Treaty of Peace, for fear this People should come to know their Strength; fore-telling, that if once they knew it, he would never be able to keep them in Obedience. *Pio Mutio consideration*, 259. *Lib.* 1. *of his Commentary on* Tacitus.

4. It is a Reproach often cast upon Great Captains, That they know not how to fight; but it never lessens their Reputation, when they are known to be Persons, who will hazard nothing unseasonably. This Reproach was sometimes cast on the Famous Duke of *Alva*, either by the Duke of *Guise*, or by the Prince of *Orange*; and by several others, but they could never make him change the Method; and his Constancy in despising the Censures and the Railleries of his Enemies, was the Principal Cause of his Good Fortune and his Glory. For he that hath the Profit of the War, saith *Commines*, hath all the Honour of it; and he ought never to run the Hazard of a Battel, who can avoid it, *Cap.* 2. *Lib.* 2. *and c.* 4. *l.* 4. *of his Memoirs*. Wherefore the Answer very well became the D. of *Alva*, which he made to the Duke of *Guise*, That he would not play a Kingdom against a Coat of Cloth of Gold, *l.* 9, *of the History of the Union of Portugal with Castille*. And *Alexander* Duke of *Parma*, answer'd a Trumpeter, who offer'd him Battel from *Henry* IV. That it was not his Custom to fight when it pleas'd his Enemies, only when he thought it fit. D. *Carlos Coloma*, *Lib.* 3. *of his Wars of the Low-Countries*. Count *Peter Ernest* of *Mansfield* saying to a Trumpeter, That he wonder'd, that his Master, who was Young and full of Vigour, kept himself always close, and cover'd within his Intrenchments; the Trumpeter answer'd him ingeniously, *That* Maurice *did so, that he might one Day become as Experienc'd a Captain as his Excellency of* Mansfield. Memoirs of *Aubery du Maurier*.

5. It doth not become Princes and Generals of Armies to utter reproaches against one another. Those who have force in their hands, ought never to use this kind of Revenge, which is fit only

HISTORICAL NOTES.

gree with one another. *Diego de Mendoza* saith, that *Gonsalo Fernandez de Cordova*, stiled by way of Excellence the Great Captain, would never serve under his Brother Don *Alphonso d'Aguilar*, one of the most renowned Captains of *Spain*. *Guerra de Grenada*, *Cap.* 2, *Lib.* 1.

[k] *Henry*

quarter given him than Varus *had. In the Concluſion, he deſir'd them to remember the many Battels they had fought; by the Event of which, and by the Expulſion of the Romans in the End, it was ſufficiently evident on whoſe ſide the Victory reſted.*

XLVII. Nor was *Maroboduus* wanting to extol himſelf, or leſſen the Enemy, and taking *Inguiomer* by the Hand; *In this Perſon you ſee,* ſaid he, *all the Glory of the* Cheruſci, *and to whoſe conduct are owing all the Succeſſes they ever had.* Arminius *himſelf hath neither Prudence nor Experience, and takes that Glory to himſelf which is not his due, becauſe he perfidiouſly ſurpriz'd three Legions, and their unwary General, which action coſt* Germany *dear, and turn'd to his own Diſhonour, ſeeing his Wife and Children are yet in Slavery. But when* Tiberius *invaded us with twelve Legions, I defended the Honour of* Germany, *and made Peace on equal Terms; and we have no reaſon to repent of what we have done, ſeeing it is now at our choice, whether we will have a Laſting Peace with the Romans, or begin the War again with them on even ground.* Beſides the Encouragement of theſe Speeches, each Army had their peculiar Reaſons to animate them; for the *Cheruſci* and *Lombards* fought either for their Ancient Glory, or for their New-gotten Liberty; and the other ſide to enlarge their Dominions. They

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only for Women, and which alſo more diſhonours him that attacks, than him that is attack'd. Beſides, words which wound a Man's Honour are never forgiven. A Lie given the Seigneur *d'Himbercourt*, Ambaſſador from the Duke of *Burgundy*, coſt the Conſtable of St. *Pol* afterwards his Life. For this Reaſon, ſaith *Comines*, Princes, and thoſe who are in great Places ought to beware to whom they offer ſuch affronts; for the Greater they are, the more ſenſible are the Affronts which they offer; inaſmuch as thoſe who are affronted, think, (*and with reaſon*) that the Authority of the Perſon who affronts them, caſts a greater Blemiſh on their Honour. *Cap.* 11. *Lib.* 3. *of his Memoirs.*

1. In *Guiccardin's* Opinion, there is more Courage and Fury in thoſe who recover their Liberty, than in thoſe who defend it. *Lib.* 18 *of his Hiſtory of* Italy. And I think it is becauſe they who recover their Liberty have felt Oppreſſion, and have therefore a greater Reſentment, than thoſe who having not yet loſt their Liberty, have not tried the Severities of Tyranny and of Slavery. Thus, the *Lombards* had a double Motive to

They never fought with greater Fury, nor with more equal Succeſs; the right Wings of both Armies were broken: and it was expected that the Fight would have been renew'd had not *Maroboduus* retreated to the Hills, which was a ſign of Conſternation; after which his Army being weakned by Deſertion [2], he retir'd into the Country of the *Marcomanni*, whence he ſent Ambaſſadors to deſire ſuccours of *Tiberius* [3], who anſwer'd at firſt, *That it*

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

to animate them to fight; that of the Common Defence, and that of their Private Revenge; for according to *Paterculus*, *Maroboduus* was not contented with a Regal Power, regulated by the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Country; but would have one that was entirely Abſolute and Deſpotick. *Hiſt.* 2. *Cap.* 108.

2. The loſs of a Battel, ſaith *Comines*, hath always a long and ſad Train, for him that loſes it; for it often happens that the Vanquiſh'd People entertain a contemptible Opinion of their Maſter; fall into Mutinies and Contrivances againſt him; make inſolent Demands, and deſert him, if they don't obtain them. *Cap.* 2. *Lib.* 2. *of his Memoirs.* And ſpeaking of the Battel of *Granſon* loſt by the Duke of *Burgundy*. What damage, ſaith he, receiv'd he that day for acting on his own Head, and deſpiſing counſel? What damage receiv'd his Family thereby; and in what a Condition is it to this Day? How many People became his Enemies, and declar'd themſelves, who the Day before temporis'd with him, and pretended to be his Friends. *Galeaſius* Duke of *Milan*, who three Weeks before had ſent him a ſolemn Embaſſy, to make an Alliance with him againſt *Lewis* XI. renounc'd this Alliance to make one with *Lewis*. *Renatus*, King of *Sicily*, who deſign'd to make the Duke of *Burgundy* his Heir, and who was going to put him in poſſeſſion of the County of *Provence*, diſpos'd of it in favour of his Nephew, *Lewis* XI. His Siſter, the Dutcheſs of *Savoy*, who was entirely in the Intereſts of the Duke, and whom *Lewis* therefore call'd *Madame de Bourgogne*, reconcil'd her ſelf to him, and utterly abandon'd the Duke. *Nuremberg*, *Francfort*, and ſeveral Imperial Cities more, declar'd againſt him; and they thought that to do him all the Miſchief they could, was to procure their Pardons: So much did the World change after this Battel.

3. How Haughty and Courageous ſoever Princes are, a reverſe of Fortune humbles them as well as other Men. When they are concern'd for their own Preſervation or Defence, their Point of Honour always gives place to their Intereſt. *Paterculus* ſaith, that *Maroboduus* had exalted his power to ſuch a Degree, that he was grown formidable to the Romans, and that without openly attacking them, he gave them ſufficiently to underſtand, that he wanted neither Strength nor Courage to defend himſelf, if they ſhould attack him; that the Ambaſſadors which he ſent to them, ſpake to them ſometimes as from an Equal to an Equal; and that in ſhort, his Dominions were a Retreat to as many as revolted from their Obedience to the Romans. After all this, he ſtuck not to addreſs himſelf to *Tiberius*, to ſupport his Fortune, ſhock'd by an Unfortunate Battel, who before this Battel, boaſted

it was unreaſonable for him to expect aſſiſtance from the Roman Arms, when he had never ſent any to them, when they were engag'd in a War with the ſame Enemy [k]. However, *Druſus* was ſent as I ſaid before to make a Peace [l].

XLVIII. The ſame Year twelve famous Cities of *Aſia* were overturn'd by an Earthquake in the Night, which was the more Fatal, the leſs it was foreſeen; nor could the People ſave themſelves, as many uſe to do, in this Calamity, by running into the Open Fields, for they were ſwallow'd up in the Cleſts of the Earth. It is ſaid, that Mountains were levell'd, Plains raiſed into Mountains, and that Fire flaſh'd out amidſt the Ruines. As the *Sardians* were the greateſt Sufferers, ſo they drew the greateſt Compaſſion towards them; for *Tiberius* promis'd them 100 thouſand great Seſterces [m], and remitted all

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that he was the Arbitrator of Peace and War. After the Battel of *Granſon, the Duke of* Burgundy *ſent the Lord of* Contay *to* Lewis *XI. with a Submiſſive and Obliging Meſſage, which was not his cuſtom, ſo much was his Temper or his Courage chang'd in an hours time. Commines, cap. 2. lib. 5. of his Memoirs.* We ought therefore to conclude with him; that if Great Men, *were always wiſe they would be ſo modeſt in their words, in time of Proſperity, that they need not be conſtrain'd to change their Language in the time of Adverſity, Ch. 21. of the ſame Book.* And this is what *Charles* V. intimated to *John Frederick* Elector of *Saxony* his Priſoner of War, hearing him call'd him, *Moſt Powerful and moſt Gracious Emperor*, he anſwer'd, *You were wont to call me otherwiſe*; reproaching him thereby with the Nick-name of *Charles of Ghant*, which the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, of whom the Elector was the Head, gave him heretofore in their Manifeſto's. *Don Juan Antonio de Vera, in the Epitomy of his Life.*

Historical Notes.

k *Henry* III. King of *France* returned much the ſame Anſwer to Deputies from *Flanders* in 1579. How dare you, ſaith he, to demand ſuccours of me againſt your Prince, when ye would give me none againſt my Subjects? *Cavriana.*

l *Tiberius* had quite another deſign, as will be ſeen in the 63 Paragraph.

m 250000 Crowns.

all their Taxes for five Years[1]. *Magneſia* which lies at the Foot of the Mountain *Sipylus*, was reliev'd in proportion to its loſs, which was next to that of *Sardis*. *Temnis*, *Philadelphis*, *Ægea*, *Appollonia*, *Moſthena*, the *Macedonian Hircania*, *Hierocæſarea*, *Myrina*, *Cimes* and *Timolus*, were diſcharged from all Taxes for the ſame ſpace of time; and it was reſolv'd to ſend a Senator to view, and to repair the Ruines. They Deputed M. *Aletus* of the Prætorian rank; becauſe the Governor of *Aſia* was a Conſular Perſon, to prevent any Emulation or Conteſt which might ariſe betwixt Equals[2] and retard the Buſineſs.

XLIX. After

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Inundations, Fires, Earthquakes, Famine, and other Publick Calamities, are ſo many Occaſions, for a Prince to ſignalize his Magnificence, and to perpetuate his Name. Private Men may do good to Private Men; but there is none but a Prince, who can do it to a whole People. A Prince ought not to deſire theſe Occaſions, but he ought to take the Advantage of them when they offer. *Debet eſſe major & propenſior in calamitoſos liberalitas*, ſaith *Cicero*, 2. *of his Offices*.

2. It is not eaſie to determine, whether is more fit to be ſent as a Commiſſioner into a Province, an Inferior, or an Equal to him that is Governor of it. For, according to *Tacitus* himſelf, Jealouſie is ſtronger in an Inferior than in an Equal, *quia minoribus major æmulandi cura*, *Hiſt*. 4. I know not, ſaith *Pio Mutio*, whether *Tiberius* did prudently to ſend into *Aſia* a Miniſter that was of an Inferior Rank, to the Conſular Perſon who govern'd it; for this Inequality drew after it, not only that Emulation, which he would have prevented, but alſo Envy which is the fruitful Source of Diſſentions and Quarrels. *And ſome lines after*: If the Emulation be good, it makes each of the Rivals more Diligent and Punctual, whereby the Prince is the better ſerv'd. Witneſs what *Titus Livy* makes *Papirius Curſor* the Dictator ſay; *A lævone cornu victoria incipiet, & dextrum cornu, Dictatoris acies, alienam pugnam ſequetur? i. e.* Shall the Victory begin in the Left Wing? And ſhall the Right Wing, where the Dictator is, only aſſiſt the other in the Fight? (Becauſe the General of the Horſe, who commanded the Left Wihg, had broken that of the Enemy). *Conſider.* 121. *on the* 2 *lib.* *Cabrera* ſaith, That the Triumviral Government of the Cardinal of *Trent*, the Marquis of *Peſquera*, and of *John-Baptiſt Caſtaldo*, whom *Philip* II. had ſent to *Naples*, to oppoſe the Deſigns of Pope *Paul* IV. was prejudicial to his affairs, becauſe theſe three Miniſters were near Equal in Authority. *Cap.* 3. *Lib.* 3. *of his Hiſtory*. The Cardinal *de Richelieu* hath clearly decided this Queſtion. Divers Experiments, ſaith he, have made me ſo knowing in this Matter, that I ſhould think my ſelf accountable in the ſight of God, if this Teſtament did not in expreſs terms declare, that there is nothing more dangerous in a State, than divers Authorities equal in the Adminiſtration

XLIX. After he had been thus Magnificent in Publick Bounty, he was Liberal to Private Persons, in a Way that was no less grateful. The rich Possessions of *Æmilia Musa*, who dying intestat and without Heirs, were escheated to his Treasury[n], he gave to *Æmilius Lepidus*, because it was probable that she was of his Family. And the Estate of *Patulcius*, a rich Roman Knight, (although he had bequeath'd part of it to himself) he gave to M. *Servilius*, because he understood that he had made him his Heir by a former Will that was liable to no suspicions; adding, that both these Persons deserv'd a Revenue to support their Honour[o]. Nor would he ever be

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nistration of Affairs. What one undertakes is cross'd by the other; and if the Honestest Man is not the Ablest, although his Opinion be the best, it will be always Eluded, by him that hath the greatest Parts. As the Diseases and Death of Men proceed from the Discord of the Elements whereof they are compos'd; so it is certain, that the Opposition and Disunion, which is always found amongst Equal Powers, will disturb the Quiet of the States, which they shall Govern, and will produce divers Accidents which will in the End ruine them. As several Pilots do never set their hands all together to the Helm, so no more than one ought to hold that of the State. He may very well receive advice from others. He ought also sometimes to ask it; but it belongs to him to examine the Expediency thereof, and to turn the Hand on one side or the other, according as he thinks it most convenient to escape the Storm, and to make his course successful. *Section 6. Cap. 8. of the first part.*

1. Although it is not always for the Interest of the Prince to preserve the Ancient Nobility; it is yet for his Honour, and but Policy sometimes to raise up again some Illustrious Families, that the Nobility may have no occasion to believe that he takes pleasure to sink and to destroy it. *Salust* saith, *That Great Men who fall into Poverty, and consequently into Contempt, hate the Present Government; and leave no Stone unturn'd to introduce a New one, wherein their Condition may be better*; as he shews by the Example of *Cataline*. *Egnatius Rufus* conspir'd against *Augustus*, for no other Reason, but because he was poor, and

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n By the Law. *Julia.*

o *Philip* II. caused an Historical Abridgment of all the Noble Families to be Compos'd, that he might know their Rise, Increase, or Declension, and at what Time, and in what Services they had acquir'd the Titles and Privileges which they Enjoy'd. A Knowledge which Enabled him to recompence

be Heir to any Man's Eſtate, unleſs he had been ſo much a Friend to him in his Life, as might give him ſome pretenſions to it. But he utterly rejected the Inheritance of Unknown Perſons, and of thoſe eſpecially, who had made him their Heir, only to diſappoint their own Relations whom they hated [2]. As he relieved the Poverty of

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and out of hopes of being reliev'd by this Prince. For, ſaith *Paterculus, Such is the Wickedneſs of Men, (and particularly of Great Men) that every one of them had rather be involved in the Publick Ruine, than periſh alone. Hiſt.* 2. 91. *Cecina* rebell'd againſt *Galba*, who required him to give an account of the Publick Treaſury which he manag'd in *Spain*, that he might hide the Diſorder of his Affairs in the general Confuſions. *Cæcina ægre paſſus miſcere cuncta, & privata vulnera Reip. malis operire ſtatuit. Tacit. Hiſt.* 1. Of all which the Reſult is, that the Prince ought ſometimes to ſcatter his bounty on great Families that are decay'd, but eſpecially on thoſe, in which there are Perſons capable of making a Party, or putting themſelves at the Head of Male-Contents. It was herein that *Philip* II. King of *Spain*, fail'd, who loſt the Obedience of the Prince of *Orange*, and the Counts of *Egmont* and *Horn*; for ſaving 150000 Crowns which *Granvelle* Biſhop of *Arras* adviſ'd him to diſtribute amongſt them, before he left the Low-Countrys. Which, ſaith *Cabrera*, coſt him afterwards above 150 Millions; beſides the Blood of ſo many thouſand Men which was ſpilt. *Cap.* 3. *Lib.* 5. *of his Hiſtory.* The ſame Hiſtorian ſaith, *That this King impower'd the Great Men of* Spain *to Mortgage or to Sell their Eſtates; and that by this Method he weakned and leſſen'd them befor they were aware of it.* The Effects whereof their Poſterity feel at this Day. *Cap.* 16. *Lib.* 12.

2. The Moderation of *Tiberius*, who, though a Heathen, ſcrupled to accept the Eſtates of thoſe who bequeath'd them to him, to deprive their Relations of them, ought to ſhame thoſe Monks who procure themſelves to be made Heirs to the prejudice of the Children of the Family, and of a thouſand and a thouſand poor Relations, who periſh through want. They who by their Vows and their Miniſtry, are more ſtrictly oblig'd than all other Eccleſiaſticks, to lead a Retired and Mortified Life, can they in Conſcience ſpend

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recompence the Deſcendants, according to the Merits of their Anceſtors. *Cabrera, Cap.* 16. *Lib.* 12. *of his Hiſtory.* Having underſtood by this Nobiliary, that the Kings of *Caſtile*, made the Marquiſſes *de Moya* dine at their Table on St. *Lucy's* Day, which is the 13th of *December*; and the Counts *de Salinas*, on *Epiphany*, for the great Service theſe two Families had done the State; in 1593, he reſtored this Prehemineence to them, which time had aboliſh'd, and ſent ſolemnly to the Marquis *de Moya* the Golden Cup, in which he had drank that Day; that he might punctually obſerve what the Kings his Predeceſſors had done. *Herrera, cap. ult. lib.* 3. *part* 3. *of his Hiſtory.*

of Men of Virtue[p], ſo he was ſevere againſt thoſe who had ruin'd themſelves by Vice and Extravagance[3]; and it was for this Reaſon that *Vibidius Varro*, *Marius Nepos*, *Appius Appianus*, *Cornelius Sulla*, and *Q. Vitellius*, were expell'd the Senate by him, or at leaſt ſuffer'd voluntarily to quit it.

L. About the ſame time he conſecrated the Temples of the Gods, which had been conſumed by Fire or Age, and which *Auguſtus* had began to rebuild. One near the Great Cirque, which *A. Poſthumus* the Dictator had vow'd to *Bacchus*, *Proſerpina*, and their Mother *Ceres*. Another in the ſame Place to *Flora*, built by the *Ædiles*, *Lucius*, and *Marcus Publicus*; and that to *Janus* in the Herb-Market, which was built by *Caius Duillius*, who obtain'd the Firſt Victory which the Romans ever had at Sea[q], for which he was honour'd with a Naval Triumph over the Carthaginians. But the Temple of *Hope* which *Attilius* had vow'd in the ſame War, was Conſecrated by *Germanicus*.

LI. In the mean time, the Law againſt Treaſon exerted its force. *Apuleia Varilia*, who was Grand-Daughter to *Octavia*, the Siſter of *Auguſtus*, was accuſed of Treaſon

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ſpend their Time in ſolliciting the Judges, and beſetting the Tribunals, and in commencing every day freſh Suits againſt the Lawful Heirs, whoſe Patrimonies they would poſſeſs.

3. Publick Affairs can never be in worſe hands, than in thoſe of Perſons, who underſtand not how to manage their Domeſtick Affairs. For it is almoſt impoſſible, that ſuch Magiſtrates ſhould be dis-intereſs'd, or conſequently incorrupt.

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p How many times, ſaith *Paterculus*, hath he furniſhed thoſe Senators who were unprovided, with what was Neceſſary; Honourably to ſupport their Dignity? But as he ſuffer'd not an innocent Poverty to be deprived of Offices and Honours; ſo he took care of giving to debauch'd Perſons, for fear of encouraging or fomenting Luxury and Voluptuouſneſs. *Hiſt.* 2. *c.* 129.

q As the Romans were at that time as much Strangers on the Sea, as the Carthaginians were Experienc'd and Powerful on it; *Duillius* provided Iron Hooks and other Inſtruments, with which he grappled the Enemy's Ships, who were thereby forc'd to fight without ſtirring, as if they had been on Land.

ſon for ſpeaking Scurrilous and Invective Words againſt Divine *Auguſtus*, *Tiberius*, and his Mother *Livia*; and for ſtaining her ſelf with Adultery, notwithſtanding her relation to the Emperor. As for the Adultery, they thought they needed go no farther than the Julian Law, which had ſufficiently provided in that Caſe. And as for the Treaſons wherewith ſhe was charg'd, *Tiberius* deſir'd that they might be diſtinguiſh'd; ſaying, That ſhe deſerv'd Condemnation, if ſhe had ſpoken Blaſphemy againſt *Auguſtus*[1]; but he would not have her queſtion'd for what ſhe had ſpoken againſt himſelf[2]: And being ask'd by the Conſul what ſhould be done in caſe ſhe ſhould be convicted to have defam'd *Livia*; he return'd no anſwer at that time, but at the next Aſſembly of the Senate, he ſaid, That it was his Mother's deſire that none ſhould be moleſted for any words ſpoken againſt her; and thereby acquitted *Apuleia* from the Indictment of Treaſon. He alſo deſir'd that her Adultery might not be puniſh'd with the utmoſt rigour; and obtain'd that ſhe might, according to the ancient Cuſtom, be only baniſh'd by her Relations 200 Miles from *Rome*. But *Manlius* her Gallant, was baniſh'd from *Italy* and *Africk*.

LII. A Conteſt aroſe about the Election of a Prætor, to ſucceed *Vipſanius Gallus*, deceas'd. *Germanicus* and *Druſus* (for they were yet at *Rome*) employ'd their Intereſt in favour of *Haterius Agrippa*, who was a Kinſman of *Germanicus*'s; but they were oppos'd by a great Party who contended, that the Competitor who had moſt Children, ought to be prefer'd as the Law requir'd[1]. *Tiberius*

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1. A wife and prudent Prince ought ſeverely to puniſh the Injuries which are done to the Memory of his Predeceſſors; for beſides that, the Honour which he doth herein to them, returns directly on himſelf, it is an Example which he leaves his Succeſſors to do the like for him after his Death.

2. The Laſhes of Womens Tongues deſerv'd to be deſpiſed, rather than reſented. If fools have Liberty to ſay any thing, becauſe what they ſay ſignifies nothing, it is for the Honour of Princes to let ſome Women eternally enjoy this Privilege.

1. In the Diſpoſal of great Offices, it is for the Intereſt of the Prince, to prefer thoſe Competitors, who, *ca-*

teris

Tiberius was well enough pleas'd to ſee the Senate divided betwixt his Children and the Laws [2]; and it was no wonder that the Laws truckled; however it was carry'd [3] but by few Voices, and not without ſome ſtruggle againſt the Laws, as it us'd to be ſometimes when they were in force.

LIII. The ſame Year a War brake out in *Africk*, in which one *Tacfarinas*, a Numidian, was the Leader, who had formerly ſerved as an Auxiliary in the Roman Army; which having Deſerted, and drawn together a Company of Vagabonds and Robbers for Plunder and Rapine; he afterwards form'd them into a regular Body after a Military manner, dividing them into Companies under their reſpective Colours; after which, he became General of the Muſulans, a Potent Nation bordering on the

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teris paribus, have the more numerous Families; becauſe more perſons remain thereby oblig'd to him.

2. A new Prince, I mean a Prince whoſe form of Government is new, can't have a greater Pleaſure than to ſee the Laws weakned, which had been made in thoſe times, when the State was govern'd in the Form of a Common-Wealth. Thus, when the Senate was divided betwixt the ancient Laws and the Parties of *Germanicus* and *Druſus*, it was inſenſibly ſinking to that Slavery, to which *Tiberius* deſign'd to bring it. Obſerve by the way, that *Germanicus*, who was the Darling of the People and the Senate, for his popular temper, did not himſelf ſtick to deſtroy the Liberties; and that if ever he had come to the Empire, he might poſſibly have had quite different ſentiments, from thoſe which he ſhew'd under another's Reign.

3. In the purſuit of Offices and Honours, the ſupport of Princes, is of much greater advantage, than that of the Laws. And it is upon this Maxim, that the Cardinal *de Richelieu* concludes for the ſelling of Offices; becauſe, if that be ſuppreſs'd the Diſorders that will proceed from Competitions, and Underhand-practices, by which Offices will be obtain'd, will be greater than thoſe which ariſe from the Liberty of buying and Selling them; becauſe, in that caſe, all would depend on the Favour and Artifice of thoſe, who are in the greateſt Credit with Kings. *Sect. 1. Chap. 4. of the firſt part of his Politick Teſtament.*

1. War is the beſt of all Trades for thoſe to whom Nature hath given great Courage. It is the School wherein Fortune hath raiſed moſt of her greateſt Favourites; and whence Men born in Poverty, Contempt, and the moſt abject ſtate of Mankind, have aſcended to the ſupreme Command of Armies; and oftentimes to the Regal Power it ſelf. *Francis Sforſa*, from the Son of a poor Shoemaker, became General of an Army, and his Son Duke of *Milan*. The Conſtable *de Ledigueres*, and the Mareſchals *de Toiras*, *de Gaſſion*, and *de Fabret*, who all three had no other

the Deſarts of *Africk*, living without Cities or Houſes; who having taken arms againſt the Romans, drew their Neighbours the Moors into the Quarrel, whoſe General was named *Mazippas*; betwixt whom and *Tackfarinas* the Army was divided. The latter had the choice Troops which he arm'd after the Roman Faſhion, and confin'd them in a Camp to inure them to Diſcipline and Obedience; whilſt the Former with a Light-arm'd Body ravag'd the Country with Fire and Sword, carrying Terror where-ever he came; ſo that they had compell'd the *Cinithii*, which was no contemptible Nation, to enter into their League, when *Furius Camillus*, Proconſul of *Africk*, marched againſt them with a ſingle Legion, and what Forces of the Roman Allies which were with him, which was a very ſmall Force, in compariſon of the numbers of the Numidians and Moors, who were therefore ſo confident of the Victory, that they feared nothing but that the Romans would not give them Battel; but this Confidence prov'd their Ruine; for *Camillus* having plac'd his Legion in the Middle, and Light-arm'd Cohorts and two Squadrons of Horſe in the Wings, he receiv'd *Tackfarinas* ſo warmly, that he defeated the Numidians [2], and hereby reviv'd after a long tract of time the Military Glory of the Family of the *Camilli* [3], which ſince the famous

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ther Eſtate, nor other maintenance, but their Sword, are Examples of a late Date, which, like the Trophees of *Miltiades*, ought to rouze the Courage and Induſtry of ſo many poor Gentlemen, who live in ſhameful idleneſs.

2. An over-confidence of Generals in their ſtrength, is oftentimes the Cauſe of the Defeat of their Armies. As there is no little Errors in War, we need not wonder that the ſtrongeſt are ſometimes vanquiſh'd. Add hereto, on the Occaſion of this Diverſion, which was made betwixt *Tackfarinas* and *Mazippa*, that a ſingle Head, with ordinary Prudence, makes better Officers, than two brave Generals, who are jealous of each other.

3. It is with Families as with Cities; ſometimes they flouriſh, ſometimes they decline; ſometimes they are utterly Extinguiſh'd; ſometimes they riſe again out of their Aſhes, after they have been whole ages buried in Obſcurity and Oblivion. This Viciſſitude is more rare in Common-Wealths, in which they more eaſily preſerve themſelves by means of Equality, which covers them from Oppreſſion; whereas in Monarchys,

mous Deliverer of *Rome* [r], and his Son *Camillus*, had left to other Families, the glory of furniſhing Generals. And he of whom we now ſpeak was never before eſteem'd a Soldier [s], for which reaſon *Tiberius* was the more forward to extol this Action to the Senate, who decreed him Triumphal Ornaments, which Honour drew no Envy upon him becauſe he always behaved himſelf with wonderful Modeſty [t].

LIV. The

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a thouſand of them periſh under one reign, when the Prince, or his principal Miniſters, are Sanguinary or Covetous.

4. Place ſhews the Man, ſaith the Proverb; To know the Capacity of a Man he muſt be employ'd. Nothing doth more honour to the Prince, than the Choice, which he hath made of a Miniſter, who ſucceeds in his Employment much otherwiſe than the World expected of him. *Commines* relates, that *Lewis* XI. having told him, that he had ſent Maſter *Oliver* his Barber to *Ghant*, to reduce that City under his Obedience, and others to other great Cities: He ſaid to the King, That he doubted that Maſter *Oliver* and the reſt would not ſucceed in their Deſigns on thoſe Cities. *Cap.* 13. *Lib.* 5. *of his Memoirs.* But in the 14th Chapter he ſaith, That although this Commiſſion was too great for *Oliver*, yet he ſhew'd in what he did, that he had ſome underſtanding. For being forc'd to fly from *Ghant*, he made to *Tournay*, and found a way to put this fine City into the King's Hands. And this Honour, as *Commines* concludes, was procur'd to the King, by the ſaid *Oliver*. A Wiſer and a Greater Man, had probably fail'd in the Management of this Enterprize.

5. Princes more freely praiſe an ordinary Man, than they do a great Perſon; becauſe the praiſing of one is an Act of Grace, but the praiſing of the other is no more than an Act of Juſtice: And Princes would have Men oblig'd to them for every thing.

6. A Miniſter, or a Favourite can't long keep the Favour of his Prince, but by Submiſſion and Dependance. When he will riſe of himſelf, the Prince never fails of depreſſing him, as one that will be no longer his Creature. *Liſander* ſaying to *Ageſilaus*, whoſe chief Confident he had been before: Truly you know very well

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r It was in the Conſulſhip of *Furius Philo*, or *Furius Camillus*, as others call him, that the Gauls were beaten from *Rome*; but it was his Collegue *Caius Flaminius*, who gain'd this Victory, without *Furius*'s having any ſhare in it. Therefore *Livy* makes no mention but of the Triumph of *Flaminius*. *M. Junius Dictator*, ſaith he, *ſex millia hominum gallicis ſpoliis, quæ triumpho C. Flaminii tranſlata fuere, armavit.* And in another place, ſpeaking of this Conſul's Death, who was ſlain by *Hannibal* in the Battel of the Lake of *Perouſa*, he puts theſe words in *Hannibal*'s Mouth, *Conſul hic eſt, qui legiones noſtras, &c.* So that this Paſſage of *Tacitus* which ſeems to aſcribe the Expulſion of the Gauls to *Furius*, is to be underſtood of the Year of his Conſulſhip, and not of his Perſon.

LIV. The Year following, *Tiberius* and *Germanicus* were choſen Conſuls, which was the third Conſulſhip of the Former, and the ſecond of the Latter, who receiv'd this Dignity when he was at *Nicopolis*[f], a City of *Achaia*, whither he came by the Coaſt of *Illyria*; after he had viſited his Brother *Druſus* in *Dalmatia*; and having in his paſſage met with two Storms, one in the *Adriatick*, the other in the *Jonian* Sea, he ſtay'd a few Days there, to refit his Ships, in which time he went to ſee the Bay of *Actium*, famous for the Fight there; He view'd alſo the Spoils conſecrated by *Auguſtus*, and the Place of *Anthony*'s Camp; and was mightily affected[t] with theſe lively Images of the Succeſs of one of his Anceſtors, and the Misfortunes of the other; for *Auguſtus*, as hath been ſaid before, was his great Uncle, and *Anthony* his Grand-father.

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well how to ſlight your Friends. *Yes*, anſwered *Ageſilaus*, *When they would be greater than my ſelf*. *Plutarch in his Life*. It is juſt ſo with all Princes. And this ought to be well conſider'd by Great Men, who have a great Military Reputation; for it is that which gives Princes the greateſt Jealouſie, there being nothing which the People ſpeaks of with ſo much applauſe, as of Battels and Victories. Don *Bernardin de Mendoza* ſaith, *That that Victory which the Count* d'Egmont *gain'd at* Gravelin, *was poſſibly one of the Principal Cauſes of his Misfortune, becauſe it exalted him ſo much*. *Cap.* 4. *Lib.* 3. *of his Memoirs of* Flanders.

1. It is an advantage to Princes to ſee the very Places, where their Anceſtors have done ſome Memorable thing; for this Sight makes a ſtrong Impreſſion on their Minds, and inſpires them, as the Trophies of *Miltiades* did *Themiſtocles*; with a generous Deſire to imitate or to excell them. *Philip* II. King of *Spain*, was curious to ſee where-ever he travell'd, the Edifices and the Tombs of his Predeceſſors. He cauſed their very Coffins to be open'd, and ſtood uncover'd before their Bodies, with as much reſpect, as if they had been living. Being at *Segovia*, he repair'd the Town-Houſe, for the ſake of a great Hall, called, *ſala de los Reges*, where are the Statues of the Kings, under which he caus'd to be ſet their Names, and a ſhort account of their Reign, with an equal Number of Lines and Letters in every Elogy, thus to revive their Memories. *Cabrera*, *c.* 12. *l.* 9. *of his Hiſtory*.

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f A City built by *Auguſtus*, in memory of the Victory that he obtain'd over *Anthony*.

t Now

ther. Thence he came to *Athens*; and in regard to the ancient Renown of this City and its Alliance with the Romans, he enter'd it with no more than one Lictor. The Græcians entertain'd him with the moſt ſtudy'd Honours[s], and, after a more refin'd ſort of Flattery, carried before him Pictures repreſenting the Great Actions, and Memorable Sayings of his Anceſtors[t].

LV. Hence, taking *Eubœa*[t] in his way, he paſs'd to *Lesbos*, where *Agrippina* was deliver'd of *Julia*[u], which was

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2. The more Modeſt and Popular a Prince is, the greater Honours are paid him. The People are never more prodigal thereof, than to thoſe who exact none. *Spreta in tempore gloria*, ſaith *Livy*, *cumulatior redit*, i.e. *The Honours Great Men don't ſeek for, are paid them with Uſury.* *Charles* V. won the Heart of the *Catalans*, (a Nation not to be conquer'd when their Privileges are at ſtake) by anſwering thoſe who were deputed to know his pleaſure, how he would make his Entry into *Barcelona*; *That he was contented to be receiv'd as their Counts*; i. e. *The Counſellors of the City not to alight from their Horſes to ſalute him*; *becauſe*, he ſaid, *that he held it a greater Honour to be Count of* Barcelona, *than to be King of the* Romans. *Don* Juan Antonio de Vera, *in the Epitomy of his Life.*

3. Nothing makes a greater Impreſſion on the Minds and Hearts of Princes, than the Examples of their Anceſtors; it is almoſt the only inſtruction which they receive with delight, or at leaſt with reſpect. After that *Nero* had got rid of his Governor *Burrhus*, whoſe Wiſdom was not agreeable to him, and had begun to be diſguſted at his Præceptor *Seneca*; he was told, *That he wanted no other Maſters nor Counſellors, than the Examples of the Princes from whom he deſcended.* *Charles* V. and *Philip* II. conferring together about Don *Carlos* Prince of *Spain*, who had very Evil Inclinations, which his Governor Don *Antonio de Rojas* was never able to correct, nor moderate, concluded, that there ſhould be ſet before the Eyes of this Young Prince Pictures, which might excite Noble Ideas in his Imagination, and which might incline his Mind to the love of Glory, by a Deſire to imitate the Great and Generous Actions which he ſhall ſee repreſented; That he ſhould be ſuffer'd to hear no Diſcourſes but ſuch as might imprint in him good Maxims and Good Manners; That the Converſation of Perſons of Wit and Probity, who ſhould be about him, would inſenſibly give him a Reliſh and a Delight in good things, which would be of greater advantage to him, than Precepts and Leſſons which are always diſagreeable to Princes, by reaſon of that Superiority which thoſe who inſtruct them in the Quality of Maſters, ſeem to uſurp over them. *Cabrera*, *l.* 4. *c.* 2. *of his Hiſtory.*

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t Now *Negropont.*

u Or *Livia*, who was married to *Marcus Vinicius*, to whom *Paterculus* Dedicates his Hiſtory.

was her laſt Child. After which, ſailing by the Coaſts of *Aſia*, he viſited *Perinthus* and *Byzantium*, two Cities of *Thrace*; and entred the Streights of *Propontis*, and the Mouth of the *Euxine* Sea, being carry'd on with a deſire to ſee ancient and famous Places; and at the ſame time he relieved thoſe Provinces which were oppreſſed by Magiſtrates, or haraſs'd by inteſtine Diviſions[1]. In his return he intended to have ſeen the Religious Rites of the *Samothracians*; but the North-winds beating him back from that ſhore, he directed his courſe to *Troy*, venerable for the Variety of its Fortune and its laſt Fate, and for being the Mother-City to *Rome*. Whence coaſting back by *Aſia*, he puts to ſhore at *Colophon*, to conſult the Oracle of *Clarian Apollo*. It is not a Prieſteſs as at *Delphos*, but a Prieſt officiates there, who is choſen out of certain Families and commonly from *Miletus*. As ſoon as he is inform'd only of the Number and Names of thoſe who are come to conſult the Oracle, he deſcends into a Cave, where he drinks water of a Secret Fountain; and then, though he is generally a Perſon of no Learning, nor of any skil in Poetry, he gives his anſwers in Verſe, to what things each Inquirer hath in his thoughts; and it was ſaid, that he predicted to *Germanicus* his approaching Fate, but in ſuch Dark and ambiguous Phraſes[2], as Oracles always uſe.

LVI. But

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1. It is abſolutely neceſſary for a Prince from time to time to viſit his Provinces; for he learns upon the ſpot all thoſe things which it was the Intereſt of his Officers to hide from him. It is there that he hears with his own Ears, the Complaint which a Dalmatian Lord made heretofore to *Tiberius*: Inſtead of ſending us Shepheards and Dogs to keep your Flocks, you ſend us Wolves, which devour them. *Dion, lib. 55.* The Prince is not touch'd with the Miſeries and Oppreſſions of his People, if he does not ſee them; for there are always Flatterers, who make him believe, that the Evils which are only reported to him, are aggravated. And conſequently, there is need of the Remedy which the Siſters of *Lazarus* deſir'd, *Come, Lord, and ſee.* He muſt come and ſee, otherwiſe the Remedy will not be equal to the Grievance.

2. Princes would never hear Death ſpoken of, but in obſcure hints. *Lewis* XI. deſerv'd compaſſion, who could not hear that cruel word, *Death*;

LVI. But *Cn. Piſo*, that he might loſe no time for his Deſigns, entred *Athens* with great Precipitation, and made a Speech that ſurpriz'd them as much as his coming. In which he not only ſeverely rebuk'd them, but made ſome oblique Reflections on *Germanicus*; as if he had proſtituted the Majeſty of the Empire, by treating them with two much reſpect; who, ſaid he, are not Athenians, (thoſe having been long ſince extinguiſh'd, by the many terrible Misfortunes that City had under-gone) but the Off-ſcouring of ſeveral Nations, who had been Confederates with *Mithridates* againſt *Sylla*, and with *Anthony* againſt *Auguſtus*. He reproach'd them alſo with their ill ſucceſs againſt the Macedonians, and their ill treatment of the Braveſt of their own Citizens; Things that had been done ſome ages paſt, for he had a Particular quarrel againſt them, becauſe they had refus'd to pardon at his Interceſſion, one *Theophilus*, condemn'd for Forgery by the *Areopagus*. Departing from *Athens*, he paſſed in great haſte by the ſhorteſt cut of the Sea through the *Cyclades*, and at the Iſle of *Rhodes* overtakes *Germanicus*, who tho' he had been inform'd of the Invective Speech

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Death, pronounc'd; and who commanded all his Servants, that when his own approach'd, they ſhould not give him notice of it, but by ſaying to him, *Speak little. Commines Memoirs, l.* 6. *c.* 12.

1. It is good to be Civil and Popular; but ſo as not to leſſen the Majeſty of the Prince. The Miniſters who repreſent him, ought to avoid nothing more, than to derogate from the Rights of their Character, to which too great a Reverence can't be paid.

2. When Men ſpeak with Paſſion, they are very apt to contradict themſelves. *Piſo* reproach'd the Athenians for being the Dregs and the Off-ſcouring of divers Nations of *Greece*, and notwithſtanding he imputed to them all the Faults of this ancient Republick, for which they could not be reſponſible, without being genuine Athenians.

3. It is common for great Men to revenge their Private Quarrels, under the Name of thoſe of the State. *Velut pro Repub. concurrentes ſuum dolorem proferebant. Tacitus, Hiſt.* 3. There are many Miniſters, ſaith *Anthony Perez*, who inveſt their Prince with their private Paſſions and Wrongs *In the Aphoriſms of his Relations.* Who under ſpecious pretences, convert the Publick Intereſts into their own; and inſtead of regulating private Affairs by the Publick, do the direct contrary, with Equal Injuſtice and Boldneſs. *Part* 1. *Sect.* 3. *Cap.* 8. *of the Politick Teſtament.*

4. For,

Speech which he had made againſt him, had nevertheleſs the Humanity to ſend out Galleys to ſave him, when a Tempeſt had caſt him amongſt the Shelves, where he might have been rid of his Enemy, and his Death imputed to Chance[4]. But this Kindneſs could not ſoften *Piſo*[5], who would ſcarce ſtay one day with *Germanicus*, but haſtned again on board, that he might get to *Syria* before him; whither as ſoon as he came, he gain'd the Common Soldiers by Gifts and Careſſes, and in the mean time caſhier'd the old Centurions and the ſevere Tribunes, and fill'd their Places with his own Creatures, or any profligate Fellows. And whilſt he permitted Lazineſs in the Camp, Licentiouſneſs in the City, and the Soldiers to commit any Diſorders in the Countrey, they gave him the Title (ſo great was the Diſſolution of Manners) of the Father of the Legions. Nor did *Plancina* keep within the Bounds of the Modeſty of her Sex, but was preſent at the Exerciſes of the Cavalry, and the Muſters of the Cohorts, and made bitter Reflections on *Agrippina* and *Germanicus*: And when it was whiſper'd that theſe things were not done without ſecret Encouragement from *Tiberius*,

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4. For, ſaith *Tacitus*, *Ann.* 14. Nothing is ſo ſubject to accidents as the Sea; and beſides, no Man is ſo Unjuſt as to make another reſponſible for the Misfortunes which are caus'd by the Sea and Winds.

5. Violent Spirits are capable of very little Gratitude, becauſe they impute the Complaiſance which People have for them, to the Fear which they believe they have of offending them. *Piſo* did not doubt but that *Germanicus* fear'd him, ſeeing that this Prince was not ignorant wherefore *Tiberius* had taken the Government of *Syria* from *Silanus*, and had given it to *Piſo*. Thus *Germanicus*, was ſo far from gaining the Friendſhip of *Piſo*, (who knew *Germanicus* was ſuſpected by the Emperor) that he made him more Haughty and leſs Tractable, by the care that he took to oblige him. And beſides, *Piſo* judging of *Germanicus*'s Nature by his own, which was revengeful, could not imagine him mild enough, heartily to pardon the Injury which he had done him at *Athens*. And this is what makes great Men irreconcilable; there being one of them which cannot nor will not truſt the other. According to M. *de la Rochefoucaut*, one of the Principal Cauſes of the reſolution which Monſieur the late Prince took to retire into *Spain*, was the Opinion which he had, that after all that had paſs'd, he could not longer be ſecure with the Queen-Regent.

rius, ſome of the beſt of the Soldiers were ready enough to carry on the Humour, and to obey ill Orders.

LVII. *Germanicus* had Intelligence of all this; but his more preſſing care was to go to *Armenia*. This had been always an Unſteady Nation; not only from their Natural Temper, but alſo by reaſon of the ſituation of their Countrey; which bordering on the Roman Provinces on one ſide, extends it ſelf as far as *Media* on the other; ſo that lying betwixt the two greateſt Empires of the World[x], they are engag'd in frequent Quarrels, either with the Romans, or with the Parthians; Hating the Former, and Envying the Latter. They had been without a King ever ſince the removal of *Vonones*, but they were well inclin'd to *Zeno* the Son of *Polemon*, King of *Pontus*; becauſe from his Infancy he had imitated the Manners and the Habits of the Armenians, and was much addicted to Hunting, Feaſting, and other things which this Barbarous People eſteem'd; and which gain'd him the Favour both of the Nobility and the Common-People. *Germanicus* therefore, with the conſent of the Nobility in the City of *Artaxata* ſet the Royal Diadem on his Head, in a numerous Aſſembly; who did him Homage, ſaluting him by the Name of *Artaxias* from the Name of their City. The Government of *Cappadocia*, which had been lately reduc'd into the form of a Province, was given to *Q. Veranius*, and the People were diſcharged of part of the Taxes which they formerly

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1. There is no better way for a Prince to endear his Government to new Subjects, than to Diſcharge them of part of the Taxes which they paid to the former Prince. People are eaſily inur'd to Slavery, but never to the Avarice of Governors and Magiſtrates; for they know no greater Evil

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x We may ſay of *Armenia*, what the famous Marquis *Spinola* ſaid of the City of *Rhimberg*, That it was the Strumpet of War, becauſe it fell by turns from one hand to the other.

y Which

merly paid their Kings, to give them hopes of being easier under the Roman Government, than they had been under them. *Q. Servæus* was constituted Governor of *Comagena*[y], which was then first reduc'd under the Government of a Prætor.

LVIII. Notwithstanding, *Germanicus* had thus happily compos'd the Affairs of our Allies, he could not yet be at ease in his Mind, by reason of the Haughtiness of *Piso*[z], who having been commanded by him, either to come himself, or to send his Son with part of the Legions into *Armenia*, did neither. At last they both met at *Cyrrum*, where the Tenth Legion was in Winter-Quarters, *Piso* putting on a Countenance that might betray no Fear; and *Germanicus*, one that might discover no Resentment; and he was, as I have said before, of a forgiving Nature; but there are a sort of Friends well-skill'd in enflaming Quarrels[z], who brought divers Accusations against *Piso*, his Wife, and Children, aggravating somethings that were True,

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Evil than Poverty. After that, *Charles* VIII. King of *France*, had taken *Naples*, and caus'd himself to be crown'd there; *He did many acts of Grace to his Subjects, and lessen'd their Burdens*, saith *Commines*, *Lib.* 7. *Cap.* 14. *Clement* VIII. did the same after he had re-united the Dutchy of *Ferrara* to the Ecclesiastical State: So that the House of *Este*, which had a long time govern'd at *Ferrara*, and was also much belov'd there, was very little regretted by the People. The Cardinal *d'Ossat* adds, That he made Seigneur *Bevilaqua* Cardinal, to honour and give good hopes to the City of *Ferrara*, lately return'd to the Holy See; this Cardinal being of one of the most Noble Families of this City, *Letter* 167.

1. Oftentimes Princes are more Disquieted and Troubled with one Domestick Enemy, than by a Foreign War, The Conduct of Monsieur, the late Duke of *Orleans*, made the late King more uneasie than the whole House of *Austria*, and all the Enemies of *France*.

2. Men, but especially Great Men, easily believe whatsoever is told them by Persons whom they love, against People whom they hate. And hence it is, that Quarrels betwixt Great Men are almost always immortal; those

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y Which also before had a King.

True, and ſuggeſting others that were Falſe. At laſt, *Germanicus* had a Conference with him in the Preſence only of a few intimate Friends, wherein he began to diſcourſe in ſuch Language, as commonly proceeds from a mixture of Anger and Reſerve, and which *Piſo* anſwer'd with ſuch haughty and provoking Excuſes, that they parted open [3] Enemies[z]. After which, *Piſo* came ſeldom to *Germanicus*'s Tribunal; and when ever he did aſſiſt, he appear'd with a ſour Countenance, and always diſſented from him in his Opinion[a]. And when they were invited by the King of the *Nabathæans* to a Feaſt, at which Golden Crowns of great weight were preſented to *Germanicus* and *Agrippina*, and light ones to *Piſo* and the reſt of the Gueſts; He ſaid aloud, *That this Feaſt was made*

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thoſe who have Power with them, having an Intereſt to hinder their Reconciliation. It was thus *Mangiron*, *Quelus*, *Saint-Luke*, *Saint-Megrin*, *Grammont*, *Maüleon* and *Livarot*, made uſe of it with *Henry* III. on whom they made what impreſſions they pleas'd againſt his Brother the Duke of *Alenſon*. *Lib.* 2. *of the Memoirs of Queen* Margaret, who very properly calls them *the Council of* Jeroboam.

3. Amongſt Great Men, Explanations rather Exaſperate than Pacifie; becauſe it is very difficult to ſpeak with ſo much reſerve, as not let fall one angry word. It is almoſt impoſſible, ſaith *Commines*, that two great Lords ſhould agree together, by reaſon of Reports and Suſpicions which they hourly have; and two Princes who would live in Amity, ought never to ſee one another, but to ſend prudent Perſons to each other, who would rectifie what is amiſs. *Memoirs*, *l.* 1. *ch.* 14. *and l.* 2. *chap.* 8.

4. It is a ſtrange thing, that Princes muſt ſuffer for the Miſunderſtanding that is between their Miniſters; and that the Publick Affairs muſt be ſacrific'd to their Private Quarrels. Are there not frequently ſeen in a Council, Perſons who give their Opinion not to counſel the Prince, but to contradict their Rival; not to follow a good Opinion, but to make an ill one paſs if they can? Princes are very much concern'd to remedy this Diſorder.

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z *Apertis Odiis* ſeems to be the trueſt Reading; for *Piſo* having anſwer'd with ſo little reſpect to *Germanicus*, whoſe diſſembled anger he could not be ignorant of, *Germanicus* had no reaſon any longer to diſſemble his Anger towards a Man who did not diſſemble his towards him.

a *Tacitus*

made for the Son of a Roman Prince [a], *and not of a Parthian King:* And throwing aside his Crown, inveighed against Luxury [1]; which *Germanicus* bore with patience, though he was sensible of the Affront.

LIX. It was about this time, that Ambassadors came from *Artabanus* King of the *Parthians*; representing, that their Master desir'd to renew the Friendship and League with the Romans, and that in honour to *Germanicus* he would come as far as the Banks of *Euphrates*: But in the mean time, he intreated that *Vonones* might not be suffer'd to continue in *Syria*, lest so near a Residence might give him opportunity to sollicite the Great Men of his Kingdom to an Insurrection. As to the League betwixt the Romans and the Parthians, *Germanicus* return'd an answer suitable to the Dignity of the Subject; but as to the King's coming, and the Honour he had done him, he expressed himself with great Modesty and Respect [1]. He

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5. If they had presented *Piso* with a Crown like *Germanicus*'s, we may believe, he would not have rejected it, nor made an Invective against Luxury. But because he was not made Equal to *Germanicus*, he thought fit to take upon him a Mask of Modesty to put a better Colour on his Resentment. And observe here the Nature of most of our Censors and Reformers. They declaim against Great Men, because they can't be as great as they; They despise the Honours that are given them, because they would have greater than are due to them. So that we may say of them what *Alexander* said of *Antipater*, his Father's Minister, *That if they are modest in their Cloaths, they are all Purple within.*

1. The Audience of Ambassadors is one of the most Difficult things which a Prince hath to do; for it is not enough, that he bear with Modesty and

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a *Tacitus* hath said in one of the foregoing Paragraphs, that *Piso* hardly gave place to *Tiberius*, and that he look'd on his Sons as his Inferiors. So that nothing could affront him more than to make so great a Difference betwixt *Germanicus* and him. And by saying, that *Germanicus* was the Son of a Roman Prince, and not of a Parthian King; He intimated that *Tiberius* was no more than a Prince of a Common-Wealth, and not a Sovereign as the King of the Parthians; and that consequently, *Germanicus* transgress'd the bounds of an Aristocratical Equality, by accepting a Crown of greater value than was given to the rest of the Guests.

He remov'd *Vonones* to *Pompeiopolis* a Maritime Town of *Cilicia*, which he did not so much to comply with the request of *Artabanus*, as to mortifie *Piso*[2], to whom *Vonones* was very acceptable, upon the account of the many Favours and Presents, wherewith he had oblig'd *Plancina*.

The Year 772. after the Building of the City.

LX. In the Consulship of *M. Silanus*, and *L. Norbanus*, *Germanicus* takes a Journey into *Ægypt*, under colour of taking care of the Province, but in truth to see the Antiquities of the Country[1]. By opening the Publick Granaries,

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and Attention, but it behoves him also to answer with Prudence and Constancy; as well to remember what he is himself, as what the Prince is who treats with him; and to manage the Ambassador so well, that of a Publick Witness and a Spy, he may make a Friend and a true Mediator of him. *Commines* saith, That *Lewis* XI. dismissed Ambassadors with such good Words, and such handsome Presents, that they always went away pleas'd from him, and dissembled to their Masters what they knew, for the sake of the Profit which they gain'd thereby. *Memoirs Lib. 5. Cap.* 14. I have read in a History of *Venice*, that the principal Cause which moved that Senate immediately to acknowledge *Henry* IV. for King of *France*, was the Relation which was sent them by the Senator *John Mocenique*, who was their Ambassador at the Court of *Henry* III. when he was murther'd. *Commines* saith, That to give audience to Ambassadors, the Prince ought to be well Dress'd, and well-inform'd of what he is to say. *l.* 3. *c.* 8.

2. There are many Faults and Maladministrations, which would remain unpunish'd, if the Officers who commit them, were not hated by those who punish them. If *Germanicus* had not hated *Piso* and his Wife, he possibly would never have removed *Vonones* from *Syria*; who in all appearance endeavour'd by the Presents he made to *Plancina*, to corrupt the Fidelity of *Piso*, to set him at Liberty. Witness the attempt which he made for it in *Cilicia*, under favour of a Hunting Match, as *Tacitus* relates in the 69 Paragraph of this Book. Which shews, that *Artabanus* had good reason to demand the removal of *Vonones*.

1. Princes who have large Dominions, ought not to travel into other Countreys, because they have more work at home than they can ever do; and in my Opinion, the use of Embassys, was introduc'd to save them this trouble, or rather to teach them the Obligation they lie under to provide for the Necessities of their People, whose repose absolutely depends on their Presence. A Prince who travells into a Foreign Countrey, soon loses the Affections of his Subjects; for besides that, he neglects the Administration of Affairs, they are displeas'd at the great Expences which he is oblig'd to be at, to appear

naries he brought down the Price of Corn, did many Popular things, went abroad without Guards [2], in Sandals

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pear Liberal and Magnificent to Strangers. A Point of Honour that draws upon him more curses from his own People, than he gets applause from those whom he Enriches. An able Ambassador of *Savoy* told me more than once, that Duke *Charles-Emanuel* had been at such excessive Expences in his Journey which he took into *France*, about the End of the last Age, that he was straitned thereby above fifteen years; and that if in 1612, he had been Master of the Money which he had left there, he would have had thrice as much as he needed to have obtain'd the Empire, in oppolition to the whole House of *Austria*. These were his own Words. *Commines* utterly blames the Journey which *Alphonso* V. King of *Portugal* made into *France*, to procure assistance against *Isabella* Queen of *Castille*, and *Ferdinand* of *Aragon* her Husband, who had usurp'd this Crown from his Niece. For during his long stay in *France* which was above a Year, his affairs in *Castille* were chang'd, where the Lords of the Kingdom, who were almost all of his Party before his absence, made their terms with *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, being weary of expecting succours from *France*, and his return. But that which he adds, shews to what Princes expose themselves who go into another's Dominions. *The King of* Portugal's *End*, saith he, *was that he suspected, that the King* (Lewis XI.) *had a design to seize him, and deliver him up to his Enemy the King of* Castile. *For this reason he disguised himself a third time, being resolved to go away to* Rome, *and to retire into a Monastery. For he was ashamed to return into* Castille *or* Portugal, *without having done any thing in* France, *whither he went against the Opinion of many of his Council. In this Habit he was taken by one* Robinet le Beuf. And half a Page after; *This King endeavour'd to marry his Niece to the Dauphine, now* Charles *VIII.* in which he could not succeed. Insomuch, that *his coming into* France *was to his great Prejudice and Trouble, and was the Cause that he died soon after his return into* Portugal. His Memoirs, *Lib.* 5. *Cap.* 7. *Paul Piasecki* speaking of the Death of Cardinal *John Albert*, Brother to *Uladislaus* King of *Poland*, who travell'd into *Italy*, saith, That the wisest Lords of the Kingdom, condemn'd this Passion for travell, as a thing unbecoming, and alway fatal to great Princes; and especially to the Sons of Kings. *Proceres prudentiores talem peregrinationem Principibus majoris nominis, præcipue Regum filiis, indignam improbabant.* And in the Margent; *Peregrinatio filiis Regum indecora & periculosa. In Chronico ad annum*, 1634. Add hereto, That for the most part Princes return dissatisfy'd with those whose Countreys they have visited, because almost always part of the Honours, which they pretend to, are contested with them. For which reason most have had recourse to the Expedient of being *Incognito*, during their stay in Foreign Countreys, or their passage through them.

2. Persons placed in high stations ought never to appear in publick, without the Exterior Marks of their Power; for although Authority is not in the Enfigns, yet they are the Enfigns which attract the Veneration of the People to the Magistrates. And it was partly for this Reason, that they call'd the Duties which they render'd to the Emperors at *Rome*, *purpuram adorare*. And *Mamertinus* saith, That the Guards which environ good Princes, are not for the Defence of their Bodies, but only to give some lustre to Majesty.

Non

Sandals [b], and in a Græcian Habit, in imitation of *Scipio*, who is ſaid to have done the ſame in *Sicily*, in the heat of the Carthaginian War. *Tiberius* made ſome gentle Reflections on his Habit, but ſeverely reprimanded him, for entring *Alexandria* without the Prince's Permiſſion, which was contrary to the Order of *Auguſtus*. For *Auguſtus* amongſt other Secrets of State, had prohibited any Senators or Roman Knights that were of the Illuſtrious Rank to go into *Ægypt*, without a Paſs from the Emperor [3], for fear leſt any one by making himſelf Maſter of that Province,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

Non cuſtodiæ corporis ſunt, ſed quidam imperatoriæ majeſtatis ſolemnis ornatus, Paneg. Juliani. It is therefore becoming Princes and Great Magiſtrates to ſupport Majeſty by Exteriour Splendor, which makes Admiration and Reſpect enter by the Eyes. *Commines* ſpeaking of the Interview of our *Lewis* XI. and *Henry* IV. King of *Caſtile*, ſaith, That the Caſtilians made a Jeſt of *Lewis*, becauſe he was in a mean Habit, and wore a Pitiful Hat, with a Leaden Image on the top of it; ſaying, *That it was for Covetouſneſs*. And ſome lines after, he ſaith, That the Burgundians contemned the little train of the Emperor *Frederick* III. and the ſorry Cloaths of the Germans, *His Memoirs*, *l.* 2. *c.* 8. An inſtance that Princes, and conſequently Magiſtrates alſo, have need to go with an Equipage ſuitable to their Grandeur, if they will be reſpected. *Pagliari* ſaith, That that which obliged Pope *Gregory* XIV. to give the red Cap to Cardinal *Monks*, was, that during his Cardinalſhip, he had often obſerved the little reſpect that was given, and even the Indignities which were ſometimes offer'd to theſe venerable Prelates in the throng of great Ceremonies, becauſe having black Caps, they were not ſufficiently diſtinguiſh'd. *Obſervation*, 213. And it was for the ſame Reaſon, that the late King gave the Pectoral Croſs to the Biſhops of *France*, who, it is ſaid, are beholding to the rudeneſs of the Swiſs for it.

3. *Germanicus*'s intentions were good, but his Imprudence brought them under ſuſpicion. His going into *Ægypt* without leave from *Tiberius*, taught the Great Men of *Rome* to contemn the Prohibition of *Auguſtus*. The opening of the Publick Granaries, the affecting to go abroad without the Rods, might very well appear criminal to *Tiberius*, there being no vertues more dangerous than thoſe which may create a Deſire in an Unſteady and Changeable People, to receive for their Maſter him who hath them.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

b The Romans wore Buskins which reach'd up to the Calf of the Leg, but the Græcians wore Shoes made almoſt like Slippers, which left the upper part of the Foot uncover'd.

c *Ægypt*

Province, (which having the Keys both of the Sea and Land[c], might be eaſily defended by a ſmall Force, againſt Numerous Armies) ſhould ſtarve *Italy*[a].

LXI. But *Germanicus*, who did not yet know that his Journey had given Offence, went up the River *Nile*, having Embark'd at *Canopus*, a Town built by the *Spartans*, in Memory of a Captain of a Ship of that Name who was buried there, when *Menelaus*, in his return to *Greece*, was driven back by contrary Winds to the Coaſts of *Lybia*. The Mouth of the River that is next to *Canopus*, is conſecrated to *Hercules*, who, as the Inhabitants affirm, was a Native of their Countrey; and the firſt of all who bore that Name, with which the reſt were honoured after him, becauſe they follow'd him in the ſame Paths of Valour. He afterwards viewed the great Ruines of *Thebes*, where there were yet remaining ſome Inſcriptions engraven on *Obelisks* in Ægyptian Letters, which deſcrib'd

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

4. The Knowledge of the Situation, and the Commodities of his Provinces, and of the Manners of their Inhabitants, is very neceſſary for a Prince; for without this, he will often be deceiv'd in the Choice of his Governors, and ſend into a Province a Perſon who will raiſe nothing but Troubles there; whereas, if he had been ſent into another, he might have govern'd with applauſe. For inſtance, If the King of *Spain* ſhould ſend into *Catalonia* and *Sicily*, (which are two fierce Nations, and whoſe Obedience is as it were Arbitrary) Viceroys who would take the ſame Courſes that the Viceroys of *Naples*, and the Governors of *Milan* do, he would immediately loſe theſe Provinces, where there is nothing but Bones for the Spaniſh Miniſters to gnaw upon.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

c *Ægypt* is environ'd on the South with ſteep Mountains, which ſerve for Walls and Bulwarks to it; On the Weſt and the Eaſt with Mountains and Deſarts; and on the North with a Sea that hath no Road nor Harbours: Which makes it Inacceſſible on all ſides, and conſequently eaſie to defend. *Auguſtus* who knew all the Conveniencies of this Province, which was a Granary to *Rome*, and all *Italy*, would debar all the Great Men from acquaintance with it, for fear leſt any of them ſhould take a Reſolution to make himſelf Maſter thereof. And this *Veſpaſian* did when he rebell'd againſt *Vitellius*. *Sciens Ægyptum plurimam eſſe partem imperii*, ſaith *Joſephus*, *eaque ſi potitus foret, Vitellium dejiciendum ſperabat.*—— *Cogitabat etiam propugnacula ſibi fore illam regionem adverſus incerta fortunæ, nam & terra difficilis acceſſu; marique impertuoſa eſt. Belli Judaici*, l. 5.

d With

deſcrib'd its ancient Grandeur. One of the Eldeſt Prieſts who was order'd to interpret it, reported, That it formerly contain'd ſeven hundred thouſand Men of an age able to bear Arms; and that with an Army of that Number King *Rhameſes* conquer'd *Libya*, *Æthiopia*, the *Medes* and *Perſians*, *Bactriania*, and *Scythia*, and all the Countrey which is inhabited by the *Syrians*, *Armenians*, and their Neighbours the *Cappadocians*, extending from the *Bithynian* Sea on one ſide, to the *Lycian* on the other. There was alſo read an account of the Tributes impoſed on the Nations; what weight of Gold and Silver; what Numbers of Horſes and Arms for War? How much Ivory and Perfumes for Oblations to the Temples; and what quantities of Corn and other Neceſſaries of Life, each Nation paid; which equall'd in Magnificence and Value, the Tributes that are now impoſed either by the Parthian or the Roman Empire.

LXII. But *Germanicus* was led on with a Deſire of ſeeing other Miracles, whereof the Principal were, the Statue of *Memnon* cut in Stone, which gave a Sound like that of a Humane Voice, when the Rays of the Sun ſtruck upon it. Pyramids as high as Mountains rais'd in moving and almoſt unpaſſable Sands[1], by the Emulation and Wealth of their Kings. Lakes cut in the Ground for the reception of the Waters of the *Nile* when it overflows, and in other places Caverns ſo deep, that their bottoms cannot be ſounded. From hence he went to *Elephantine*

Politick Reflections.

1. It is common for great Princes to raiſe Magnificent Edifices in Deſart and dry Places, and which by their ſituation ſeem to be Uninhabitable, to make their Power appear the greater, and to ſhew that every thing yields to their Fortune. *Philip* II. had this Proſpect, when he choſe the pitiful Village of the *Eſcurial*, to build there the Famous Monaſtery which bears this Name, and which the Spaniards call the Eighth Wonder of the World, although an old *Alcade* aged fourſcore years, anſwer'd an Officer, who ask'd him in the King's Name his Opinion of it; *That the King was going to make a Neſt of Caterpillars who would devour the whole Country.* Cabrera, c. 11. l. 6. of his Hiſtory.

1. It

Elephantine and *Syene*, heretofore the Boundaries of the Roman Empire, which now extends to the Red Sea.

LXIII. Whilſt *Germanicus* paſs'd the Summer in Progreſſes, *Druſus* acquired no ſmall Glory amongſt the Germans by fomenting their Diviſions[1], and perſuaded them, that now *Maroboduus*[d] was already weakned, they ought to follow their blow till he was entirely ruin'd[2]. There was

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. It is a true ſign of the Deſtruction of a Country, when thoſe divide and abandon one another, who ought to be united. *Memoirs*, l. 2. c. 1. *Dum ſinguli pugnant univerſi vincuntur*, ſaith *Tacitus*, *in Agricola*. The Landtgrave of *Heſſe*, who commanded the Army of the League of *Smalcald* againſt *Charles* V. had reaſon to ſay to the Confederate Cities through which he paſs'd, *My Friends let every Fox keep his Tail*; to let them underſtand, that the League could not ſubſiſt but by their common agreement. *Epitomy of the Life of* C. V. There can't be better Counſel than what the Lord *Contay* gave the C. *de Charolois*, who took it very ill, that the Lords of the League of the Publick Good held a Council amongſt themſelves without calling him to it. *Bear it patiently*, ſaid *Contay*; *for if you diſpleaſe them, they will make their Peace with King* Lewis *more advantageouſly than you*; *as you are the Strongeſt*, *ſo you ought to be the Wiſeſt*: *Beware therefore of dividing them, and uſe your utmoſt induſtry to maintain a good Correſpondence betwixt them and your ſelf.* Memoirs of *Commines*, l. 1. c. 12.

2. This Example ſheweth, that there is ſcarce any ſuch thing as good Faith among Princes; and that the Leagues and Confederacies which they enter into, are rather ſnares which they lay for one another, than Ties of Friendſhip. Commonly the Weakeſt

HISTORICAL NOTES.

d With what Prudence and Conduct, ſaith *Paterculus*, *Tiberius*, by the Miniſtry of his Son *Druſus*, forced *Maroboduus* to quit the Kingdom which he had Invaded; and wherein he hid himſelf as Serpents do in the Bowels of the Earth? *Hiſt.* 2. *Cap.* 129. *Lewis* XI. took almoſt the ſame Method againſt the Duke of *Burgundy*, not only by Separating from him all his Allies, *Edward*, King of *England*; *Galeaſius*, Duke of *Milan*; who had before left the Alliance of the King for that of the Duke of *Burgundy*; *Renatus*, King of *Sicily*, who deſign'd to have made him his Heir, and to put *Provence* into his hands; the Dutcheſs of *Savoy*, the King's Siſter, who, ſaith *Commines*, was ſo much in the Duke's Intereſt, that the Duke diſpoſed of the Houſe of *Savoy* as of his own; but alſo by raiſing him up new Enemies, as the Swiſs, who beat him in two Battels; and the Cities of *Baſil*, *Strasbourg*, *Nuremburg*, and *Francfort*, who enter'd into an Alliance with the Swiſs; and to injure him was thought enough to get their own Pardon. *His Memoirs*, *Lib.* 5. *Cap.* 1. & 2.

e Now

was amongſt the *Gotones*, a Young Nobleman named *Catualda*, who having been baniſh'd by *Marobodnus*, attempted now to take his Revenge on him in his declining Fortune[d]. And in order to it enters the Borders of the *Marcomanni* with a good Force, and having corrupted the Principal Men of the Countrey to joyn him, he forces the Palace, and the Caſtle that ſtood near it, where were found the ancient Spoils of the Suevi, and Cooks, and Traders of our Provinces, whom firſt Freedom of Commerce, afterwards, deſire of Lucre, and at laſt, Forgetfulneſs of their own Country, had tranſplanted from their Habitations into the Enemy's Soil.

LXIV. *Marobodnus* being deſerted on all ſides, had no other refuge but to the Mercy of the Roman Emperor. Wherefore paſſing the *Danube* where it waters the Province of *Norica*[e], he wrote to *Tiberius*, not as a Fugitive or

Politick Reflections.

Weakeſt joyns himſelf with the Strongeſt, only to make himſelf more conſiderable to his Neighbours and his Enemies; and this was the Motive of *Marobodnus*, who by his Alliance with the Romans, hoped to become more formidable to the Cheruſci, and to his Rival *Arminius*. The Strongeſt, on the contrary, allies himſelf with the Weaker, under colour to protect and defend him; but in truth, to lay the Yoke of Slavery upon him, as ſoon as he can find an Opportunity to do it. And this is what *Tiberius* did with reſpect to *Marobodnus*, in ſending *Druſus* into *Germany* to ſign a League with him. Thus, it may be truly ſaid, *That Leagues make more noiſe, than they do ſervice; That they have more of Appearance and Oſtentation, than of Reality and Strength; and that, in fine, they rather haſten the Ruine of the Weaker or the leſs Politick, than they do retard or hinder it.*

3. Obſerve *Tiberius*'s Policy. After he had made uſe of *Marobodnus* to give a Check to *Arminius* the ſworn Enemy of the Romans, he made uſe of *Catualda*, to ruine *Marobodnus*; and afterwards of *Marobodnus*'s Faction to expel *Catualda*, whereby he compleated the ruine of *Germany*. King *Lewis* XI. ſaith *Commines*, better underſtood this Art of dividing Nations, than any other Prince whom I ever knew. He ſpared neither his Money nor his Pains, not only towards the Maſters, but alſo towards the Servants, *Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 1. With a Hundred and twenty thouſand Crowns of Gold, he divided the D. of *Burgundy* from the Dukes of *Normandy* and *Brittany*, and forc'd his Brother to renounce his Right to the Dutchy of *Normandy*, for a Penſion of twenty thouſand Crowns. *Cap.* 5.

Historical Notes.

e Now *Bavaria*.

f *Patterculus*

or a Petitioner, but like one that had not forgot his former greatneſs[1]. That although ſeveral Nations had courted him, as one who had been lately ſo renown'd a King to make their Countries his retreat, yet he preferr'd the Friendſhip of the Romans to all their Offers. *Tiberius* anſwer'd him, *That he ſhould have a Safe and Honourable retreat in* Italy *if he thought fit to ſtay; but if it ſhould be more for the advantage of his Affairs to go elſewhere, he ſhould go with the ſame Liberty that he came*[2]. But he afterwards told the Senate, that he had been a more Formidable Enemy, than ever *Philip* was to the Athenians, or *Pyrrhus* or *Antiochus* to the Romans[3]. His Speech is yet extant, wherein he extoll'd the Greatneſs of his Perſon, the Fierceneſs of the Nations that were ſubject to him, and what meaſures he had taken to deſtroy ſo Dangerous and ſo near an Enemy to *Italy*[f]. *Maroboduus* was

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. How Unfortunate ſoever a Prince be, it always becomes him to remember his paſt fortune; neither to do nor ſay any thing, which may give People reaſon to believe that he was unworthy of the Rank that he held, or worthy of the Evils that he endures. *John Frederick*, Duke of *Saxony*, falling into the hands of *Charles* V. ſpoke to him to give order that he ſhould be treated as a Prince of the Empire; and ſo far was he from humbling himſelf to the Emperor, who ſpoke to him in menacing terms, that he put on his Hat and anſwer'd, *That it was in vain that his Majeſty went to fright him, and that by becoming his Priſoner, he did not ceaſe to be a Prince.*

2. There is no Prince who doth not rejoyce to receive another into his Dominions; for beſides the Honour of the Hoſpitality, he may draw thence very great advantages in due Time and Place. And conſequently, 'tis no wonder, if ordinarily their Departure is not ſo free as their Entrance. If the late Duke of *Orleans* had not deceived the Marquis *d'Aytone*, Preſident of the Council of State of the Low-Countrys, he had run a great riſque of continuing a long time in the hands of the Spaniards, to ſerve as a Pretence for War againſt *France*.

3. The more Illuſtrious the Conquer'd is, the more Glorious is the Conqueror. *If I had made no reſiſtance*, ſaid *Caractacus* to the Emperor *Claudius*, *my Defeat and your Victory would never have been talk'd of.* Ann. 12.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

f *Paterculus* ſaith, that *Maroboduus* had ſo far enlarged his Power, that he was become formidable to the Roman Empire; that all the Male-contents, who withdrew themſelves from obedience to the Romans, fled for Sanctuary

was kept at *Ravenna* to awe the *Suevi* with the fear of his return[4], if they ſhould at any time grow Inſolent. But he ſtirr'd not out of *Italy* for the ſpace of Eighteen Years, and he was conſcious that he had leſſen'd his Glory by ſetting too great a Value on Life[5]. *Catualda* had the ſame

Politick Reflections.

4. There is nothing that Rebels are more afraid of, than to fall again under the Power of a Prince, whom they have dethron'd. The People of *Liege*, who upon the Inſtigation of *Lewis* XI. had revolted from the Duke of *Burgundy*, ſeeing their City beſieged by theſe two Princes in perſon, purpoſed, ſaith *Commines* to hazard all; for as they knew that they were undone, and that if they muſt die in the Execution of ſuch an Enterprize (which was to make a Sally out of the Town, with the Braveſt of their Men, and to kill the King and the Duke in their houſes) they ſhould at the worſt have a Glorious End; and they wanted but little of having ſucceeded in their Deſign. *His Memoirs, l.* 2. *c.* 12. Thus nothing is more advantageous to a Prince, who hath dangerous and unſteady Neighbours who have revolted, than to give their Prince a Retreat to awe them by the Fears of his Reſtoration.

5. A Prince who hath long ſurvived the loſs of his Kingdom, gives occaſion to People to believe, that he is little affected therewith, and that conſequently, he had not the Qualities which were requiſite to make him worthy to poſſeſs it, nor the Courage which was neceſſary, to keep the Poſſeſſion of it. Don *Pio Mutio* becomes an Advocate for *Marobodum* againſt *Tacitus*, who aſcribes to a Poorneſs of Spirit, the Care which this King took to prolong his Life. Let us leave, ſaith he, this Itch of Dying to the Stoicks, and uſe the Means to preſerve that Life, which God hath given us to aſſiſt our Relations and our Friends, and to ſerve our Country. And ſome lines after he concludes with theſe words: Therefore our Author unjuſtly blames *Marobodum*, ſince in my Opinion there is no leſs glory, for a Man to be a Good Husband of his Life to ſerve God, his Country, and his Friends, and to reſerve himſelf for a better Fortune, than to run into Battels, and throw it

Historical Notes.

Sanctuary to this Prince, who maintain'd an Army of 70000 Foot, and 4000 Horſe; That he had reduc'd under his Obedience all his Neighbours, either by Force by making continual War on them; or by Treaties which obliged them to declare for him; that he was in particular formidable by the ſituation of his States, which had *Germany* on the Front and on the Left Hand; *Pannonia* on the Right; and *Norica* on the Back; ſo that they fear'd him on all ſides, as a Prince who was ready to fall upon them. Add hereto, that his Frontiers were not but 200 miles, of a little more, diſtant from the *Alps*, which ſerv'd as Boundaries to *Italy*, *Cap.* 108. & 109. The laſt Duke of *Lorrain*, ſeems to have follow'd the Steps of *Marobodum*, as they may eaſily obſerve, who will compare them together.

ſame Fate, and no other refuge; for being expell'd not long after by the *Hermunduri* under their General *Vibilius*, he was received by the Romans, who ſent him to *Forum Julii*, a Colony of *Gallia Narbonenſis*. And leſt the Barbarous People who came with theſe two Princes, might raiſe any Diſturbances in theſe Provinces, which were in perfect quiet, they were tranſplanted beyond the *Danube*, betwixt the River *Marus* and *Cuſus*, and *Vannius* of the Nation of the *Quadi*, was ſet over them as King.

LXV. The Senate having at the ſame time receiv'd the News that *Germanicus* had made *Artaxias* King of *Armenia*, they decreed, that he and *Druſus* ſhould enter the City in Ovation, and that Arches with their Statues ſhould be built on both ſides of the Temple of *Mars* the Avenger. And *Tiberius* being better pleas'd that he had made Peace by his Prudence, than if he had ended the War with the Sword, employs the ſame Artifices againſt *Rheſcuporis*, King of *Thrace*. After the Death of *Rhœmetalces*, who was in poſſeſſion of the whole Countrey, *Auguſtus* had divided it betwixt his Brother *Rheſcuporis*, and his Son *Cotys*. In which diviſion, the Arrable-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

it away, to acquire Glory, which like ſmoke is carried away by a Blaſt of Wind. But this Conſideration, which is the 145. of the Second Part, is fitter for Monks and Tradeſmen, than for Princes and Noblemen, to whom War is the moſt Natural Employment.

1. A Prince who underſtands Negotiations, as *Tiberius* did, ought always to prefer the way of Treaties to that of Arms. It is certainly more honour for him to overcome his Enemies by Skill, than by Force. A Gaſcon Gentleman who was in the Service of *Edward* King of *England*, on occaſion of the Peace of *Pequigny*, ſaid, *That his Maſter had gain'd Nine Battels in Perſon, but that what we made him loſe by this Peace which drove the Engliſh out of* France, *brought him greater Shame and Loſs, than the other Nine which he had gain'd, had acquir'd him Honour and Advantage. Commines, l. 4. c. 10. of his Memoirs.* Queen *Margaret* ſpeaking of the Peace which the Duke of *Alenſon* made at *Nerac* with the King of *Navarre* and the Huguenots of his Party: *My Brother*, ſaid ſhe, *having made a Peace to the Satisfaction of the King and all the Catholicks, and not leſs to the Contentment of the Huguenots, return'd thence into* France, *with as much Honour and Glory for having compos'd ſo great Troubles, as from all the Victories which he had obtain'd by Arms.* Memoirs, l. 3.

Arrable-Land, the Cities, and the Parts adjoyning to *Greece*, ſell to *Cotys*'s ſhare; the Wild uncultivated Parts, and which border'd on Enemies, to *Rhescuporis*. The tempers of theſe two Kings were as different; the Former being Mild and Complaiſant; the Latter Covetous, Ambitious, and Cruel. However, they liv'd at firſt in an appearance of Friendſhip. But in a while, *Rhescuporis* paſs'd his Bounds, uſurp'd upon *Cotys*, and ſtuck not ſometimes to uſe Force where he found Reſiſtance; but this he did by wary and ſlow Methods in the Reign of *Auguſtus*, who he feared would revenge the Injuſtice as he was the Founder of theſe two Kingdoms; But when he heard of his Death, he ſent Troops of Robbers, and demoliſhed ſome of his Caſtles, to give an occaſion for War.

LXVI. *Tiberius* who feared nothing more than new Tronbles, diſpatches away a Centurion, with a Meſſage to the two Kings, enjoyning them not to decide their Quarrel by the Sword[1]. *Cotys* immediately disbands the Army he had raiſed; and *Rhescuporis* with a feign'd Submiſſion, deſir'd, that they might have an Enterview, and terminate their Differences by Treaty; and what with the Eaſie Compliance of the one, and the Fraudulent Compliance of the other, they ſoon adjuſted not only the Time and Place of their Treaty; but alſo the Conditions

Politick Reflections.

1. Diviſions never began in a Country, ſaith *Commines*, but they have proved deſtructive in the end, and very difficult to extinguiſh, *Lib.4.Cap.9.* For a King to nouriſh Diviſions betwixt Princes, and Perſons of Virtue and Courage, is to kindle a Fire in his Houſe; for ſometimes one or the other will ſay, *The King is againſt us*; and under this Pretence will think of fortifying themſelves, and making Alliances with his Enemies, *l. 6. c. ult.* And whilſt one of the Parties takes Arms againſt the Prince, he is always ill obey'd by the other; who thinking that he ſtands in great need of them, ſets their Services at the higher price. Thus a Powerful King ought never to ſuffer the Princes who are his Vaſſals or Neighbours to go to War, for the Fire comes to ſpread it ſelf thence into his Dominions. On the contrary, he ought to aſſume the Office of an Arbitrator, or a Mediator betwixt the Parties, and threaten to declare againſt him, who will not hearken to Peace.

2. A

ditions of their Agreement. *Rheſcuporis*, under colour of ratifying the Agreement with greater Ceremony, makes a Feaſt, which he protracts till Midnight, and then puts *Cotys* in Chains [2], who amidſt all his Jollity ſuſpected nothing; but as ſoon as he perceiv'd the Treachery, he in vain conjur'd him, by the Sacredneſs of his Character, as a King [3], by the Common Gods of their Family, and by

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. A wiſe Prince ought never to put himſelf into the hands of another, with whom he hath great Intereſts depending. He that goes to meet another, can't be reaſonably ſecur'd by any Promiſes, Oaths, or Paſſports. Safe Conducts are as feeble Arms againſt Force, as Paper is againſt Iron: And *Julius* II. before he was Pope, ſaid often, *That they were great Fools, who exchanged Liberty and Life for a Dead Beaſt's Skin**. (Meaning Parchment) * *Apology for the Council of Piſa.* The Duke of *Burgundy*, wrote to *Lewis* XI. a large Letter with his own hand, giving him ſecurity to come and to return; and the King took no guard with him, but would rely entirely upon the ſecurity given by the Duke. *Commines, l.* 2. *c.* 5. Notwithſtanding, the Duke order'd the Gates of the City and of the Caſtle of *Peronne* to be ſhut, ſaying, *That the King was come thither to betray him:* and theſe Gates were ſhut three days; during which time the Duke did not ſee the King, nor did any of the King's Servants enter into the Caſtle, but through the Wicket of the Gate, *Chap.* 7. *and* 9. *of the ſame Book.* This Duke, when he was only Count *de Charolois* committed the ſame Error, by ſuffering himſelf to be inſenſibly led on by the King, with whom he walked to a Place call'd the *Boulevart* or Bulwark, through which People enter into *Paris*; for which he was much blamed by the Count *de S. Pol*, and by the Mareſchal *de Burgundy*, who put him in mind of the Misfortune that happen'd to his Grandfather King *Charles* the Seventh, at *Montereau-faut-Yonne*. To which Reprimand, the Duke return'd this Anſwer; *Don't rebuke me, for I know very well my great Folly, but I did not perceive it, till I was near the Bulwark.* Memoirs, l. 1. c. 13.

3. Conſanguinity, Honour, and all the Eſſential Duties of Civil Society, are feeble Ties for Princes, for they have commonly no other Rule of their Conduct but their Intereſt, and the preſent Poſſeſſion of all that is agreeable to them. They pretend that there are Privileges, which belong only to them; and that what is call'd Breach of Faith in Private Men and Subjects, ought to be call'd Policy and Reaſon of State in Tranſactions between Princes. Princes, ſaith *Mariana*, have a Cuſtom to love their Profit, better than their Word and their Duty; they ſteer their Courſe that way where they ſee the greateſt Hopes, without being concern'd what Judgment poſterity will paſs upon them. *His Hiſt. l.* 15. *c.* 18. In ſhort, we may ſay of all Princes, what was ſaid in *Portugal* of King Cardinal *Henry*, That as ſcrupulous as he was, he had two Conſciences; one for what he would have, and another for what he would not. *Cabrera's Hiſt. l.* 12. *c.* 12. The ſame Hiſtorian obſerves, as an extraordinary Thing, and which many Princes would have ſtuck at, That *Philip* going into *Flanders*, entruſted

by the Rights of Hoſpitality, to deſiſt. Having thus made himſelf Maſter of all *Thrace*, he wrote to *Tiberius*, that he had only prevented the Treachery of *Cotys*, who was plotting his ruine; and at the ſame time ſtrengthen'd himſelf with New Levies, both Horſe and Foot, under pretence of making War on the *Scythians* and *Baſtarnians*.

LXVII. *Tiberius* anſwer'd him with a great deal of Temper; *That if he had uſed no Fraud, he might ſafely rely on his own Innocence; but that neither himſelf, nor the Senate could diſtinguiſh Juſtice from Wrong, before they had heard the Cauſe; and that therefore he ſhould deliver up* Cotys, *and by proving the Injuſtice with which he charg'd him, vindicate himſelf.* *Latinius Pandus*, Proprætor of *Mæſia*, ſent theſe Letters into *Thrace* by the Soldiers who were to receive *Cotys*. But *Rhescuporis* fluctuating betwixt Fear and Anger; and chuſing rather to be guilty of an accompliſh'd Villany, than of an Imperfect one[f], orders *Cotys* to be murther'd[g], and gave out, that he had kill'd himſelf. Notwithſtanding this, *Tiberius* alter'd not his meaſures, but acted the ſame Part towards him; inſomuch,

Politick Reflections.

truſted the Perſon of Don *Carlos*, the Sole Heir of the Spaniſh Monarchy, with the *Infanta Maria* his Siſter, and with *Maximilian*, King of *Bohemia*, whom ſhe had married. *Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 2.

1. Great Crimes, ſaith *Tacitus*, are begun with Danger, but when they are once begun, there is no other remedy, but to compleat them, *Ann.* 11. *and* 12. For, ſaith *Machiavel*, a Man never eſcapes out of one Danger but by another Danger. *Hiſtory of* Florence, *Lib.* 3.

Historical Notes.

f *Alphonſo* XI. King of *Caſtile*, dealt with *John* Lord of *Biſcay*, after the ſame manner, as *Rhescuporis* did with *Cotys*. He invited *John* to an Enterview in the City of *Toro*, with a Promiſe to give him in marriage his Siſter the *Infanta Eleonor*; and to take all ſuſpicion from him, he removed from his Court *Garci Laſſo de la Vega*, his Chief Miniſter, who, as *John* ſaid, was his Mortal Enemy. When *John* was at *Toro*, he invited him to come and Dine with him on *All Saints Day*. *John* went thither without Arms, and without Fear, by reaſon of the Feſtival, and was ſlain in the midſt of the Rejoycings of the Feaſt.

h With

much, that after the Deceaſe of *Pandus*, of whom *Rhoſcuporis* complain'd that he was his Enemy [2], he made *Pomponius Flaccus* [h] Governor of *Maeſia*, who was a well-experienc'd Soldier, and an intimate Friend of the Kings, and therefore the fitteſt Perſon to circumvent him [3].

LXVIII. *Flaccus* arriving in *Thrace*, prevail'd with him by great Promiſes to enter our Frontiers, notwithſtanding his Guilt made him ſuſpicious [1], and ſometimes to heſitate. A ſtrong Guard pretended for his Honour [2] was ſent

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. It is the common Pretence of Great Men who will not come to Court, when they are call'd thither by the Prince, to impute their Diſobedience to the Fear they have of being oppreſs'd by his Miniſters, or by his Favourites. Thus the Conſtable St. *Pol*, excus'd himſelf to *Lewis* XI. for appearing before him in Arms, and with the Precaution of a Rail betwixt them, ſaying, That he had not done it, but to defend himſelf againſt the Count *de Damartin* his Mortal Enemy. *Comines.*

3. There is no Friendſhip which is proof againſt the Fear of loſing the Prince's Favour, or the Hopes of gaining it. The Order to apprehend the Mareſchal *de Marillac* was carried by one of his near Relations; who beſides, was God-ſon to his Brother the Keeper of the Seals. The Caſe of *Labkovits*, Chief Miniſter to the Emperor, was ſingular, who having no tie of Kindred or Friendſhip with Prince *William* of *Furſtemberg*, now Cardinal, gave notice to the Pope's Nuntio, of the ſecret Sentence of Death given againſt him, (and which was to have been Executed *inter privatos parietes*) to the end that he might demand him in the Name of the Pope, as being under his Juriſdiction as a Biſhop. Which indeed ſav'd this Prelate's Life, but was the occaſion that *Labkovits* was accus'd of holding Intelligence with *France*, and that he was taken off by Poiſon. *Memoirs de Chev. de R.*

1. Suſpicion and Diſtruſt are learn'd in the School of Wickedneſs. And according to *Tacitus*, it is very difficult to ſurprize People who have been a long time wicked. *Miniſtris tentare arduum videbatur mulieris uſu ſcelerum adverſus inſidias intentæ.* Ann. 14.

2. A Prince who has taken refuge in the Dominion of another, ought to look upon all thoſe who are appointed

HISTORICAL NOTES.

h With what Prudence, ſaith *Paterculus*, did *Tiberius* draw *Rhoſcuporis* to *Rome*, who had murther'd *Cotis* his Nephew and Copartner in the Throne. In this Affair he made uſe of the conduct of *Pomponius Flaccus*, a Conſular Perſon, who was fitted to execute with ſucceſs, whatſoever was deſir'd of him, that might be done with Honour; and who by an unaffected Virtue merited Glory, rather than ſought for it. *Lib.* 2. *Par.* 129.

ſent to attend him; and the Tribunes and Captains by intreaty drill'd him on, and the farther he went, the Cloſer they guarded him; ſo that he perceiv'd at laſt there was no remedy but that he muſt go to *Rome*, where he was accus'd by *Cotys*'s Wife before the Senate, and condemn'd never to return to his Kingdom. *Thrace* is anew divided betwixt his Son *Rhœmetalces*, who was known to have been an Enemy to the Violences of his Father, and the Children of *Cotys*: But theſe being Minors, the Adminiſtration of their State, until they ſhould come of Age, was committed to *Trebellianus Rufus*, who had been Prætor, after the Example of our Anceſtors, who ſent *M. Lepidus* into *Ægypt* to be Guardian to the Children of *Ptolomy*[1]. *Rheſcuporis* was carried to *Alexandria*, where he was put to death for attempting to make his Eſcape, though poſſibly this Crime was forg'd againſt him.

LXIX. At

Politick Reflections.

pointed to wait upon him when he goes abroad, as ſo many Spies. The more Honour this Train doth him in appearance, the leſs Liberty he hath; and this is what *Henry* Prince of *Conde*, one day complain'd of to the Count *de Fuentes*, Governor of *Milan*, who had him guarded with wonderful care, under pretence, that Kings having long hands, it would be eaſie for *Henry* IV. whoſe Indignation he had incurr'd, to have him carried away from *Milan* it ſelf, if the Count did not watch for the ſafety of his Perſon. It is well known how much the Spaniards were troubled at the Manner of M. the Duke of *Orleans*'s retiring from *Bruſſels*, although the Marquis *d'Aytone* ſaid, That the only diſſatisfaction he had about it, was, that his Higneſs had depriv'd him of the Means of rendring him the Honour that was due to a Prince of his Rank, which would have been more for the Dignity of his Perſon, and the Satisfaction of his Catholick Majeſty. *Memoirs of Montreſor.*

1. Beſides

Historical Notes.

1 *Ptolomy Philopator*, Father to *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, who ſucceeded him at the Age of five years. The Romans ſent *Lepidus* into *Ægypt*, to oppoſe the Ambitious Deſigns of *Antiochus*, Sirnam'd the Great, King of *Syria*, and of *Philip* * King of *Macedonia*, who deſign'd to have ſhar'd betwixt them this Young Prince's Kingdom. (* This was *Philip*, Father to *Perſeus* the laſt King of *Macedonia*.)

k *Evocati*

LXIX. At the ſame time *Vonones*, who being, as I have ſaid, confin'd in *Cilicia*, having corrupted his Guards, under colour of going a Hunting[i], endeavour'd to make his Eſcape into *Armenia*, and thence to the *Albanians* and the *Heniochians*, and from thence to the King of the *Scythians*, who was his Kinſman. Leaving therefore the Sea-coaſts, he takes the By-ways of the Foreſts, and with all the ſpeed that his Horſe could make, poſts towards the River *Pyramus*. But the Country People having had notice of the King's Eſcape, broke down the Bridges, and the River being not Fordable, he was taken and bound on the Banks of the River by *Vibius Fronto*, General of the Horſe, and an Evocate[k], named *Remius*, who before had the Guard of him, run him through the Body with his Sword; as if it had been in revenge of his flight, which made it more credible that he was privy to his Eſcape, and that he kill'd him to prevent his Diſcovery of it.

LXX. *Germanicus* at his return from *Ægypt* found all the Orders which he had Eſtabliſh'd amongſt the Legions, or in the Cities, laid aſide, or revers'd[l], which drew

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Beſides that Hunting is good for Princes, for the Health of their Bodies; and being an Image of War, it teaches them that Art by way of Diverſion; it is alſo of advantage to them to be Hunters, becauſe of the favourable Opportunities that this Exerciſe gives them, when they are in the hands of their Enemies.

1. New Miniſters, ſaith *Anthony Perez*, are wont to do as New Engineers, who to change the Deſign of thoſe who went before them, demoliſh the Works which they had begun, and conſume the Prince's Money in unneceſſary Expences. *In the Aphoriſms of his Relations.*

2. *Commines*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

k *Evocati* were Veterans who were liſted anew, but without being obliged to the Military Offices; ſo call'd, *quia militiæ defuncti rurſus ad ipſam revocabantur.*

drew from him ſome hard words againſt *Piſo*, who was deſigning ill things againſt him. At laſt, *Piſo* was preparing to quit *Syria*, but the Sickneſs of *Germanicus* ſtaid him; and when he heard of his recovery, and that Publick Thanks were return'd to the Gods for it, he ſent his Guards to diſperſe the People of *Antioch* who were ſolemnizing the Thankſgiving, to force away the very Victims from before the Altars, and to put an End to the Ceremonies. After which, he went to *Seleucia* [1], to expect the Iſſue of the Relapſe which *Germanicus* fell into, whoſe ſuſpicion that he was poyſon'd by *Piſo*, much increas'd his Diſtemper [2]. There were found in the Floor and the Walls the Remains of Humane Carcaſſes dug-up, Charms and Sorceries, and *Germanicus*'s Name engrav'd on Plates of Lead, Bones half burnt, and beſmear'd with Gore, and other Witchcrafts [3], by which Souls,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. *Commines* had good reaſon to ſay, That Suſpicions are the greateſt Diſeaſes of Princes, and which much ſhortens their Lives. Cardinal *de Richelieu* paints Princes to the Life, when he ſays, that they believe their Suſpicions as Oracles, and do as Magicians, who make themſelves drunk in their falſe Science, for an Event the knowledge whereof they owe to Chance. *In an Apology for his Conduct towards Queen* Mary de Medicis.

3. There are many People, who that they may paſs for Men of great Senſe, believe nothing of all that which Hiſtorians and other Authors, ſpeak of Magicians and Sorcerers; but the Holy Scriptures, and the Authority of the Church, which Excommunicates and Anathematiſes them every Sunday in Pariſh-Churches, will not ſuffer us to doubt of the Truth thereof. And conſequently Princes and Magiſtrates can never proceed with too much rigour againſt theſe publick Peſts. It is obſerv'd in the Journal of the Reign of *Henry* III. that in the Reign of *Charles* IX. impunity had multiply'd this Vermine to the Number of thirty thouſand Perſons. However, we muſt not believe that Sorcerers have all that Power to Hurt and Kill which ſome aſcribe to them. *Henry* III. lived ſtill, notwithſtanding all the Wax-Images, which they pricked in the Place of the Heart, during the Maſſes of 40 hours, which thoſe of the League caus'd to be ſaid in the Pariſh Churches of *Paris*. *The ſame Journal*, 1589.

4. The

HISTORICAL NOTES.

1 The Capital City of *Meſopotamia*, ſeated on the *Tygris*.

[2] *Strada*

Souls, as it is believed, are devoted to the Infernal Gods. Some were also accus'd to have been sent by *Piso*, to observe the Progress of his Distemper [4].

LXXI. As these things came to the Ears of *Germanicus*, they added both to his Fears and his Anger. *If my Chamber*, said he, *is beset? If I must expire before my Enemy's Eyes, what will afterwards become of my Miserable Wife, and my Poor Children* [1]? Piso *thinks the Poyson works too slowly, and is impatient till he becomes the sole Master of the Province and the Legions. But* Germanicus *is not yet sunk so low, but that he is able to hinder the Murderer from enjoying the Prize of his Villany* [2]. Hereupon, he writes a Letter to *Piso*, wherein he renounc'd his Friendship [3]; and some add, that he commanded him to leave the Province. Nor did *Piso* make any longer stay, but took Ship: However, he made the Ship sail but slowly,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

4. The Curiosity of knowing the Progress of the Diseases of Princes, is almost always fatal to those who inquire after it. As nothing afflicts Princes more than the approaches of Death, so nothing gives them greater Indignation against Great Men, than a certain Imprudent Hastiness, that discovers that they expect a New Reign. M. the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* makes a Reflection, which agrees well with this Subject. *If*, saith he, *the Parties which the principal Persons of the Realm made, some for the Queen, and others for Monsieur, did not discover themselves more; it was because the King's recovery, which seem'd to be in a fair Way, made them fear, lest he should be inform'd of their Practices, and should look upon it as a Crime in them to be so careful before-hand, to Establish their fortunes after his Death.*

1. It is common enough for Princes and Great Men, to fore-see and fore-tell at their Death, the Misfortunes that will befall their Children. *Germanicus* prophesy'd.

2. He that hath not power enough to defend himself against Oppression, has oftentimes Friends enough courageously to revenge him after his Death. Which ought to be consider'd by those, who find themselves supported by favour, make trial of their Power on Great Men. For sooner or later the Oppression is returned upon themselves.

3. There is not now-a-days so good faith amongst Men; Dissimulation and Double-dealing are become so much the Mode, that People are generally so far from openly renouncing the Friendship of those who have disoblig'd them, that on the contrary, they make greater expressions of it than ever, that they may more securely ruine them. The Friends of this Age, saith *Anthony Perez*, have the Figure of Men, but the Heart of Wild Beasts. *Rostros humanos, corazones de fieras.*

1. Let

ſlowly, that he might the ſooner come back, if *Germanicus*'s Death ſhould make way for his return to *Syria*.

LXXII. *Germanicus* after ſome little hopes of recovery flagg'd again[1]; and perceiving that his end was drawing on, he ſpake to this Effect to his Friends that ſtood about him. *If I had dy'd a Natural Death, I might juſtly have complain'd of the Gods for raviſhing me in the Bloom of my Youth, by an untimely Death from my Parents, my Children*[2], *and my Country; but now being taken off by the Treachery of* Piſo *and* Plancina[3], *I leave my laſt deſires with you: Acquaint my Father and my Brother, what Cruelties I have ſuffer'd, and with what Perfidiouſneſs I have been treated, and how that at laſt I end a moſt miſerable Life, by the worſt kind of Deaths*[4]. *They whoſe good Fortune depended on mine, or who were ally'd to me by blood, nay even they who before envy'd*

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Let Princes be never ſo ſick, Flatterers make them almoſt always hope, that they will recover. They deceive them to the very moment that they depart to give an account to God, without any one being concern'd for their Salvation; in this one thing more unhappy than the moſt miſerable Subject they have. Don *Carlos Coloma* ſpeaking of the ſudden Death of *Alexander* Duke of *Parma*, ſaith, That he knew not that he was dying, but by the Countenance of his Servants and Phyſicians*; intimating that this Prince underſtood that by their Eyes, which he ought to have known from their Mouths. * *Lib. 5. of his Hiſtory of the Wars of* Flanders.

2. A good Father, as *Germanicus* was, could not have a greater Trouble at his Death, than to leave a Wife and Children whom he lov'd tenderly, to the mercy of his Enemies.

3. It is very hard for private Perſons, who are accus'd by a Prince that is the People's Favourite, to ſhelter themſelves from the Storm, which ſo heavy an Accuſation draws upon them.

4. Poyſon is the Plague of Princes, for it is almoſt the only kind of Death, againſt which it is impoſſible for them to guard themſelves, what cautions ſoever they make uſe of againſt the Treachery of their Domeſtick Officers. And thence it is, that People ordinarily attribute their Death to Poyſon; and that they themſelves are ſo often troubled with ſuſpicions of being poyſon'd. To this purpoſe I remember, I have read in the Relations of a Venetian Ambaſſador at *Rome*, that in the Pontificate of *Urban* VIII. an Italian Gentleman told a Jeſuite in Confeſſion, that he had poyſon'd five Popes, which is the more wonderful, becauſe the Nephews, whoſe whole Fortune depends on the Continuance of the Pontificates of their Uncles, watch with *Argus*'s Eyes for the Preſervation of him, whoſe Death reduces them to a private Condition.

5. Thoſe

envy'd my Glory, will lament[5] *my hard Fate, that after all the Successes I have had, and the Battels I have escap'd, I should at last fall by the Treachery of a Woman*[6]. *You will have opportunity to complain to the Senate, and to demand Justice. The great Duty of Friends is not to shew their Affections to the Dead in Fruitless Lamentations, but to remember what he desir'd, and execute what he left in charge. Strangers will weep for* Germanicus. *But it is your part to revenge my Death, if you lov'd me rather than my Fortune*[8]. *Set before the Eyes of the People of* Rome, *my Wife, the Grand-Daughter of* Augustus, *with our six Children. Compassion will be on your side that accuse*[9]; *and though they should pretend secret Orders for their Villanies*[10], *they will either*

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

5. Those who have Envy'd us in Prosperity, or during our Lives, freely pity us in Adversity, or at least after our Death; because they have the Glory of appearing generous, when they have nothing more to fear.

6. Nothing seems stranger, than that a General of an Army should dye by the Hands of a Woman, after he hath pass'd his whole Life in Battels and Dangers. Notwithstanding this Mistortune hath befallen many great Captains, God having permitted it so to be, to punish their Pride by an humbling Death.

7. It is decent for Women to weep, saith *Tacitus*, but Men have a greater Duty to perform, which is to remember. *Feminis lugere honestum est, viris meminisse. In Germania.* It is not (said a great Orator to the Regent *Anna* of *Austria*) by useless Complaints, and superfluous Grief, that a great Soul like your Majesty's, ought to express her Piety and her Love to the Ashes of her Husband; it is by Executing his Orders; it is by proposing to your Imitation the Image of his Virtues; it is by courageously conducting the Fortune of the State. *Ogier in the Preliminary Epistle to the Funeral Oration of* Lewis *XIII.*

8. In the Life-time of Princes it is very difficult to distinguish their Faithful and Disinterested Servants from those that are not so; because the Favours they are capable of doing, are apt to make it be believed, that all who adhere to them, adore the Fortune, and not the Person; but after their Death, it is known by the Duties that are paid them, and by the Execution of their last Desires, who were worthy, or who were unworthy of their Affection and Favours.

9. When the Judges are touch'd with Compassion for the Accusers, there are no hopes of Mercy for the Accused; especially, if they are Persons who have been long hated, as *Piso* and *Plancina* were for their Arrogance.

10. Many Violences and Excesses are committed in remote Provinces, of which the Governors and Principal Ministers would be hard put to it to shew their Orders. These Officers deserve double Punishment: First, for the abuse of their Power; and Secondly, for the Danger to which they expose the Prince, by authorising

either not be believed, or not acquitted. His Friends taking him by the right Hand, as he was ready to expire, ſwore, they would loſe their own Lives, but they would revenge his Death[11].

LXXIII. Then *Germanicus* turning himſelf towards his Wife, he beſeech'd her, *That if ſhe had any regard to his Memory, and to the Intereſt of their common Children, ſhe would lay aſide her haughty temper, and ſubmit her Mind to the ſeverity of her Fortune, leſt at her return to* Rome, *ſhe ſhould by a Vain Emulation exaſperate thoſe who were too powerful for her*[1]. Thus much he ſpoke publickly, and ſome-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

authoriſing with his Name and pretended Will, ſuch Acts of Injuſtice as make him paſs for a Tyrant; which is an Injury to him, that can't be repair'd, but by an Example that is capable to undeceive the People.

11. The Chriſtian Religion commands us to pardon the Injuries that are done to our ſelves; but it doth not forbid us to avenge thoſe that are done to our Friends, when Juſtice and the Laws are on their ſide. The Goſpel obliges us to the Firſt, and Civil Society to the Latter.

1. We ought never to have any Competition with the Prince's Favourites or Miniſters. It is better to retire from Court, than to enter the Liſts with them. If the Prince, ſaith *Cabrera*, hath choſen any one of thoſe whom he loves to be his Chief Miniſter, we ought to honour him according to the Rank which he holds, and according to the Influence which he hath on his Prince. It is advantageous to make him a Friend; and on the contrary, it is dangerous to judge whether he deſerves the Place and Authority which is given him. Remember the Brazen Image, which *Amaſis* King of *Ægypt* caus'd to be worſhipp'd, that was made of a Baſon wherein he was wont to waſh his Feet, and thoſe words of *Tacitus*, *We adored the Collegue of your Conſulſhip, and him who repreſented your Perſon in the Adminiſtration of the Empire.* For otherwiſe, there is no ſecurity for high Birth, nor for great Merit, which have always been ſuſpected and hated by Favourites. And it is not enough to ſay; *I will live at Court without Ambition, without any Pretenſions, without Employment, and without having any thing to do with any one*: for none that hear this believe any thing of it. *His Hiſtory, Lib. 7. Cap. 7.* He adds, that the Duke of *Alva* put in for the Government of the Low-Countries for no other reaſon, but to get off from the Level with Cardinal *Eſpinoſa*, and Prince *Ruy Gomez*, whom favour made equal to him in Eſteem and Credit; although they were interior to him in abilities. Notwithſtanding, Cardinal *Briconcet*, the Chief Miniſter of King *Charles* VIII. had very ſmall abilities, and underſtood nothing at all of Military Affairs; however, ſaith *Comminet*, (who knew much more of it than he) when I was ill-treated in the beginning of this King's Reign, I durſt not intermeddle, that I might not make any of thoſe my Enemies, to whom he gave Authority, *Memoirs, Lib. 8. Cap. 5.* It is with Men as with

ſomething more in ſecret [2]; ſoon after which he expir'd, to the great regret of the Province, and the adjacent Countreys. Foreign Kings and Nations, Enemies as well as Allies, lamented him [3]; the Former for his Clemency and the Latter for his Courteſie. His Preſence and his manner of Speaking were graceful and drew reſpect; and although he retain'd an air of Majeſty [4] ſuitable to his high Birth and Character; yet he never incurr'd Envy, nor the Suſpicion of Arrogance.

LXXIV. His Funerals were not ſolemniz'd with Images and Pomp, but with publick Praiſes, and the Commemoration of his Virtues [1]. And there were ſome who compar'd him with *Alexander* [2] for his Beauty and his Age;

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

with pieces of Money, on which Princes ſet what value they pleaſe; and conſequently, we muſt receive them according to their currency, and not according to their intrinſick value.

2. When we ſpeak of Princes, we muſt ſpeak of them with the utmoſt Caution. It is not enough to diſtruſt the Ears of thoſe who are preſent, we ought alſo to diſtruſt their Eyes, who read in the Countenance and the Looks, all that of which they make a Myſtery to them.

3. The moſt glorious Apotheoſis of a Prince, is to be lamented by his Subjects, and honour'd with the Praiſes of Foreign Nations.

4. A General of an Army ſhould have an aſpect mingled with Sweetneſs and Severity; for Soldiers contract a ſort of Fierceneſs, which often carries them to Sedition, if they are not reſtrain'd by an air of Authority, which ſtrikes an awe upon them. The Roman Hiſtorians have obſerved, That this Mixture in *Hannibal* was the Foundation of his Greatneſs and Reputation.

1. The Name of Princes is always immortal, by reaſon of the Greatneſs of their Office, which is the Cauſe that all their Actions, good or bad, are written on the Records of Poſterity: But there is this Difference betwixt thoſe who have abuſed their Power, and thoſe who have diſcharged the Duties of their Station, that the Memory of the Former is Infamous for ever, whereas that of the Latter is always Glorious and Triumphant. So they need not raiſe Pyramids and Mauſolæums if they have been Virtuous; for the Memory of their Virtues is Eternal; and their Monuments are as many in number, as there are People who read their Hiſtory, and as there are Princes who follow their Example.

2. In all times Warlike Princes and Great Captains have been compared with *Alexander*, as if there was not a more perfect Model to propoſe for Arms than this Conqueror. He muſt, ſaith a Learned Prelate, be found in all our Panegyricks; and it ſeems, by a ſort of Fatality, glorious to his Name, that no Prince can receive Praiſes, but he muſt have a ſhare in them. *M. de Meaux in the Funeral Oration of* Lewis *Prince of* Conde.

3. Chaſtity

Age, the Manner of his Death, and the Nearneſs of the Places where they dy'd. For they were both very Handſome, and of Illuſtrious Birth: Neither of them lived much above thirty Years, and they both died in a Foreign Country by the Treachery of ſome of their own People [m]. But *Germanicus* was courteous to his Friends, moderate in his Pleaſures, contented with one Wife [3], and a ſure Iſſue. As great a Captain as *Alexander*, if you'l not reckon the Succeſſes of the other's Raſhneſs; and who, after he had broken the Germans by

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. Chaſtity is a Virtue ſo much the more praiſe-worthy in Princes, as their Condition ſets them at a greater Diſtance from it. *Commines* ſpeaking of the Vow which *Lewis* XI. made, never to touch any Woman but his Wife, ſaith that, *Although the King ought to have done it according to the Ordinance of the Church, it was nevertheleſs a great Thing for him, who had ſo many Women at his command, to perſevere in this Promiſe; conſidering alſo, that the Queen was not a Woman in whom he could take much Pleaſure.* Memoirs, *lib.* 6. *cap.* 9. 'It is a great Miracle, 'ſaith a Famous Panegyriſt, that he 'for whom the Church hath ſo 'often prayed that he might 'not fall into extraordinary Crimes, 'did not ſo much as fall into the 'Common Faults, which we call 'Humane Frailties. But let us 'call them as we will, they are no 'other than Mortal Sins, which can-'not be excuſed, neither by the Vi-'gour of our Age, and heat of our 'Blood, ſeeing *Lewis* was Chaſt in 'his blooming Youth; nor by the 'Opportunities of Sin, ſeeing he was 'Chaſt in the midſt of the Court; 'nor by the Violence of Temptati-ons, ſeeing the fineſt Eyes of the World lay in wait in vain for him; nor by the Difficulty of the Precept, ſeeing neither Age, nor Blood, nor Opportunity, nor the Charms of 'Beauty, hindred him from preſer-'ving an inviolable Chaſtity. *The Funeral Oration of* Lewis *XIII. by* Franc. Ogier.

4. Independance

HISTORICAL NOTES.

m *Strada* reports, That the Flemmings compared Don *John* of *Auſtria*, the Son of *Charles* V. with *Germanicus* for Beauty and Gracefulneſs; for Years which were 33; for Exploits in War performed by each in divers places, bordering on *Holland*; for having been both ſuſpected by their Princes; and for having ended their days by an untimely Death. *Hiſtory of Low-Countrys. Decad.* 1. *Lib.* 10.

n *Anti*

by ſo many Victories, would have entirely reduc'd *Germany* under the Obedience of the Romans, had he not been recall'd when he was upon the Point of finiſhing his Conqueſts. But had he been inveſted with the Title and Power of King[4], he would as eaſily have Equall'd *Alexander* in Military Glory, as he Excell'd him in Clemency, Temperance, and other Virtues. His Body before it was burnt, was expoſed naked to be viewed in the Market-place of *Antioch*, where his Funeral Pile was Erected. It is very uncertain, whether or no, there appeared on it any ſigns of Poiſon; for People, as they were influenc'd with Compaſſion for *Germanicus*, and with the common Prejudice againſt *Piſo* on the one hand, or as they were inclin'd to favour him on the other, ſpake differently of it.

LXXV. The Lieutenant-Generals, and ſome Senators who were in thoſe Parts, immediately held a Conſultation about the Choice of a Perſon to Adminiſter the Government of *Syria*. All the Competitors that appear'd for it ſoon quitted their Pretenſions, except *Vibius Marſus* and *Cneius Sentius*, betwixt whom there was a warm Competition, until *Marſus* at laſt gave it up to *Sentius*, as being the Elder Perſon, and the more eager Competitor.

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

4. Independance is a mighty advantage in a General of an Army for the Execution of Enterprizes. *Germanicus* would have compleated the Conqueſt of all *Germany*, if *Tiberius* had not been Jealous of his Glory. The Duke of *Alva* would have taken *Rome* and Pope *Paul* IV. if *Philip* II. his Maſter had been of the humour of *Charles* V. The Count *de Rantzau*, who was afterwards Mareſchal of *France*, would infallibly have ſurpriz'd the Citadel of *Ghent*, wherein there were at that time many French, Portugueſe, and Catalans Priſoners, if Monſieur *de Noyers*, who govern'd all under Cardinal *Richelieu*, had been willing to have ſeconded this Enterprize, whereas he diſappointed it to hinder the Count, whoſe Perſon he hated, from growing more conſiderable at Court, by ſo great a Service. The Mareſchal *de la Mothe Houdancourt*, would have carried the King of *Spain* Priſoner to *Paris*, if the Regency had not been in the Hands of his Siſter, who on this Occaſion preferr'd her Brother's Intereſts to her Sons.

titor [1]. As ſoon as he was in the Government, at the requeſt of *Vitellius*, *Veranius*, and ſome others who proceeded againſt *Piſo* and *Plancina*, as if they had been already convicted, he ſent to *Rome* one *Martina*, a Woman who had been infamous in that Province for poyſoning, and *Plancina*'s great Favourite [2].

LXXVI. But *Agrippina*, notwithſtanding ſhe was almoſt ſinking under Grief and Indiſpoſition of Body, yet impatient of any thing that might retard her revenge [1], took Ship with her Children, and her Husband's Aſhes, which was a Spectacle that drew Compaſſion from all, to ſee ſo great a Princeſs, who in regard of her happy Marriage was lately Applauded and Ador'd by all People [2], now carry in her arms her Husband's mournful Urn, full of anxious Thoughts, whether ſhe ſhould find at *Rome* any Juſtice for him, or Safety for her ſelf, and who, by her unhappy Fruitfulneſs, was obnoxious to ſo many

Politick Reflections.

1. A good Miniſter ought to ſacrifice his Private Intereſts to the Publick Service, without being obſtinately bent to carry it from his Rivals. There is nothing more pernicious than the Diſſentions which happen betwixt the Great Officers of a Province, whilſt there is a Powerful Rebel who endeavours to make himſelf Maſter of it. On ſuch occaſions, it is a Victory to yield to an Ambitious Competitor, who is of a Humour obſtinately to ſupport his Pretenſions. Don *John de Cerda*, Duke *de Medina Cæli*, being come to *Bruſſels* to ſucceed the Duke *d'Alva* in his Government of the Low-Countries, choſe rather to return into *Spain*, than to enter into a Conteſt with *Alva*, who refus'd to put theſe Provinces into his hands; under colour, that they had yet need of his Preſence, and that *Medina* was too gentle, to govern ſo rough a People, *Cabrera's Hiſtory*, *Lib.* 10. *Cap.* 2.

2. Perſons who have a Friendſhip with Poyſoners that are known to be ſuch, are eaſily believed to be Guilty, if they are once accus'd of Poyſoning. The Acquaintance of *la Voiſin* and the Lady *de Brinvilliers*, was unfortunate to ſeveral People, and many more would have felt the Rigour of Juſtice, if the King's Clemency had not removed the Ballance.

1. A Wife can't do any thing more worthy of conjugal Love, than to proſecute the Murtherers of her Husband.

2. Paſt Proſperity, draws greater compaſſion on the preſent Adverſity; Eſpecially, when they are Perſons who have behaved themſelves well in their good Fortune.

3. Accord-

many more ſtrokes of Fortune[1]. In the mean time, a Meſſenger overtakes *Piſo* at the Iſle of *Coos*, with the News of *Germanicus*'s Death, which he receiv'd with ſuch extravagant Joy, that he ran to the Temples and offer'd Sacrifices[2], and *Plancina*, who was yet more inſolent, left off the Mourning upon it ſhe was in for her Siſter, and put on a Gay Habit[3].

LXXVII. The Centurions coming to him, aſſured him, That the Legions were at his Devotion; and that therefore his beſt courſe was to return to the Province of *Syria*, which was now without a Governor; and whereof he was unjuſtly diſpoſſeſs'd. Whereupon conſulting what was beſt to be done, his Son *Marcus Piſo* was

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. According to the Proverb, which ſaith, That *He is a Fool that lets the Children live whoſe Father he hath kill'd*. *Agrippina* who looked on *Tiberius* as the Principal Author of her Husband's Death, had juſt cauſe to fear leſt he ſhould alſo deſtroy her Children. And as ſhe had ſix, *Tacitus*, who never ſaith any thing in vain, expreſſes by theſe three Words, *totius fortunæ obnoxia*; that ſhe foreſaw, that they would be ſo many Victims, which *Tiberius* would ſacrifice to his Jealouſie. And this Preſage was in part accompliſh'd by the Death of *Nero* and *Druſus* her two Eldeſt Sons.

4. He is very raſh, who expoſes himſelf to the Univerſal Hatred, by openly rejoycing at the Death of a Great Man, whom all the People lament. What did *Piſo* and *Plancina* mean, who did not conceal their Joy for a Death, which they were believed to be the Authors of, and which their Enemies already began to revenge? This ſhews, that Hatred is the moſt indiſcreet of all Paſſions.

1. It

HISTORICAL NOTES.

n *Ann* of *Boulen*, Second Wife to *Henry* VIII. King of *England*, did the ſame thing, when ſhe received the News of the Death of Queen *Catherine*, whoſe place ſhe had taken. *Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Part* 1. *Book* 3. The Duke of *Maienne* had the Inſolence to take the Green Scarff in token of Joy, the Day that he heard of the Death of *Henry* III.

was of Opinion, *That he ought to haſten to* Rome [o]; *That there was nothing done yet which might not be anſwer'd; That ſlight Suſpicions, and uncertain Reports, were not to be fear'd; That his Differences with* Germanicus [1] *deſerv'd perhaps a Reprimand, but not Puniſhment; eſpecially ſince he had given his Enemies the Satisfaction they deſir'd, by quitting* Syria: *But to return thither in oppoſition to* Sentius, *would be to begin a Civil War* [2], *wherein he could not rely much on the Fidelity of the Captains and the Soldiers, who had the Memory of their Beloved General* Germanicus, *freſh in their Minds* [3], *and an indeliable Affection for the* Cæſars.

LXXVIII. His great Confident, *Domitius Celer*, was of a contrary Opinion, and repreſented to *Piſo*, *That he ought to make uſe of the Occaſion; That* Piſo, *and not* Sentius, *was the Rightful Governor of* Syria; *That to him only, the Legions, and the Faſces, with the Authority of*

Politick Reflections.

1. It is eaſie to juſtifie ones ſelf to the Prince, for being at Variance with a Great Man, whom he hath always hated. When the Noblemen at Court fail'd in their reſpect to the Duke of *Alençon* (which happen'd every day) *Henry* III. more willingly heard their Excuſes than the Complaints of his Brother, to whom he had a Natural Averſion.

2. How good a Right ſoever a Man hath, he ought to beware of maintaining it, when Damage may enſue thence to the Prince, and Trouble to the State.

3. A Governor or a General of an Army, ought not to expect much Fidelity from an Army which hath been wholly devoted to his Predeceſſor, and which knows that he is accus'd of the Death of him whom they lament.

1. There

Historical Notes.

o We ſhall ſee in the following Book, that *Piſo* deeply reſented that he had not follow'd this Wiſe Counſel; *Utinam ego potius filio juveni, quam ille patri ſeni ceſſiſſet.*

p The

of Prætor had been committed. If any acts of Hostility should ensue, who could with greater Justice take Arms, than he who had received his Commission of Lieutenant-General, and his Orders, immediately from the Emperor? That time dissipates false Reports[1], *and that Innocence it self is oftentimes over-born by Envy in its first heat*[2], *but if he were at the head of an Army, and augmented his Forces*[3], *Chance might bring many things to pass which could not be foreseen*[4]. *But why are we in such haste to get to* Rome? *Is it that we may arrive there together with the Ashes of* Germanicus, *and the Lamentations of* Agrippina, *that you may be torn to pieces unheard and undefended, by the first fury of the giddy Multitude? 'Tis true,* Livia *is your Accomplice, and you are in favour with* Tiberius[5], *but they'l not dare to protect you openly, and none will mourn for* Germanicus *with greater Ostentation, than those who rejoyce most at his Death*[6].

LXXIX. *Piso,*

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. There is not a more Sovereign Remedy against Calumnies than Time, which sooner or later discovers the Truth. When any one is Calumniated to the Prince by Persons in Authority, it is safer for him to keep at a Distance, than to come to justifie himself before passionate and prepossess'd Judges.

2. Innocence is not a sufficient Guard against the People, when they have hated a Man a long time. The Voice of the People hath often oppressed Innocent Persons, without any other ground, but that of a Superstitious Opinion, which is rooted in the Minds of many, that the Voice of the People is the Voice of God. For one time that the People have spoken Truth, it will be found that they have a Hundred times maintain'd Injustice and Falshood.

3. It is a common saying, *That whosoever hath Strength, it commonly in the Right.*

4. There are occasions, where the Nature of Affairs allow not time for Deliberation, it is necessary to take a sudden Resolution, and to leave the rest to Fortune.

5. Princes take no great care to skreen the Ministers of their Cruelties from Justice, and the rather because, by abandoning them, they give occasion to have it believed, or at least doubted, that these are the true Authors thereof. Besides, they do not desire to see them again, whose presence can't but reproach their Injustice. It was for these Reasons, that *Philip* II. abandon'd his Secretary *Anthony Perez*, and suffer'd him to be try'd for the Murther of *John de Escovedo*.

6. Princes and Courtiers are more

LXXIX. *Piſo*, who was naturally inclin'd to violent Counſels, was, without any great Difficulty, gain'd to this Opinion [1]. Upon which he wrote Letters to *Tiberius*, wherein having accuſed *Germanicus* of Luxury and Pride, and of removing him from the Province, only that he might more ſecurely carry on his ill Deſigns; He declared, that he had reſumed the Command of the Army with the ſame Fidelity he before held it. At the ſame time he order'd *Domitius* to take Ship, and avoiding the Shores and Iſlands, to ſail into *Syria* through the Main Sea. He arms the Servants that follow'd the Camp, and forms into Companies the Deſerters that came in to him; and as he ſail'd with them to the Continent, he intercepted a Regiment of New rais'd Men that were going to *Syria*. He writes to the Petty-Princes of *Cilicia* to ſend him Succours, and his Son *Piſo* was wanting in nothing that was neceſſary for the War, although he had diſſuaded him from Undertaking it [2].

LXXX. *Piſo's*

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

dextrous in diſſembling their Joy, then even their Hatred. When any one is ſuſpected by them, or gives them Jealouſie, their Countenance often betrays their Thoughts; becauſe the Emotion of the Heart diffuſes it ſelf to the Eyes, which, according to *Polybius*, are the Interpreters of our Paſſions; but when they are deliver'd from their Enemies, it is not difficult for them outwardly to act that Part which Policy dictates. *Elizabeth*, Queen of *England*, after ſhe had caus'd the Queen of Scots to be beheaded, lamented her Death, as if ſhe had had no hand in it, and order'd magnificent Obſequies for her at *London*, and at *Peterborough*, where ſhe was buried beſide Queen *Katherine*, the firſt Wife of *Henry* VIII. *Poſſecki's Chronicle*, *ann.* 1588. Madam *de Nevers*, ſaith Queen *Margaret*, being come with us to the Lodgings of the Queen of *Navarre*, who in her life time had hated her above all people; and betwixt whom no reconciliation could be made, approach'd the Bed where the Body of the Deceas'd lay; and after many humble and great Reverences, taking her hand kiſs'd it. *Her Memoirs*, *Lib.* 1.

1. To ſound Men's Hearts, and to know their Nature to the Bottom, we need only obſerve what Counſels they are govern'd by.

2. There is nothing which a brave Man will not do, when his Father's Life and Honour are at ſtake: But his caſe is pitiable to the laſt Degree, who is under a Neceſſity to declare againſt

LXXX. *Piſo*'s Squadron meeting near the Coaſts of *Lycia* and *Pamphylia*, with that which was carrying *Agrippina* to *Rome*, the Enmity was ſo great, that both ſides at firſt prepar'd for a Fight; but being reſtrain'd by mutual Fears, they proceeded no farther than hard Words. *Marſus Vibius* ſummon'd *Piſo* to come to *Rome* to defend his Cauſe; who anſwer'd him ſcoffingly, *That he would appear there when the Prætor who took Cognizance of Poyſonings, ſhould appoint a Day both for the Defendant and the Plaintiffs*'. In the mean time, *Domitius*, who was come to *Laodicea*, a City of *Syria*, intending to go to the Winter-Quarters of the Sixth Legion, which he ſuppos'd to be moſt inclin'd to innovations, is prevented by *Pacuvius*, who had the Command of it. *Sentius* acquainted *Piſo* with this by Letter; and adviſes him to make no farther attempt to debauch the Army by his Emiſſaries, nor to raiſe a War in the Province; and drawing together all thoſe whom he knew to have an Affection for the Memory of *Germanicus*, or to be of an oppoſite Intereſt to his Enemies, he ſpeaks great things in praiſe of him; and by the way, often reminds them, that it was againſt the Common-wealth it ſelf that *Piſo* made War; and afterwards marches with a good Body that was ready for Battel.

LXXXI. Notwithſtanding, things had not ſucceeded according to *Piſo*'s expectation, he was not yet wanting to take the beſt Meaſures for his ſafety in his preſent Circumſtances, but poſſeſs'd himſelf of a ſtrong Fortreſs in *Cilicia*, named *Celendris*, and of the Auxiliaries which

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

againſt his Prince, or againſt his Father; to be a Rebel, or Barbarous; to renounce Country or Nature, and to chuſe of two Duties, which are both indiſpenſable.

1. No Man ought to rally with Juſtice, till he is ſtrong enough not to fall under its hands.

which the Petty-Princes of *Cilicia* had ſent him, and the New rais'd Soldiers which he had lately intercepted, with his own and *Plancina*'s Servants, and what Deſerters had come to him, formed into a Legion, all of them compleating the Number of one. To whom he made a Speech, declaring, That as he was the Emperor's Lieutenant in *Syria*, it was not the Legions which oppoſed his Entrance into the Province, (for it was upon their Invitation that he return'd) but *Sentius*, who under pretended Crimes cover'd his own Malice againſt him. That they might ſafely range themſelves in Battel againſt Soldiers who would not fight when they ſaw *Piſo*, whom they heretofore ſtiled their Father, and who, they knew, had the beſt Right, if it were to be decided by Law, and wanted not Courage, if by Arms. After which, he draws up his Troops in order of Battel before the Fort, on a Steep and Craggy Hill; the reſt being environ'd by the Sea. Oppoſite to them were ranged our *Veteran* Soldiers in good Order, with a Reſerv'd Body. One ſide had the advantage in Soldiers, and the other ſide in Ground; But *Piſo*'s Soldiers wanted Courage and Hope; nor had they any but Countrymen's Arms, which were made in haſte for the Preſent Occaſion. After once they were Engag'd, the Victory was no longer doubtful than whilſt the Romans were climbing up the Hill, which they no ſooner gain'd but the Cilicians fled, and ſhut themſelves up in the Fort.

LXXXII. In the mean while, *Piſo* attempted to ſurprize the Fleet which lay at Anchor not far off, but not ſucceeding, he returned; and as he ſtood on the Walls ſometimes lamenting his Fate, ſometimes calling to the Soldiers by Name, and promiſing them great Rewards, he endeavour'd to raiſe a Mutiny amongſt them, and did ſo far prevail, that the Standard Bearer of the Sixth Legion went over to him with his Eagle. Whereupon, *Sentius* immediately order'd the Signal to be given

given by Sound of the Trumpets and Cornets; the Works to be rais'd, the Ladders to be ſet, and the Stouteſt Men to make the Aſſault; whilſt others ply'd the Enemy with Darts, Stones, and Fire-works thrown from Engines. At length, *Piſo*'s obſtinacy being broken, he deſir'd, that upon laying down his Arms, he might be permitted to remain in the Caſtle, untill the Emperor was conſulted, Whom he would have to be Governor of *Syria*: But this was not granted, nor could he obtain any thing more than a Paſsport, and Ships to carry him to *Rome*.

LXXXIII. After the News of *Germanicus*'s ſickneſs was noiſed at *Rome*, and reported, as is uſual when bad News comes from far, worſe than it was, Grief, Anger, and Complaints, fill'd the City. It was for this, ſaid they, that he was ſent to the remoteſt Parts of the Empire, and *Piſo* made Governor of the Province of *Syria*. This is the Effect of *Livia*'s ſecret Conferences with *Plancina*[1]. It is true enough what was ſaid by Old men on *Druſus*'s account, that Emperors don't like a Modeſt

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Superior Miniſters, who command in very remote Provinces, ought not to ſtand ſtill, expecting freſh Orders, when they have preſſing Neceſſities to provide for; for beſides that theſe Orders would come too late, becauſe of the Diſtance of Places, they ought on theſe Occaſions to take a final Reſolution, and the rather becauſe they to whom the Prince hath been pleas'd to commit his Authority, ought to preſume that he hath likewiſe left to them the Conduct of all unſore-ſeen Affairs, which are not in their Inſtructions. If Cardinal *Jaſper Borgia*, had not haſted to take poſſeſſion of the Viceroyſhip of *Naples*, and even by dextrous Management, the Duke *d'Oſſone*, who would not leave it, on pretence that his preſence was neceſſary there, and that he expected another new Order from the Court of *Madrid*. *Philip* III. had run a great Riſque of loſing that Kingdom, or at leaſt of having an Inſurrection in it. *Conjuratio Oſſuniana*.

1. The Liberty of the Tongue, ſaith *Mariana*, puniſhes the Exceſſes and the Injuſtices of Princes, who cannot be Maſters of Tongues, as they are of Bodies. *Hiſtory of* Spain, *lib.* 16. *cap.* 16.

Modeſt and Courteous Diſpoſition in their Sons, for both Father and Son have been deſtroy'd for no other Reaſon but becauſe they deſign'd to reſtore to the People of *Rome* their Liberty. But the News of his Death incens'd them to that degree, that without waiting for the Edict of the Magiſtrates, or the Decree of the Senate, they deſerted the Courts of Juſtice, ſhut up their Houſes, and made a Vacation. In all Places there was either ſighing or ſilence, and nothing was affected or done for Oſtentation. And although they neglected not to mourn in their Habits, yet they mourned much more in their Hearts. It happen'd that ſome Merchants who came from *Syria* before *Germanicus* dy'd, brought with them news of his Recovery, which was eaſily believ'd, and quickly ſpread abroad: Every one through joy telling it with ſome addition to the next he met. They run up and down the City, force open the Doors of the Temples. The Night time made ſome ready to believe it, and others more poſitive to affirm it. *Tiberius* thought not fit to put a ſtop to this Falſe Report, but left the People to be undeceiv'd by time; and then, as if he had been a ſecond time taken from them, they lamented him more paſſionately than before[2].

LXXXIV. Divers honours were invented and decreed to his Memory[1], agreeable to the Genius of the Senators or their Affection to *Germanicus*. That his Name

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. As the People are Exceſſive in their Joy, ſo they are always in their Grief; and eſpecially, when they have been Tantaliz'd with a Falſe Joy. For, according to *Cicero*, Falſe Joy commonly ends in Deſolation and Deſpair. *Uſura falſi gaudii frui, deinde frangi repente, atque ita maerere, ut nulla res ad aequitatem animi poſtea poſſit excellere.* Epiſt. Lib. 6.

1. Nothing demonſtrates more how much a Prince hath been beloved, than the Extraordinary Honours which are done him after his Death.

1. The

Name ſhould be inſerted into the *Salian* Hymn, which was ſung by the Prieſts of *Mars*. That the *Curule* Chair ſhould be plac'd for him amongſt the Seats of the Prieſts of *Auguſtus*, with a Garland of Oak over it. That his Statue made in Ivory ſhould be carried the foremoſt in the *Circenſian* Games. That none ſhould be elected Prieſt or Augur in his Place, who was not of the Julian Family. At *Rome*, on the Banks of the *Rhine*, and on Mount *Amanus* in *Syria*, Triumphal Arches were erected to him with Inſcriptions, which made mention of his great actions, and that he died for the ſake of the Common-Wealth. A Monument was Erected to him at *Antioch* [p], where his Body was burnt; and a Tribunal at *Epidaphne* [q], where he died. But the Places where Statues were ſet up, or Altars dedicated to him, are almoſt innumerable. When it was decreed, that a Buckler of Maſſy Gold of an extraordinary ſize [r] ſhould be plac'd

HISTORICAL NOTES.

p The Romans erected Tombs to Great Men and Illuſtrious Perſons in all Places where they had done ſome memorable Action, although their Aſhes were not there, nor ever had been there. Theſe honorary Tombs were call'd *Cenotaphia*, that is to ſay, Empty Sepulchres. At *Venice*, thoſe of their Doges and their Generals, that are ſlain in the Service of the Republick, are moſt of them without Bodies. For the Doges order their Interment in thoſe Places, where their Anceſtors reſt; and afterwards their Children cauſe Mauſolæums and Statues to be erected in the moſt frequented Churches of the City, as thoſe of the Jacobins and Cordeliers are, to perpetuate the Memory of their Dogedom.

q The Suburbs of *Antioch*.

r In theſe Bucklers there was the Effigies of the Perſon in *Relievo*. And it was one of theſe Bucklers that *Hortalus* looked on. *Hortenſii inter Oratores ſitam imaginem intuens*, when he preſented his Children to the Senate. Theſe Bucklers were ordinarily of Braſs, and the Head of Silver. There is to be ſeen in the Town-Houſe of *Lyons*, a Silver Buckler of 22 Pounds weight, which ſeems to repreſent the Generous Action of *Scipio*, who ſent back a Beautiful Captive which he had taken; and it is the moſt curious piece of Silver that is to be ſeen. *Burnet's Voyage into Switzerland and Italy.*

s This

plac'd for him among the great Masters of Eloquence, *Tiberius* said, that he would dedicate one to him of the Ordinary size and make, for Eloquence was not to be distinguished by Fortune; and that it was a sufficient Honour for his Son to be rank'd amongst the ancient Authors. That which before was call'd the Regiment of *Juniors*, was by the Knights now named the Regiment of *Germanicus*, who also order'd, that on the 15th of *July* his Statue should be carried in the Head of their Regiment. Many of these Orders are yet observ'd, but some of them were soon neglected, and others are worn out by time.

LXXXV. But whilst this Grief was green, *Livia*, the Sister of *Germanicus* who was married to *Drusus*, had two Sons at a Birth, which being a Thing rare, and welcome to mean Families, was received with such joy by *Tiberius*, that according to his way of turning all things, even the most Casual to his Glory, he could not refrain from boasting to the Senate, that never a Roman of his quality, before him, had the good Fortune to have two Sons at a Birth[a]. But at this time it had a quite different Effect upon the People, who were concern'd at the Increase of *Drusus*'s Family; for fear it should depress *Germanicus*'s.

LXXXVI. The same Year the Senate made severe Decrees to repress the Lewdness of Women. It was decreed, that no Woman should prostitute her self for Money,

Historical Notes.

[a] This good Fortune happen'd to *Margaret* of *Austria*, natural Daughter of *Charles* V. Wife to *Octavius Farnese* Duke of *Parma*, Grandson of Pope *Paul* III. and there is a Monument at *Rome*, which preserves the Memory of it, as a Fortunate Thing that seldom happens to a Sovereign Family. *Relicto lapideo ad posteros monimento raræ utique fortunæ in regnatrice domo*, Strada, Lib. 9. dec. 1.

[c] This

Money[s], whose Grandfather, Father, or Husband, was a Roman Knight, because *Vistilia* a Lady of a Prætorian Family, had declared to the *Ædiles*, that she would prostitute her self according to a Custom establish'd amongst our Ancestors, who thought it a sufficient Punishment for Unchast Women[t], to make this publick Profession of their Infamy. *Titidius Labeo*, being question'd why he had omitted to punish his Wife according to Law[u], seeing she was notoriously criminal; and he pretending, that the Sixty days allowed by the Law to consult, were not yet expired, they thought it sufficient to proceed against *Vistilia*, and banish'd her into the Island *Seriphos*[x]. The Senate took into consideration the Extirpation of the Egyptian and Jewish Religion out of *Rome*, and a Decree pass'd, that 4000 Persons infected with that Superstition, who were of the Race of Freedmen, and of an Age fit for Service should be sent into the Island of *Sardinia*, to suppress the Robberies there, as being

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. The Debauchery of Women of Quality, is of so much more dangerous contagion, as it serves for Example to all others. *Tanto conspectius in se crimen habet, quanto major qui peccat habetur*, saith *Juvenal*. Had *Tiberius* suffer'd *Vistilia*, to have led the Infamous Life, which she had resolved on, all Wives who had been discontented with their Husbands, would have taken off the Mask, to revenge themselves by dishonouring them. How many Women in *Paris* do glory in living in Debauchery; some with Great Men, others with Magistrates, and most with Abbots; (a Condition now-a-days consecrated to Gallantry) They are ashamed to have a Husband that has no Coach; and Pride themselves in having a Gallant with a fine Equipage, at the Expence of their Honour.

2. New

HISTORICAL NOTES.

s This Custom is observed at *Venice*.

u The Law, *Julia*.

x One of the *Cicclades*.

y The

being People whose loss would be inconsiderable, if they should perish by the Unwholsomeness of the Air, and that the rest should leave *Italy*, if they did not by such a Day renounce their Prophane Rites[2].

LXXXVII. After which *Tiberius* propos'd the Election of a Virgin to succeed *Occia*, who for the space of fifty seven Years had presided over the Vestals, with great Integrity. He thank'd *Fonteius Agrippa* and *Domitius Pollio*, because that by offering their Daughters, they vied with one another in their Zeal for the Common-Wealth. *Pollio*'s Daughter was preferr'd, for no other reason, but because her Mother had always lived with her first Husband, whereas *Agrippa* had lessen'd the Reputation of his Family by a Divorce[1]; However, *Tiberius* to comfort her that lost it, gave her five thousand Pounds for her Dowry.

LXXXVIII. The People complaining of the Dearth of Corn, he set a Price for the Buyer to pay; and promis'd

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. New or Foreign Sects and Ceremonies, do by degrees ruine the Religion of the Country; and consequently it nearly concerns Princes not to Tolerate them in their Dominions. They who introduce a New Worship, said *Mecenas* to *Augustus*, open a Gap to New Laws, whence at last arise Cabals, Factions, and Conspiracies. *Dio. Lib.* 52.

1. If a Heathen Prince so strictly examined, not only the Personal Qualifications of those who possessed Offices of Religion, but also the Conduct and Morals of their Parents; with much more reason ought Christian Princes carefully to inform themselves of the Birth of those who sue to them for Bishopricks and Abbeys. I say of the Birth, for it is a shame to see Bastards and adulterous Slips install'd in Ecclesiastical Dignities. Cardinal *Charles Borromeo*, saith *Ammirato*, had great reason to be astonish'd, that Christians left Pagans the glory of Excelling them in Moral Virtues. *Lib.* 11. *Disc.* 2.

1. In

mis'd that he would add two *Nummi* [y] a Buſhel [z] to the Seller. And yet for all this, he would not aſſume the Title of the Father of the Country, which was now again offer'd him [a]; and he gave a ſharp Reprimand to thoſe who ſtil'd him Lord, and his Employments Divine [b]. So that there was but little left to be ſaid, and that ſcarce with ſafety, under a Prince who hated Flattery, and feared Liberty.

LXXXIX. I find in the ancient Writers of thoſe times, That Letters from *Adgandeſtrius* a Prince of the *Chatti*, were read in the Senate, wherein he engaged to put *Arminius* to death, if they would ſend him Poiſon for

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. In a Famine a Prince may buy the People's Liberty at a Cheap rate; for in ſuch a time the People are beſt diſpoſed to ſell it. People accuſtom themſelves to Slavery, but never to Hunger. The Iſraelites being in the Wilderneſs, murmur'd againſt *Moſes*, for having brought them out of *Ægypt*, where they had Bread and Meat in abundance, to make them die of Hunger in the Wilderneſs. *It had been better for us*, ſaid they, *to have ſerved the Ægyptians, than to die in the Wilderneſs*, Exod. 14. *Would to God we had died by the hand of the Lord in the Land of Ægypt, when we ſat by the fleſh-pots, and when we did eat bread to the full*, Exod. 16.

2. The Name of Father of the Country, is a Title, which a Prince, who either is ſo, or deſires to be ſo, ought never to refuſe. To accept the Title, is to impoſe an Obligation upon himſelf to deſerve it. Therefore, *Tiberius* would not promiſe that, which he knew he never intended to be. So that his refuſal was rather the Effect of his Evil Diſpoſition, than of his Modeſty. The younger *Pliny* ſaith, that *Trajan*, (who was a very Modeſt Prince) wept for Joy, every time that he heard himſelf call'd *Optimus*.

3. Princes are Mortal; and although they are God's Vicegerents here on Earth, yet the Functions they Execute are Humane.

1. Princes

HISTORICAL NOTES.

y A Roman *Nummus* is about Seven Pence half-penny of our Money.

z Tacitus

for that purpose[1]; who was answer'd, That the Romans did revenge themselves on their Enemies, not Clandestinely and by Treachery, but Openly and in Arms; whereby *Tiberius* equall'd himself to the Glory of the old Roman Generals, who prevented the Design of Poysoning King *Pyrrhus*, and discover'd it to him. At last, after the Romans were retired, and *Maroboduus* was expell'd, *Arminius* aspiring to Monarchy, made his own Countrymen his Enemies, who taking up Arms against him in defence of their Liberties[2], after variety of Fortune, he fell at last by the Treachery of his own Kindred. He was the undoubted Deliverer of *Germany*; and which adds to his glory, he did not attack the Romans in their Infancy, as other Kings and Captains had done, but in the most flourishing State of their Empire. His Fortune was various in the Battels which he fought; but he was not conquer'd in the War. He lived 37 years, and commanded 12; and his Memory is still famous amongst those barbarous Nations, who celebrate his great actions in their Songs[3], although he is not known in the Annals of the Greeks, who admire nothing

Politick Reflections.

1. Princes who make use of Poison against other Princes, teach them to Employ it against themselves. The safety of Princes consists in a mutual Good Faith betwixt one another. *Charles* V. answer'd *Barbarossa*'s Baker, who offer'd to Poison his Master, and thereby to make him enter *Tunis* without any difficulty, That he would not honour a Moor so far, as to use so much ceremony with him. After which, he sent notice to *Barbarossa* to fortifie himself against Poyson, but without naming the Baker to him. *Epitome of Don Antonio de Vera.*

2. There was never any one, saith *Tacitus*, design'd to Rule, who did not make use of the pretence of Liberty. *Hist.* 4.

3. The

Historical Notes.

3. *Tacitus* saith, That the ancient Germans had no other Annals but their Verses and their Songs. *In his Germany.*

nothing but what is done amongſt themſelves; nor ſo renown'd as he deſerves amongſt us, who whilſt we extoll things done long ſince, are apt to neglect late Examples [3].

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. The Mind of Man is ſo humourſome, that by much admiring paſt times, it comes to have a Diſguſt and Jealouſie of the Preſent. The Paſt inſtructs us, but the Preſent ſhocks us, becauſe it ſeems to Eclipſe our Glory. *Patru.*

THE

THE ANNALS OF *Cornelius Tacitus*, From the Death of Augustus.

Book III. Vol. I.

By *WILLIAM BROMLEY* Esq;

1. AGRIPPINA continuing her Voyage, notwithstanding the Severities of the Winter, and Storms at Sea, arrived at last at *Corfu*, an Island opposite to the Ports of *Calabria*. She staid there a few days to quiet her Mind, divided betwixt Grief and Impatience. Upon the News of her coming, *Germanicus*'s Friends, and the Soldiers that had served under him, and many Strangers also, some out of Duty, and others following either for Company or Curiosity, flocked from the Neighbouring Places to

Brindiſi [a], where ſhe was expected as the neareſt and ſafeſt Port. As ſoon as the Ships were diſcerned at Sea, not only the Haven and Shores, but the Walls, Houſes, and other Places, as far as could be ſeen, were filled with Mourners, enquiring often, whether they ſhould receive her with Silence, or Acclamation. Neither were they determined which was propereſt, when the Fleet came in, not rowing briskly as they uſed to do, but ſlowly, and with Sorrow in their Countenances. When ſhe came with her two Children on Shore, carrying her Husbands Urn, and her Eyes fixt on the Ground, there was an univerſal Lamentation, ſo that you could not diſtinguiſh the Grief of Relations from Strangers, nor the Mens from the Womens, only theirs who met *Agrippina* being freſh, exceeded thoſe came with her, which a long Affliction had ſpent.

II. *Tiberius* ſent two Companies of his Guards to meet them, ordering the Magiſtrates of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Campania*, to pay their laſt Reſpects to the Memory of his Son. The Tribunes and Centurions therefore carried the Aſhes, the Banners were rolled up, and with the reverſed Faſces went before. In all the Colonies as they paſſed, the People in Mourning, and the Nobles in their Purple Habits, according to the Wealth of the Place, burnt Perfumes, and other things that add to Funeral Solemnities. Thoſe that lived out of the Road, met them in great numbers, and ſhewed their Grief [1], not only by their

Politick Reflections.

1. However magnificent and extraordinary the Funerals of a Prince are, nothing does more Honour to his Memory, than the Grief of the People that lament the loſs of him. The Hiſtory of *Portugal*, ſays, That upon the Death of *John* II. all the Kingdom went into Mourning, and at *Lisbon* the Barbers were forbid Shaving any Perſon for 6 Months, which was never done for any King before. *Dialogo quarto Varia Hiſtoria*, c. 11.

Historical Notes.

a Or, *Brundusium*, an Archiepiſcopal City in the Kingdom of *Naples*, which has a ſtrong Caſtle and ſafe Harbour, and lies upon the *Adriatick* Sea.

b *Cabrera*

their Lamentations and Confused Cries, but by their Sacrifices to the Infernal Gods. *Drusus* went to *Terracina*, with *Germanicus* his Children that were at *Rome*; and *Claudius* his Brother.

The Year of the City 773.

The Consuls, *M. Valerius* and *M. Aurelius*, (who then entred on their Office) with a great number of the People, filled the way without observing any order [2], every one bewailing the loss of *Germanicus* as he saw good; for there was no Flattery in this Mourning, and all knew *Tiberius* rejoyced at *Germanicus*'s Death, tho' he pretended to be troubled for it.

III. *Tiberius* and his Mother forbore appearing in publick, believing it a lessening to Majesty to grieve publickly [3], or perhaps fearing lest the People by their Looks should discover their Dissimulation [b]. I find not in any Registers of the City, or our Histories, that *Antonia* had any

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. At the Funerals of Princes it is an infallible sign of great Affliction, when the great Men and Magistrates decline those Honours that are due to their Rank. Now the Masters of Ceremonies have more to do to regulate the Claims of Officers, and to adjust the Disputes among Great Men, than in all the other Parts of their Office: So that Princes Funerals are oftner memorable for the Disorders that happen at them, than for the Universal Affliction.

3. The Laws of Nature are the same to Princes as the rest of Mankind. Grief for their Children and Princes of their Blood is not unbecoming them, provided it does not degenerate into Weakness, nor Excess. *Henry* III. of *France*, in my Opinion, little regarded his Dignity when he assisted at the Interrment of Cardinal *Birague*, in the Habit of a Penitent; and it looks as if he had forgot he was a King, when he kissed the Bodies of *Quelus* and *Maugiron* his Favourites. *Journal de son Regne*, 1578.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

b Cabrera, speaking of the Funerals of Don *Carlos*, says, That Cardinal *Espinosa* attended the Body only to the Church Door, because he would not be at the Ceremony of the Service, pretending himself indisposed; tho' he might with more Truth have said it was because his being there would have displeased the King, who was not sorry for his Death. *The 5th Chapter in the 7th Book of his History.*

any particular ſhare in this Solemnity, tho' *Agrippina*, *Druſus* and *Claudius* are named with other Relations. It may be ſhe was prevented by Sickneſs, or ſo overcome with Affliction, ſhe had not the Courage to ſee the Funerals of her Son [4]; tho' I ſhould rather believe ſhe was kept at home by *Tiberius* and *Livia*, that they might ſeem all equally afflicted, and to have it believed the Grandmother and Uncle kept in upon the Mothers Example [5].

IV. The day the Aſhes were laid in *Auguſtus*'s Tomb, there was ſometimes a profound Silence, and at others, great Lamentation, the Streets full of People, and the *Campus Martius* of lighted Torches. The Soldiers in Arms, the Magiſtrates without their Habits, the People ranked by their Tribes, cryed out, All was loſt beyond Recovery, and in this they were ſo bold you would have thought they had forgot their Governors [c]. But nothing went nearer *Tiberius*, than the great Affection of

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

4. Of all the Duties of Nature, there is not any a good Mother is leſs obliged to obſerve, than that of aſſiſting at her Son's Funerals. Upon ſuch an Occaſion ſhe is too much afflicted to behold what will only encreaſe her Sorrow, or to endeavour appearing unconcern'd, when it will bring her natural affection in queſtion.

5. A Prince that is not afflicted, but rather rejoices at the Death of one whom the People regret, acts more wiſely in not appearing at his Funerals, for fear it be diſcover'd that his Sorrow is only feigned, or that he is diſpleaſed at the Honour paid to the Memory of one he always Hated.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

c In the 18th chapter of 1 *Kings*, 'tis ſaid, *Saul* began to hate *David* mortally after the Women of *Iſrael* ſang and played before him for his overcoming *Goliah*, and their uſing theſe Words, *Saul hath killed his Thouſands, but David his Ten Thouſands*: Why have they, ſaid he, aſcribed unto *David* Ten Thouſand, and to me that am their King only a Thouſand; and what can he have more ſave the Kingdom? This Song was rather a Satyr againſt *Saul* than any thing elſe. What Mortification was it to *Henry* III. to underſtand, that the Preachers at *Paris* Preached as if they had no King, but that it was through the Courage and Conſtancy of the Duke of *Guiſe*, the Ark fell not into the Hands of the *Philiſtines*, and that Hereſie Triumphed not over Religion. *Journal du Regne d'Henry III.* 1587.

4 The

of the People for *Agrippina*, whom they called, The Glory of their Country [c], the only Blood of *Augustus*, and the last Remains of ancient Probity; and prayed the Gods her Children might survive their Enemies.

V. Some thought these Funerals not pompous enough, and compared them with those *Augustus* made for *Drusus*, *Germanicus*'s Father: 'For he went in the middle of 'Winter to *Pavia*, and attended the Body to *Rome*, up-'on the Herse were the Images of the *Claudii* and *Livii* [d]. 'His Funeral-Oration was spoke in the Place of Publick 'Assemblies; he was praised in the *Rostra* [e], and all 'Honours done him that either our Ancestors or latter 'times have invented: But *Germanicus* wanted those 'that are due to every noble Roman. It signified little, 'said they, that his Body was burnt without Ceremony 'in a Foreign Country, considering the Difficulty of 'bring-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

6. Those Commendations the People give to one of Royal Birth, whose Merit or Power create a Jealousie in the Prince, always cost him dear, for they not only lose him his Prince's Favour, but make the Prince strive to get rid of one to whom the People give the Preference. Witness *David*, who would kill *Uriah* because the Women of *Israel* were so indiscreet as to compare them. The Acclamations of the *Parisians*, in Favour of the Duke of *Guise*, that Day he received the Blessed Sword *Sixtus Quintus* had sent him by a Bishop, raised the Jealousie and Suspicion of *Henry* III. against him: And not without Cause, for the Ceremony was performed with as much Preparation and Pomp as a King's Coronation. (1587.) Besides, *Tiberius*, whose Maxim it was, To moderate the Honours done to Women, and even those to his Mother, who had given him the Empire, could not forbear being much displeased with *Agrippina*, whom the People so much adored.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

[c] The Latin, says *Juliorum*, but that is a transposing the Letters of *Liviorum*, For at publick Funerals they carried only the Images of their Ancestors. The *Julii* were not related to *Drusus*, but the *Livii* were by his Mother. And it appears not that the Images of the *Livii* were omitted in that Ceremony.

[d] *Rostra*, a goodly fair Edifice, in which was an Orator's Pulpit, deck'd and beautify'd with the Beaks of many Ships which the *Romans* took from the People of *Antium*, in a memorable Sea-fight, and from thence in Latin *Rostra*, hath this Place taken its Name.

'bringing it ſo far home, but he ſhould have had the 'greater Honours afterwards in lieu of thoſe this Acci- 'dent deprived him. His Brother went but one Day's 'Journy to meet the Body, and his Uncle only to the 'Gates. What is become of the Ancient Cuſtoms? Why 'was not his Effigies [f] carried, and Verſes ſung in Ho- 'nour of his Memory? Why was he not praiſed and la- 'mented with the uſual Ceremonies of Mourning [1]?

VI. Theſe Diſcourſes were carried to *Tiberius*, and to put a ſtop to them, he declares, by an Edict, 'That 'many Illuſtrious Perſons had died in the Service of the 'Commonwealth, but none had been ſo paſſionately re- 'gretted. This was commendable both in him and them, 'if a Mean was obſerved: That the ſame things were 'not becoming Princes and private Men [2], for a People 'that

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. If Princes are not really concerned for the Death of thoſe that have done important Service to the Publick, they ought at leaſt to ſeem ſo. And that *Tacitus* means by theſe Words, *Doloris imitamenta*. When the Duke *d' Alva* died at *Lisbon*, the Portugueſe thought it ſtrange, that their new King, *Phillip* II. ſhould appear the next day in publick, contrary to the Cuſtom of their Kings, who upon the Death of their Miniſters, and others of inferiour Rank that had faithfully ſerved the Crown, kept up ſome days. And to make an odious Compariſon, ſome remembred, that *Emanuel*, his Mother's Brother, lockt up himſelf for three days, upon the Death of a famous Pilot. *Livre 9. de Hiſtoire de l'Union du Portugal à la Caſtille.*

2. It is no wonder the Judgments of the People are for the moſt part contrary to thoſe of their Princes: For the People not being able to diſcern right, would have the Prince eſpouſe their Paſſions, and accommodate himſelf to their Humour; and he, on the contrary, would have them leave the Government to him without judging what they underſtand not. The People are not capable of knowing what is fitting or not fitting for the Prince, when a weak Prince generally knows what is agreeable to, or unbecoming his Dignity.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

f The word Effigies ought not to be uſed here, (ſays *Fremont de Ablancourt*) becauſe it is not ſpoken here of any thing ſet up, and that word cannot properly be uſed but on ſuch an occaſion. Nevertheleſs his Uncle uſes this very word in his Tranſlation. The late Monſieur *Ogier* has the ſame word in his Funeral-Oration upon *Lewis* XIII. when he ſpeaks of the Monuments of the Kings at St. *Denis*.

g The

'that Command the World, and thoſe that Govern 'Petty Commonwealths: That the Seaſon for Sorrow, 'is, when Grief is freſh, but after three Months 'twas 'reaſonable to lay it aſide, as *Caeſar* did upon the Death 'of his only Daughter, and *Auguſtus* after he had loſt 'his Children [3]: That it was not neceſſary to give an-'cienter Inſtances, how the People had bore with Con-'ſtancy the Defeat of their Armies [g]; the Death of 'their Generals [h], and the entire Extinction of many 'noble Families [i]: That Princes are Mortal, but the 'Commonwealth Eternal [4]; that they ſhould therefore 'return to their ordinary Employments, and enjoy them-'ſelves at the *Megalenſian Games* [k], that were at hand [5].

VII. The

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. When the Prince would juſtifie an Action, which he knows the People do, or may interpret amiſs, he cannot do it better than by the Example of his immediate Predeceſſors; for the later the Example is, it makes the greater Impreſſion on thoſe to whom it is brought.

4. Kingdoms, ſays *Ant. Perez*, are in reſpect of Kings, the ſame as Species are to their Individuals: The Philoſophers ſay, the Species are Eternal, becauſe naturally they never end, though Individuals periſh, like Accidents. Kings make not Kingdoms, but Kingdoms make Kings. *Dans ſes ſecondes Lettres.*

5. Whatever Diſcontents the People are under, propoſe to them Plays and Shews, and they ſoon forget the Cauſes of them. 'Tis a more eaſie Tranſition from Sorrow to Joy, than from Joy to Sorrow. A Carouſal or Maſcarade ſometimes will reduce them to their Duty. They are amuſed by ſuch ſort of Diverſions, as Children are quieted, when they cry, by Babies.

HISORICAL NOTES.

g The loſs of the Battels of *Cremera* and *Allia*, both fought on the 17th of *July*, in different Years, and four others, that of *Ticinum*, *Trebia*, *Lago di Perugia*, and *Canna*, where ſo many Roman Knights were killed, that *Hannibal* ſent to *Carthage* two Buſhels full of Rings, an Account of the number of the Slain by that of their Rings.

h Of the *Scipio's* in *Spain*, and ſo many others.

i All the *Fabii*, who were 306 near Relations, periſhed in one Ambuſcade the Tuſcans had laid for them near the River *Cremera*; but by good Fortune there was one ſtaid at home becauſe of his being very young, who reſtored the Family.

k Games inſtituted in Honour of the great Goddeſs, called by the *Romans*, *Magna Mater*. Her Statue was brought in great Pomp from *Peſſinum* in *Greece* to *Rome*: Theſe Games conſiſted only in Scenical Sports, and were a ſolemn time of Invitation to Entertainments among Friends. They were always celebrated in *April*.

VII. The Vacation being ended, every Man returned to his Buſineſs, and *Druſus* went to the Army in *Illyricum*, leaving all under great Expectation to ſee *Germanicus*'s Death revenged upon *Piſo*. They often complained he marched over the pleaſant Countries of *Aſia* and *Greece*, to avoid by his Contumacy and Delays, the Conviction of his Crimes. For it was commonly reported, That the infamous Poiſoner, *Martina*, ſent by *Cneius Sentius* to *Rome*, died ſuddenly at *Brindiſi*, that Poiſon was found in her Hair, yet no ſign thereof appear'd upon her Body [1].

VIII. But *Piſo*, after he had ſent his Son to *Rome*, with Inſtructions how to apply to *Tiberius* for his Favour, went to ſeek *Druſus*, from whom he expected more Countenance for removing his Rival, than Diſpleaſure for taking off his Brother [2]. *Tiberius*, to ſhew he was not prejudiced againſt *Piſo*, received his Son honourably, and made him ſuch Preſents as were uſual to young Gentlemen of his Quality. *Druſus* told *Piſo*, If thoſe things were true that were reported, he ſhould be much troubled [3], but that he wiſhed they might appear falſe, and the

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. The moſt dangerous of all Poiſons, is that operates without leaving any viſible ſign thereof. It was impoſſible to prove *Germanicus* was poiſoned. All the Proof was only from the Correſpondence of *Plancina* with *Martina*. The Journal of the Reign of *Henry* III. of *France*, mentions a Servant of the Duke of *Alenſon*, called *Blondel*, accuſed of Poiſoning his Maſter, and was ſeveral times put upon the Rack, tho' there was no other Evidence againſt him, than Suſpicion, becauſe he had been a Servant to Cardinal *Biragne*, who, according to the Teſtimonly of Admiral *Caligni*, told *Charles* IX. and *Henry* III. They would never have an end of their Enemies, but by the help of their Cooks.

2. Princes are very well pleaſed to find Perſons that will clear the Way for them to the Throne: but when ſuch Services are done by Poiſoning or Murder, if they be wiſe, they will be cautious how they ſhew any Acknowledgement for them, when they have no ſhare in the Crime. In theſe matters, to be Grateful is to be an Accomplice, and to be Ungrateful is a ſign of Prudence and Equity.

3. It much concerns Princes to revenge the Death of their Predeceſſors that are Murthered or Poiſoned, for there is no other way to aſſure their own Lives, than by taking care there be no Example of Impunity for a Prince's Death. If the Succeſſor puniſh it not, that tells the People, a Conſpiracy may be ſometimes juſt and reaſonable. An Opinion Princes ought to be careful to prevent. Under *Claudius*, *Gbereas* and *Lupus*, who killed

the Death of *Germanicus* fatal to none 4. He ſpoke this publickly, declining private Converſation with him, which none doubted to be by *Tiberius*'s Order, becauſe *Druſus* was of himſelf too eaſie and unwary to have practiſed ſo much Art and Cunning above his Years. 5.

IX. *Piſo*

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

killed *Caligula*, ſuffered, tho' this Murther mounted him into the Throne. *Domitian* likewiſe puniſhed *Epaphroditus* for having only aſſiſted *Nero* to kill himſelf, tho' he was proſcribed by a Decree of the Senate. *Nerva*, on the contrary, expoſed himſelf to the Fury of the Soldiers, becauſe he would not deliver up the Murtherers of *Domitian*: From which Danger, nothing ſaved him, but his adopting *Trajan*. Yet it has been at all times an inviolable Maxim among Princes, Never to pardon thoſe that have killed their Predeceſſors, nor thoſe that have Murthered any Foreign Prince. Tho' *Albert* Duke of *Auſtria*, was choſen King of the *Romans*, in the Life of the Emperor *Adolph* of *Naſſau*; and after the Death of *Adolph*, whom he killed in a Duel, when he would have had his Election confirmed, or rather a new Election made; ſome of the Electors, and many of the Princes of the Empire, made a Complaint againſt him to the Elector *Palatin*, whereby they would ſet aſide this ſecond Election, as a Man that having killed his Predeceſſor, was incapable and unworthy to ſucceed him. *Oxenſtiern de Ratione Status*, c. 5. part. 1.

4. It always becomes a Prince to ſpeak graciouſly to thoſe that are accuſed, and juſtifie themſelves, tho' he knows they are guilty; for fear, if he behave himſelf otherwiſe, his Paſſion or particular Hatred be lookt upon as the Cauſe of their Condemnation.

5. A Prince that gives himſelf the Trouble to Inſtruct his Son, ſoon makes him an able Man: For the Schollar is the more Docile, becauſe of the Reſpect he bears to the Authority of his Maſter; and the Maſter more Careful becauſe of the Intereſt he has in the Eduation of his Scholar. *Paterculus* aſcribes all the Abilities of *Tiberius* to the Divine Precepts of *Auguſtus*. *Inmutritus Cæleſtium præceptorum diſciplinis*, Hiſt. 2. *Cabrera* ſays, That *Charles* V. when he returned to *Spain* after his Abdication, had thoughts himſelf of Educating of Don *Carlos*, the Prince of *Spain*, who neither regarded his Governors nor Tutors, but his want of Health prevented. It may be too, he changed his Mind becauſe he would not teach him Maxims of Policy, which are dangerous for an ill Temper, ſuch as Don *Carlos*, to learn. *Diego de Mendoſa*, ſays, That it is the Cuſtom for the Princes of *Leon*, to take their Children with them to the Wars, and to be their Maſters in all parts of their Education. [The *Ponces*, formerly Dukes of *Cadiz*, now Dukes of *Arcos*, are Hereditary Grandees, and that Honour is always in their Family, as the *Guzmans*, Dukes of *Medina-Sidonia*, their Rivals: Theſe two Houſes are diſtinguiſhed from other Grandees originally, becauſe of the twelve Families that enjoy this Honour, there is yet only the *Guzmans* and *Ponces* that the King of *Spain* hath named and acknowledged ſuch.] *Ch.* 9. & 14. *du liv.* 4. *de la Guerre de Grenade.*

6. When

IX. *Piſo* having ſailed over the *Adriatick* Sea, and left the Ships at *Acona*, came by *Piſenum* [l], and ſo by the *Via Flamina* [m], to joyn the Legion that returned from *Panonia* to *Rome*, to go into Gariſon in *Africa*. But becauſe it was reported, he intended to Corrupt the Soldiers, by converſing much among them [6]; as ſoon as he arrived at *Narni* [n], he embarked upon the River *Nare* to avoid Suſpicion, or becauſe thoſe that are timorous are always uncertain. But he incenſed the People by his landing in their ſight, at the Burying-place of the *Cæſars*, with *Plancina*; both were pleaſant and cheerful, he attended with a Multitude of Followers, and ſhe with a great Train of Women. Their Houſe, which ſtood very publickly, was adorned with Lawrels, and Garlands, there was a Feſtival, and great Rejoycings, and all ſo publick, as to raiſe them more Envy [7] and Ill-will.

X. The

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

6. When a great Man is ſuſpected by his Prince, or actually accuſed of any Crime againſt the State, he cannot be guilty of a greater Imprudence than to Converſe with the Soldiers, eſpecially if he had any Credit before among them. So *Piſo*, that was called, *The Father of the Legions*, after he was accuſed by the Senator *Sentius*, for endeavouring to raiſe a Civil-war in the Province, encreaſed the Suſpicion of that Crime, by converſing familiarly with the Legion that returned to *Rome*.

7. Pomp, Ceremony, Feſtivals and Rejoycings, are accounted ſo many new Crimes in one accuſed of Deſigns againſt the State; for it is indeed to brave a Prince and the Laws, in ſhewing he fears them not. *Tiberius* rejoyced at *Germanicus*'s Death, but that troubled him. *Piſo* ſhould have forbore entring with ſo much Splendour, and making thoſe Shews at his Houſe, which ſerved only to raiſe a publick Diſpleaſure, by the Compariſon was made betwixt his Rejoycings, and the Silence, Sorrow and Mourning at *Agrippina*'s. *Cabrera* ſays, The Magnificence *Antho-ny Perez* lived in, while the Wife and Children of the Secretary *Juan Eſcovedo*, whom he had cauſed to be Aſſaſſinated, proſecuted his Death, ſo provok'd the People, that *Philip* II. was at laſt forced to give him over to Juſtice, which treated him with great Rigour.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

l Now *la Marca d' Ancona*.

m That is one of the great Ways to *Rome*, made by *Flaminius* the Conſul.

n A City of *Umbria*.

[6] They

X. The next day *Fulcinus Trio* accuſed *Piſo* before the Conſuls but; *Veranius Vitellus*, and others, that had been with *Germanicus*, inſiſted, That it belong'd to them, and not to *Trio*, and that inſtead of being Accuſers, they would only report, as Witneſſes, the laſt Declaration of the Deceaſed. *Trio* waved that part, and contented himſelf with the Liberty to enquire into the Life of *Germanicus*. The Emperor deſired Cognizance of this himſelf, and *Piſo* freely conſented for fear of falling into the hands of the People or Senate, both too much enclined to *Germanicus*'s Family; and knowing alſo *Tiberius* valued not Reports, and that his Mother had agreed with him the Orders ſhe ſent *Plancina*. Beſides, Truth is more eaſily diſcerned by a ſingle Judge, than an Aſſembly [1] where Hatred and Envy are too prevalent. *Tiberius* was not ignorant of the Conſequence of this Affair, nor the Reflections he lay under. After hearing therefore before ſome of his Confidents, the Complaints of the Accuſers, and *Piſo*'s Anſwer, he ſent all back to the Senate.

XI. In the mean time, *Druſus* returning from *Sclavonia*, came privately to *Rome*, deferring till another time the Triumph the City decreed him for the taking *Maroboduus*, and his great Actions the Summer before. Afterwards *Piſo* deſiring *T. Arruntius*, *Fulcinius*, *Aſinius Gallus*, *Eſerninus Marcellus*, and *Sextus Pompeius* for his Advocates, and they excuſing themſelves [2] on divers Pretences, *M. Lepidus*, *Lucius Piſo*, and *Liveneius Regulus* were appointed him. All the City expected with great Impatience to ſee

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. The diverſity of Humours and Intereſts among thoſe, compoſe an Aſſembly, opens the way to all Paſſion, and then it is impoſſible to diſcern Truth from Falſhood, which has always Prejudice for its Advocate.

2. A Criminal, when the People ſeek for his Death with Threats that they will cut him in pieces, tho' he ſhould be acquitted by his Judges, would find it difficult getting Advocates to make his Defence. Means are often found to eſcape the Wrath of a Prince, but very ſeldom that of the People.

3. When

ſee the Fidelity of *Germanicus*'s Friends [o], the Courage of the Criminal, and whether *Tiberius* would diſcover or conceal his Sentiments. For the People never ſhewed greater Suſpicion, nor took more Liberty to Cenſure their Prince.

XII. The Day the Senate met, *Tiberius* made a ſet Speech, and ſaid, 'That *Piſo* had been *Auguſtus*'s Friend 'and Lieutenant, and that by Authority of the Senate 'he was ſent with *Germanicus* to govern the Eaſt. They 'were impartially to judge, whether he had provoked 'the young Prince by his Diſobedience and Diſputes, if 'he rejoyced at his Death, or was the Cauſe of it. For, 'ſays he, if he exceeded what was committed to him, 'when Lieutenant, diſobeyed his General, rejoyced at his 'Death, and my Affliction, I will baniſh him my Houſe, 'and be revenged of him as a Father, not a Prince [1]. 'Nay, if he hath been guilty of any Crime, that de'ſerves Puniſhment, even the Death of any private Man, 'give your ſelves, the Children of *Germanicus*, and us 'their Parent juſt Satisfaction. And eſpecially forget not 'to enquire if he hath corrupted the Military Diſcipline, 'if

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. When a Prince has choſe a Governor, or other Officer, whoſe Adminiſtration is blamed, he commonly divides it with his Council. So *Tiberius* here would have it believed, that the reaſon why he ſent *Piſo* Governour into *Syria*, was in Conformity to *Auguſtus*, who had honoured him with his Friendſhip, and divers Employs, in which he had well acquitted himſelf.

1. There is great difference betwixt Offences againſt the Perſon, and the Authority of a Prince. He may pardon the firſt, but ought never to let the others go unpuniſhed, becauſe their Conſequences are always dangerous to the State. For that would be, as Cardinal *Richlieu* has very well obſerved, A miſtaken Clemency, more dangerous than Cruelty, *Ch. 5. de la ſeconde partie de ſon Teſtament Politique.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

o They had promiſed *Germanicus*, before he died, to loſe their Lives rather than his Death ſhould be unpuniſhed; as *Tacitus* ſays towards the end of his Second Book of Annals.

p The

'if he hath ambitiously endeavoured to gain the Soldiers 'Affections, and if he returned into the Province by 'force of Arms, or if these things be false and aggrava- 'ted by the Accusers [2], whose great zeal I have cause 'to be offended with. For, Why was *Germanicus*'s Body 'stript and exposed naked to the People, and why has 'it been reported he was Poisoned, if these things are 'yet uncertain, and to be proved? I lament the loss of 'my Son, and shall always do it, but will not hinder the 'Accused making his Defence [3], without sparing *Germa-* 'nicus, if he hath been to blame. I beseech you, let 'not my Trouble make you take Accusations for Crimes. 'If any among you are Relations or Friends to *Piso*, let 'him not fear to help him with his Eloquence and Care. 'I exhort his Accusers to the like Application and Con- 'stancy. We will only indulge this to *Germanicus*, that 'his Death shall be enquired into in the *Curia* [p], not 'the *Forum* [q], before the Senate, rather than the ordi- 'nary Judges, all the rest shall be according to the 'common Form. Lastly, I desire you will neither re- 'gard *Drusus*'s Tears, my Affliction, nor any Calum- 'nies.

XIII. It

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. When a Prince puts a great Man into the Hands of Justice, and there is enough against him, it is wise and honourable in him to Command the Judges not to trouble themselves with the Examination of uncertain and doubtful Crimes, whereof he is accused, to shew he acts without Passion, and will proceed only according to Law.

3. A Prince has a double Obligation upon him, that of Nature to his Children, and of Government to his People. As he is a common Father, he ought to hold the Balance even, especially when he is to Revenge the Death or Complaints of the former.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

p The *Curia* is the Place where the Senate used to assemble, to Consult about the publick Concerns of the Commonwealth.

q The *Forum* is the place where the publick Courts of Justice sate.

r See

XIII. It was ordered, the Accuſers ſhould have two days to bring in their Accuſations, the Defendant three to anſwer, and ſix to prepare for it. Then *Fulcinius* began with old and frivolous matters, as his governing *Spain* ambitiouſly and covetouſly; a conviction whereof would not have Condemned him, had he juſtified himſelf of the reſt, nor the clearing himſelf of that would have acquitted him, if found guilty of the new Crimes he was charged with. *Serveus Veranius* and *Vitellius* continued the Accuſation with the like warmth, but the latter with more Eloquence, objected, That *Piſo*, out of Hatred to *Germanicus*, and deſire of Innovation, ſo corrupted the Soldiers, by too much Indulgence and Licentiouſneſs, at the Expence of their Allies, that the worſt of them called him, *Father of the Legions*. On the other hand he had ill uſed the beſt Officers, and eſpecially the Friends of *Germanicus*, whom he killed by his Charms and Poiſon, as the deteſtable Sacrifices made by him and *Plancina*, for Joy at his Death, do teſtifie [r]: That he was in Arms againſt the Commonwealth, and had never been brought to Juſtice, but that he was overcome in Battle.

XIV. His Defence was weak, for he could neither deny his gaining the Soldiers by Ambition, nor expoſing the Province to them, nor his Reproaches to the Emperor, he only ſeemed to clear himſelf from the charge of Poiſon, which in truth was not well proved [t]. For to ſay he poiſoned the Meat by touching it, as he ſate one day above *Germanicus* at Table, that was ſo abſurd, there

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. For Poiſon, ſays *Patin*, that is always ſaid upon the Death of Princes, of which they often make a Myſtery, *Lettre* 69. As if, ſays *Strada*, it was a Diſhonour to them to Die a Natural Death, becauſe that would make Princes and others too equal. *Livre* 2. *de la ſeconde Decade de ſa Guerre de Flandres*.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

r See *chap.* 76. *l.* 2.

t This

there was no probability in it, that *Piſo* ſhould dare to do ſo before the Servants and Waiters, and *Germanicus* himſelf too. And he deſired his Servants and Family might be put to the Queſtion. But the Judges were inexorable [2], and all on different Motives; the Emperor becauſe of the War in the Province, the Senate out of Prejudice, upon ſuſpicion that *Germanicus* died not a natural Death. Some were for obliging him to ſhew the Letters his Friends writ him from *Rome*, while he was in *Syria*, but *Tiberius* oppoſed that as well as he. At the ſame time the People cried aloud, before the Senate-Houſe, that if *Piſo* was acquitted, he ſhould not eſcape them [3]; and his Statues were dragged to the *Gemonies* [f], and had been broke there, but that *Tiberius* protected them. *Piſo* was carried back by a Captain of the Pretorian Band, which was differently interpreted, ſome ſaying he was to guard him from the fury of the People, others to be his Executioner.

XV. *Plancina*

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. Upon State Accuſations, ſays Cardinal *Richlieu*, You are to ſhut the Door againſt Pity, and Deſpiſe the Complaints of thoſe that are concerned. To be rigorous againſt thoſe that Contemn the Laws and Government, is to be good for the publick, againſt which, a Prince cannot offend more, than in being indulgent to thoſe that violate them. *C. 5. de la ſeconde Partie de ſon Teſtament Politique.*

3. The Prince ought never to ſuffer the People to take Cognizance of thoſe accuſed of State-Crimes, nor let them examine, whether the Judges ſhould acquit or condemn. If this Door be once open, the People will be Maſters of all Judgments, by the Seditions they will raiſe in favour of thoſe they would ſave, or to take of thoſe Miniſters and Publick Officers they hate.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

f This was a Place where Condemned Perſons were dragged and caſt into the *Tyber*. It was up ſtairs, and from thence *Scala Gemonia*, and *Gradus Gemonii*, becauſe, as ſome are of Opinion, the firſt that ſuffer'd in this manner his Name was *Gemonius*, or as others, becauſe it was *Locus Gemitus & Calamitatum*. And from hence they uſed to throw down the Statues of Criminals. This was upon the *Aventine* Mount.

1 In

XV. *Plancina* was as much Hated, but more in Favour [1], and therefore it was doubted whether *Tiberius* would bring her to Trial [2]: As long as *Piso* had any Hopes, she Vowed she would accompany him in his Fortune, and Death too, if that happened; but she was no sooner Pardoned by *Augusta*'s means, than she began to leave her Husband [3], and make her Defence apart, which *Piso* took for a certain sign of his Death. Doubting whether he should any more try the Compassion of his Judges, at the persuasion of his Sons, he takes Courage, and goes again to the Senate. He found the Accusations renewed, the Judges set against him, and all conspiring his Destruction. Nothing troubled him more, than the Carriages of *Tiberius*, which appeared without Pity, without Passion, fixt, insensible and unmoveable. When he was brought back, as if he was providing for his Defence, next day, he writes, Seals it up, and delivers it to one who had been his Servant, and then took that Care of himself he used to do. Lastly, his Wife leaving his Chamber at midnight, he orders the Doors to be shut, and was found in the morning with his Throat Cut, his Sword lying by him.

XVI. I

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. It is a fatality in all Monarchies to have a Minister the more loved by his Prince, as he is hated by the People; and to have popular Hatred preserve those, a Prince would willingly give up, when he is informed of their Behaviour, if it were not to gratifie the People. You therefore often see Ministers and Favourites prosper and flourish, when the People clamour against them; and fall from the top of their Grandeur when the People seem weary of hating and affronting them.

2. Nothing is more dishonourable to a Prince, than to suffer a great Man to grow to that Credit or Power, as shall oblige him to cover his Faults, so that he dares not let him be questioned for Crimes against the State.

3. Every thing is sacrificed to Life, and as *A. Perez* says, There is not a Truer Friendship than betwixt the Soul and the Body, for they would never part. A great many Women make their Husbands all the Promises *Plancina* made *Piso*, but you see none keep them; they are the inseparable Companions of their good Fortune, but instead of comforting them in bad, are oftentimes their Scourges. He is exceeding happy who meets with a good One.

XVI. I remember I have heard ſome old men ſay, *Piſo* had often a Book in his Hand, which he never made publick, but his Friends ſaid it contained *Tiberius*'s Letters and his Commands againſt *Germanicus*, which he intended to have produced to the Senate, and accuſed *Tiberius*, but was deluded by *Sejanus*'s vain Promiſes. They ſaid he did not Kill himſelf, but that *Tiberius* ſent one who did it. I affirm nothing [4], but ought not to conceal what I have heard from Perſons [5] that lived till I came of Man's Eſtate. *Tiberius*, with ſome Compaſſion, told the Senate, *Piſo* had found a way to deliver himſelf from them. He asked his Servant many Queſtions as to the particulars of his Death. And he anſwering ſome of them well, others con-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

4. An Hiſtorian can never be too ſcrupulous, when he is to relate the ſecret Actions of Princes. That Itch, which many Scriblers have to ſearch into the Secrets of Princes, and to refine upon the Memoirs communicated to them, gives them not always Reputation in the world, for if with ſome they paſs for Wiſe and Diſcerning, others very much doubt their Fidelity and Truth. They are Writers, ſays *Strada*, value themſelves upon publiſhing Secret and Villanous things, and neglect thoſe that are common. Like thoſe Felons that paſs by Houſes that are open, and only beſet thoſe are faſt. *Livre · · de la ſeconde Decade.*

5. There are ſome curious things an Hiſtorian ought not to omit, tho' they are difficult to be believed, and none have taken notice of them before, when he knows them from Perſons of Credit, who have had ſome ſhare in them, or that have ſeen ſecret Memoirs. Hiſtorians, ſays *Commines*, leave us many things that they do not know to be true, but for my part I will ſpeak of nothing but what I know to be true, or have had from great Perſons that are fit to be believed. And in another Place, ſays, Tho' I was not in the Places where theſe things were done, yet I know that they were reported to the King, and by the Letters were writ him, which I often ſaw, becauſe he commanded me to anſwer them. *Chap.* 13. *du Liv.* 5. & 4. *du Liv.* 6. When *Strada* ſpeaks of the Apparition of Colonel *Pedro de Paz* to his Regiment, at a Battle near *Antwerp*, he appeals to *Delrio*, and ſays, That after the Teſtimony of a Man of ſo great weight, he thought he ſhould do injury to Poſterity, if he kept from them ſo extraordinary an Event, which was acknowledged too by many Officers upon Oath, who were preſent at the Battle. *Liv.* 6. *de la ſeconde Decade.* The Preface to *M. Aubery du Maurier*'s Memoirs is one of the beſt pieces he has given us a long time, and I prefer a little Hiſtory, like that of the Queen of *Scots*'s Death, which he ſays he learnt from his Father, who had it from Chancellor *de Bellievre* himſelf, to all his Hiſtories he has writ upon Manuſcripts, and inviſible Memoirs.

confuſedly [6], he read what *Piſo* had left in Writing, which was almoſt in theſe words. 'Since neither Truth, 'nor my Innocence will be received againſt the Calum-'nies of my Enemies, I call the Gods to witneſs, I never 'have been wanting in my Faith to you, Sir, nor in my 'Duty to your Mother. I therefore beſeech you both, 'protect my Children, one of them has had no ſhare 'in my Affairs, having always been at *Rome*, the other 'was againſt my going to *Syria*. And I wiſh to God 'I had rather yielded to him than he to me. I moſt 'earneſtly beg of you not to confound the Innocent 'with the Guilty. I conjure you therefore, by my 'Forty five years Services, by our Fellowſhip in the 'Conſulſhip [t], by the Memory of *Auguſtus*, whoſe Fa-'vour I had, and out of Compaſſion to a Friend's laſt 'Requeſt, have Pity on my Son. He ſaid nothing of *Plancina*.

XVII. *Tiberius* excuſed the Son from any Crime in the Civil War, becauſe of the Influence of his Father [1]. He ſpoke at the ſame time of the Nobleneſs of their Family [u], lamented the Misfortune of *Piſo*, however he had

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

6. Nothing is more difficult than to anſwer well to the frequent Queſtions of Princes; the moſt able are very much confounded, and with greater reaſon may others be ſo the firſt time they appear in a Prince's Preſence, that has a ſevere Air of Majeſty, as *Tiberius*, whoſe Countenance was as doubtful as his Words. *Tiberii Sermone, vultu, adrogantibus & obſcuris.* Ann. 1.

1. As it is certain, the Authority of a Father can never give him a Right to command his Children any thing againſt the State; ſo the Children that are of Age to know what they do, are as guilty as their Fathers when they obey in a plain Rebellion, whether they do it voluntarily, or by force: Otherwiſe the Duty of Filial Obedience would be a pretence for Rebellion. Now when young *Piſo*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

t In the Year of *Rome* 746, or 747.

u Which was of the *Calpurnian* Houſe.

y With-

had deſerved [2]. For *Plancina*, he ſpoke with ſome ſhame and concern, pretending it, at his Mother's Intreaty, againſt whom all good men ſecretly complained. 'Is it, 'ſaid they, fitting for the Grandmother to behold the 'Murtherer of her Grandſon, ſpeak to her, and take her 'from the Senate? Is that denied only to *Germanicus*, the 'Laws allow to all Citizens? *Vitellus* and *Veranius* de-'mand Juſtice, and *Plancina* is protected by the Emperor, 'and *Auguſta*. What remains for this Woman, after 'having ſo fortunately beſtowed her Poiſon and Inchant-'ments, but to uſe them alſo againſt *Agrippina*, and her 'Children, and ſatiate the good Grandmother [3] and 'Uncle with the Blood of this unhappy Houſe? Two days were ſpent under colour of examining the Cauſe, *Tiberius* encouraging *Piſo*'s Children to defend their Mother. And when no Anſwer was given to the Accuſers, and the Witneſſes againſt her, their Hatred gave way to Compaſſion. The Conſul *Aurelius Cotta*, being asked

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

Piſo diſſuaded his Father from returning to *Syria*, ſhewing him he would raiſe a Civil War in the Eaſt; it is evident he knew the conſequence thereof, and ſaw it as clearly as his Father: And beſides, it appeared too by *Piſo*'s Letter to the Emperor, that his Son was not altogether innocent, as in Truth he was not, ſince according to the Teſtimony of *Tacitus*, he was as zealous in the War when it was begun, as he had been firſt in adviſing againſt it. *Haud ignavo ad miniſteria belli juvene Piſone, quamquam ſuſcipiendum bellum abnuiſſet.* Ann. 2.

2. Tho' Princes are obliged to puniſh Crimes, yet it becomes them very well to pity the Misfortune of thoſe ſuffer for them. After the part of a Prince is over, which is to do Juſtice, without regard to the condition of thoſe that are guilty, 'tis but Humanity to ſhew ſome Compaſſion, eſpecially when they are Perſons that have done Service to the Publick. I do not ſee, that thoſe who read *Sixtus Quintus*'s Life, approve, or in any ſort excuſe his extravagant Zeal, which made him ſay, after he had beheld the Execution of a Spaniſh Gentleman, who was hanged before his Windows, That it was a Sauce would make him Dine with the better Appetite. *Leti Liv. 2. de la ſeconde partie de ſa Vie.*

3. As Hiſtorians ought not to approve the Reflections the People make of a Prince and great Men, yet they ought leſs to paſs them in ſilence; for the end of their Writing, is, to give Examples whereby we may know Good and Bad, and ſhun thoſe things which Envy and Evil-ſpeaking may interpret ill.

asked his Judgment, (for when the Emperor propounds, the Conſuls ſpeak firſt) he gave it, That *Piſo*'s Name ſhould be raſed out of the Annals, part of his Goods Confiſcated, the reſt given to *Cneius Piſo*, on condition he chang'd the name of *Cneius*, that *M. Piſo* be degraded 4, 25000 Crowns allowed him, and he baniſhed for Ten years, and *Plancina* pardoned at the interceſſion of *Auguſta*.

XVIII. *Tiberius* moderated the Sentence, and thought it not reaſonable that *Piſo*'s Name ſhould be raſed out of the Annals 5, when *Mark Anthony*, that actually engaged in a Civil War, and *Julius Antonius* that violated *Auguſtus*'s Houſe remained there. And as for *Marcus Piſo*, he would not ſuffer him to be attainted, and granted him all his Father's Eſtate, for he was never covetous, (as I have often ſaid) and ſhame for acquitting *Plancina* made him more merciful. When *Valerius Meſſalinus* propoſed the erecting a Golden Statue in the Temple of *Mars the Avenger*, and *Cæcina Severus* an Altar to Revenge, he forbid them, ſaying, Such Offerings ought to be for Foreign

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

4. Judges ſhould always give Judgment according to the ſeverity of the Laws; 'tis not for them, but the Prince to ſhew Mercy. This of the Conſul *Cotta* was rigorous, but conformable to the Laws, the chief end of which is to ſtrike terrour in Offenders. Beſides, Princes love to have Judges ſevere, ſo that if they pleaſe to ſhew any Mercy, the Criminals may be the more obliged to them. However, the Judges ſhould never exceed thoſe Bounds their Conſciences preſcribe, and their Complaiſance to the Prince ought not to go beyond that rigour the Law requires. For it is a raſhneſs and injuſtice to condemn a Criminal to more than his Crime deſerves, on ſuppoſition that the Prince will moderate the Sentence.

5. It is Wiſdom in a Prince to ſtop thoſe Sentences againſt great Men, that carry along with them marks of Infamy, and reflect on the Honour of their Family. *Philip* II. of *Spain* underſtanding the Circumſtances of *Gonçalo Pizarro*'s Crime, who was beheaded in the Reign of *Charles* V. for endeavouring to fix himſelf in the Government of *Peru*, which his Brother had Conquered, without ever conſenting to the Title of King, which thoſe of the Country offered him; declares by an Act, ſigned with his own Hand, That *Gonçalo* was never a Traitor, tho' condemned as ſuch, commanding that Name ſhould be blotted out of all the Hiſtories where he was called ſo. *Don Juan Antonio de Vera dans l'Epitome de la Vie de la Charles V.* Thoſe who have mind to ſee a Caſe parallel to *Piſo*, need only read there.

1. There

reign Victories, but Domeſtick Evils ſhould be buried in Sorrow. *Meſſalinus* was alſo for giving Thanks to *Tiberius* and *Auguſta*, to *Antonia* and *Agrippina*, and to *Druſus*, for revenging *Germanicus*'s Death, but never mentioned *Claudius*. *L. Aſprenas* asked him before the Senate, whether that was a willful Omiſſion, and then *Claudius* was entred with the others. The more I conſider modern or ancient Hiſtories, I diſcover the greater Vanity and Uncertainty in Human Affairs; for in Fame, Hope, and Eſtimation, all were rather deſtined to the Sovereignty, than he whom Fortune had reſerved for the future Prince [1].

XIX. A

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. There are often Inſtances in Elective Governments, that the People, who love much to Diſcourſe of Affairs of State, ſpeak of divers Princes, every one according to his Fancy or Deſire, till at laſt they Name him that is choſen, *Tac. Hiſt.* 2. And as there is no Court, where ſo many Changes happen, nor ſo many unexpected Elections, as at *Rome*, *Scipio Ammirato* had Reaſon from hence to Diſcourſe of the Election of the Popes, out of which I ſhall give you an Extract. It ſeems, ſays he, thoſe Wiſe Men that take upon them to point out who will be Elected, make Age the principal Condition of Election, concluding, the young Cardinals are never to hope for the Pontificate; which is very wrong, for *Leo* X. came to it at the Age of 37. *Boniface* VIII. at 34. *Clement* VII. at 45. Others take it for granted, they will never Elect a Foreigner for a Pope, becauſe the Italian Cardinals, that are always more numerous than the *Tramontanes*, will never ſuffer the Popedom to be out of their Nation. Without going farther for an Example, we ſee the contrary in *Adrian* VI. who was not only a Fleming, but had never ſeen *Rome* nor *Italy*. And Cardinal *Pool* had been Pope, but that his Pious Modeſty refuſed the Adoration at midnight. *Calixtus* III. and *Alexander* VI. who are not very ancient, were not they Spaniards? Others ſay, That the Cardinals of an Illuſtrious Houſe, or that have many Relations can never hope for the Pontificate, and yet *Paul* III. and *Paul* IV. were both very nobly Born, and the laſt had ſo many Relations, that there is no Family in *Italy* has more Men, Lands, and Charges than the Houſe of *Caraffa*. And beſides, *Clement* VII. was not only very Noble, but an abſolute Lord (tho' under the modeſt Title of Governor) of a great part of *Tuſcany*. How oft was it ſaid, that after the Pontificate was out of the Benedictines, they reſolved it ſhould never return into any Religious Order: Yet beſides *Sixtus* IV. and *Pius* V. one a Cordelier, and the other a Dominican, in the year 1585. when of 64 Cardinals, there were only two Religious, *Felix Peretti*, a Franciſcan, was made Pope. Teſtimonials ſufficient, that neither young Men, nor Strangers, neither Nobles nor Monks are excluded, as their Politicks would predict. There are thoſe alſo lay it down for a Rule, that they will never make a ſevere

XIX. A few days after, *Tiberius* perſuades the Senate to advance *Vitellius Veranius* and *Servæus*, to the Prieſthood; and having promiſed *Fulcinius* his Vote for any Dignity, adviſed him not to leſſen his Eloquence by too much Eagerneſs [2]. This was the end of Revenging *Germanicus*'s Death, which was differently reported

POLITICK REFECTIONS.

Man, nor one that is very liberal, or that loves War, Pope. Can they have a Pope more ſevere than *Pius* V. more Liberal than *Julius* III. more ſtout and martial than *Julius* II. From whence *Anonirato* concludes, That whatever the world may ſay, and the Cardinals Cabal together, yet the Election of Popes is without doubt directed by the Hand of God. *Diſc.* 1, *du Liv.* 3. *de ſon Comm. ſur Tac.* There cannot be a greater Inſtance of this, than what is mentioned in a Letter of Cardinal *Joyeuſe*, where he gives an Account to *Henry* IV. of *France*, of the Election of Cardinal *Borgheſe*, who was *Paul* V. inſtead of Cardinal *Toſco*, whom the Cardinals *Aldrobrandi* and *Montalto*, the Heads of the two Chief Factions in the Conclave agreed to Elect. 'Upon that, ſays he, 'the great Cardinal *Baronius*, who 'had always declared to *Aldobrandin*, he would never go to the Adoration of ſuch a Man, ſpoke publickly, That he they were going to Elect was unworthy of that Charge, 'that it would bring a great Plague 'upon the Church, that he would 'make no Schiſm, but would be the 'laſt to Adore him. This was an 'ardent Zeal for the Honour of God, 'and an Example very rare, that 'one Cardinal alone, when they 'were going to Adoration, and when 'the reſt were agreed, ſhould dare 'to ſpeak with ſo much Freedom. 'The Cardinal *Aldrobrandin* propoſed to me Cardinal *Borgheſe*, conjuring me, by all the Services he 'had done your Majeſty, and by 'the Memory of *Clement* VIII. to 'agree. I conſulted Cardinal *Montalto*, if he approved him. He told me he not only liked him very 'well, but that we ſhould oblige him 'very much to accept him. *Aldrobrandin* ſupplicating us to do him 'that Favour: I anſwered, I thanked 'God that in ſerving two Perſons, 'whom we honoured very much, 'we might have him Pope, whom 'your Majeſty deſired moſt, ſo good 'a Man and of ſo exemplary a life: 'And as ſoon as I ſaid ſo, *Borgheſe* 'was made Pope. Thus, Sir, ſucceeded this Negotiation, from which 'I believe your Majeſty will have 'great ſatisfaction, to ſee Affairs 'here in ſuch a Condition, that the 'Cardinals, your Subjects, are as it 'were, the Arbitrators of the Conclave, and have prevented the 'Church having a Head, whoſe Life 'and Reputation were a little bleminiſhed, and inſtead thereof to have 'one that without contradiction is 'eſteemed very good and very wiſe. 'I will alſo believe it will be acceptable to your Majeſty, and advantageous to *France*, that he owes his 'Election to the Cardinals your 'Subjects, for it cannot be denied, 'that they under God, have prevented the Holy See's being filled 'with another Perſon, to reſerve it 'for him, to whom God had deſtined it for the Good and Service of 'the Church. *Dans l'Hiſtoire du Cardinal Joyeuſe.*

2. *Logo Diarrhæa*, which *Quintilian* calls, *Os Præceps*, is a great fault in an Orator. We ſee Preachers, whoſe

ported then [3], and in ſubſequent times. So dark are all great Affairs, ſome believe all they hear, others diſguiſe Truth with Falſhood, and Poſterity adds to both.

XX. *Druſus* left the City to enquire his Fortune [y], and entred with a ſmall Triumph [z]; and within a few days, *Vipſania* his Mother died, the only one of *Agrippa*'s Children that died a natural Death. For it is certain, or at leaſt believed, the reſt died by the Sword, Poiſon, or Famine [a]. XXI. This

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

whoſe Mouths go like the Alarum of a Clock, and whoſe Sermons are a continual labour to them. The vulgar calls that Apoſtolical Preaching, as if the Apoſtles could not otherwiſe deliver God's Word. This fault the Italian and Spaniſh Preachers abound with, whoſe Geſture was violent as their Pronunciation. I will add to this a Reflection on the Advice *Tiberius* would give *Fulcinius*, It is that the Precipitation and Vehemence of this Advocate diſpleaſed him, becauſe very contrary to his eaſie and compoſed way of ſpeaking. They that are to ſpeak before Princes ought to accommodate their Diſcourſe to their liking, if they would be well heard. In *Auguſtus*'s Reign the Harangues were long, his being ſo, becauſe of the care he took to deliver his Thoughts clearly. Under *Tiberius* they were ſhort and pertinent, becauſe his Style was conciſe and cloſe. Which ſhews, Eloquence has its Modes, and that the Faſhion and Rules of Grammar and Rhetorick are uſed according to the conformity they have with the preſent Genius of the Court.

3. It is very difficult to diſcover the Truth of thoſe matters that have been differently reported when they happened. The older they are, the more obſcure they become, and are intermixed with ingenious Circumſtances that make them paſs for Romances. Therefore the Chancellor *Chivergny* ſaid in his Memoirs, he thought good to deliver the Truth of the moſt remarkable Things wherein moſt Hiſtorians deceive Poſterity.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

y Without which he could not fall again to his publick Imployments, which had been interrupted ever ſince his return to *Rome*, nor enjoy the Honour of the Triumph was decreed him. This Ceremony conſiſted in Prayers that thoſe made who took upon them any Civil or Military Employments, to the God's to be propitious to them.

z. The Ovation ſome fancy to have derived its Name from ſhouting *Evion* to *Bacchus*, but the true Original is *Ovis*, uſually offered in this Proceſſion, as an Ox in the Triumph. The Proceſſion generally began at the *Albanian* Mountain, whence the General, with his Retinue, made his Entry into the City. He went on Foot, with many Flutes or Pipes ſounding in Conſort as he paſſed along, wearing a Garland of Myrtle, as a Token of Peace, with an Aſpect rather raiſing Love and Reſpect, than Fear.

a Caius and *Lucius* by Poiſon, *Agrippa Poſthumus* by the Sword, *Agrippina* by Famine.

XXI. This year *Tacfarinas*, who I told you was beat the laſt Summer by *Camillus*, begun the War again in *Africk*, firſt by plundering, in which his quick marches ſecured him, then he burnt Towns, and carried off great Booties, and laſtly, Beſieged a Roman Fort not far from the River *Pagyda*; *Decrius* was Governor, a Man of Courage and an Experienced Soldier, and looking on ſuch a Siege a Diſhonour to him, he encouraged his Men to Fight in the open Field, and drew them up before the Fort [1]. They were beaten back at the firſt Engagement, he run among them that fled, rebuking the Enſigns for turning their Backs to Traitors and Deſerters. And tho' he received ſeveral Wounds, and loſt an Eye, yet he faced the Enemy, and continued Fighting till he was forſaken by his Men and Slain.

XXII. Which when *L. Apronius* (who ſucceeded *Camillus*) underſtood, being more concerned for the ſhame of his own Men, than Glory of the Enemy, he decimated [b] thoſe

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Tho' Sallies, ſays *Commines*, are ſometimes neceſſary, yet they are dangerous, for the loſs of Ten Men to them is more than an Hundred to the Beſiegers, becauſe their number is not equal, and cannot Recruit at pleaſure, and if they loſe their Commander, (which often happens) it cauſes the loſs of the place. *Chap.* 11. *du Liv.* 2. *de ſes Mem.* He that is afraid of loſing a Fort, ought not to make Sallies often, for Ten of the Beſiegers will not recompence the loſs of one of his Men, becauſe they can Recruit, and he has no hopes of doing it. *Diſ.* 3. *du Liv.* 26. *de ſon Commentaire ſur Tacite.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

[b] *Statuerunt majores noſtri*, ſays *Cicero*, ſpeaking of Decimation, *ut, ſi a militis eſſet flagitium rei militaris admiſſum, ſortione in quoſdam animadverteretur, ut metus videlicet ad omnes, pœna ad paucos perveniret.* *Pro Cluentio.* That is, Our Anceſtors have decreed, that if many offend againſt Martial Law, ſome only ſhall be puniſhed by Lot, ſo that their Puniſhment may ſtrike Terrour to all the reſt. *Appius Claudius* ſeems to have been the firſt Author of Decimation among the *Romans*. His Army having forſoke him in his Expedition againſt the *Volſci*, he Decimated them at his return, and cut off the Centurions Heads after they had run the Gantlet. *T. Liv. livre* 2. The ſame Hiſtorian ſays, he killed the *Roman* Soldiers, (*vitibus*,) and the Foreigners (*fuſtibus*.) *Paterculus* ſays, That the Proconſul *Calvinus Domi-*

tius

those dishonourable Troops [2], and drubb'd them to Death. A Punishment rare in those times, tho' practised formerly. Which Severity did so much good, that an Ensign, with no more than 500 old Soldiers, defeated *Tacfarinas*'s Army [3], as they were going to assault a Fort, called *Thala*. In which Battle, *Rufus Helvius*, a common Soldier, had the Honour to save a Citizen's Life, on whom *Apronius* bestowed a Chain and Spear, *Tiberius* added the Civic Crown, finding Fault rather than offended, that

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. Decimation is the most effectual remedy for the Cowardice, Disobedience and Infidelity of Soldiers. It is rarely executed in *France*, but supplied with an equivalent, the breaking of Companies. What *Lewis the* 13*th* did in 1639. is remarkable, *Viz.* 'The King being well informed how 'cowardly the Troops of Light 'Horse of *Fontette*, *Castelet* and *Cu-villiers*, left the Foot at the Bat-'tle of *Thionville*, and resolving such 'Infamy should be taken notice of, 'and exemplarily punished, ordered 'they should be broke and never 'raised again. His Majesty declares 'the Captains and Officers of the 'said Troops infamous, and incapa-'ble of ever having any Command, 'reserving himself to appoint them 'such Punishment as they deserved. And in a Letter to the Viscount *de Ligny*, 'My desire is, says he, That 'you break with Disgrace, and ex-'pel your Regiment, all the Offi-'cers and Soldiers that were known 'to fly on that occasion, and that 'you let them not serve in other 'Troops, where the Contagion of 'their ill Conduct may make the 'like disorder, as at the Battle of '*Thionville*. *Dans le Tom.* 4. *des Memoires du Ministere du Cardinal de Richelieu.*

3. Sometimes those that are Beat, bring more Resolution, Courage and Conduct to a second Battle, than their Victors; for these are apt to relax, through Haughtiness and Pride, which Victory inspires, when the others have Shame, Anger, and a desire of Vengeance to spur them to recover the Esteem and Favour of their General. Which *Tacitus* says, *Atrior disciplinâ victi, quam victores agunt: hos ira, odium, ultionis cupiditas, ad virtutem accendit; illi, per fastidium & contumaciam bebetantur.* Hist. 2. *Profuisse disciplina ipsum pudorem.* Hist. 3.

4. Princes

HISTORICAL NOTES.

Who caused *Pibillius*, a Lieutenant Colonel, to be slain with his General's Staff, because he shamefully run away. *Hist.* 2. *Chap.* 78. Sometimes the *Roman* Consuls *vigesimabant* and *centesimabant*, *i. e.* punished only One of Twenty or an Hundred.

that *Apronius* did not give it [4], which he might have done as Proconſul. But *Tacfarinas*, ſeeing the *Numidians* daunted, and reſolved againſt more Sieges, ſcatter'd the War, giving ground when purſued, and following upon the Retreat, and thus kept the *Romans* in play to no purpoſe. But greedy of Booty, he got near the Sea-Coaſts, and encamped; *Apronius Cæſianus* being ſent by his Father, with the Horſe and Auxiliaries, and the greater part of the Legions, found a way to Fight him, and drove him to the Deſarts.

XXIII. *Lepida*, who, beſides the Honour of the *Æmilian* Family, from whence ſhe was deſcended, had *L. Sylla* and *Cneius Pompeius* for her Grandfathers, was accuſed by her Husband, *Publius Quirinus*, a Rich Man and Childleſs, for a Suppoſititious Child, and alſo for Adulteries and Poiſonings [5], and that ſhe had conſulted the *Baldeans* againſt *Cæſar*'s Houſe. Her Brother *Marius Lepidus* defended her. And tho' ſhe was faulty and infamous

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

4. Princes are always pleaſed to have their Miniſters leave to them the diſpoſing of Rewards, eſpecially Military Rewards, the diſtribution whereof draws great Conſequences after it, when done by other Hands. After the Battle of *Rocroy*, the Bâton of Marſhal was not refuſed M. *de Gaſſion*, becauſe the D. *d'Anguien* aſked it, but becauſe the Queen Regent and Cardinal *Mazarine* would not let him owe that Dignity to a Victorious General. However, there is nothing gives a Soveraign greater ſatisfaction, than the Moderation of a Subject, who after he has done great Services will receive no Recompence from any other hand than his. Cardinal *d'Oſſat*, ſpeaking of the Preſents Cardinal *Joyeuſe* had ſent him, after his Promotion, ſaid, He accepted only the Silver Baſin, which might be worth an Hundred Crowns; for tho' he had not then what became him to ſupport his Dignity, yet he would not renounce his Abſtinence, that he had always preſerved, to be obliged to any other Lord or Prince, than the King. *Lettre* 171. The King, ſaith a Modern Author, ſhould be the only Maſter and Judge of all Rewards, and ought to diſpoſe them himſelf, ſo that they who receive any of them, may be perſuaded they owe them to his Bounty. Beſides, nothing can give juſter ſatisfaction to Subjects, who have a true Senſe of Honour, than to receive a Favour from the King's own Hand, becauſe the Dignity of the Royal Hand adds a Quality to the Preſent that augments its excellence and value. *Chap. 9. du Traité de la Politique de France.*

5. It is eaſie to perſuade Judges, a Woman that commits Adultery would Poiſon her Husband;

1. 'Tis

famous, yet *Quirinus*'s Proſecution, after he was Divorced from her, made others have Compaſſion on her. It was hard to gueſs *Tiberius*'s Inclination, he ſo artfully mixed the ſigns of his Anger and Clemency. He requeſted the Senate to let alone the Charge of Treaſon at that time, then he drew from *M. Servilius*, that had been Conſul, and the other Witneſſes, what he pretended he would have concealed, and ſent *Lepida*'s Servants to the Conſuls, under a guard of Soldiers, and would not ſuffer them to be examined on the Rack againſt her. Laſtly, Diſpenſed with *Druſus*, Conſul Elect, giving his Opinion firſt, which was differently interpreted, that the Judges might not be led by his Son and others, that they might have the greater liberty to Condemn her [1].

XXIV. During

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. 'Tis very certain, if *Tiberius* had deſired to have ſaved *Lepida*, he would have let his Son have ſpoke firſt, to have had the Reputation of it, to which the reſt would willingly have conſented, becauſe the Contempt they had for *Quirinus*, her Accuſer, would have enclined the Judges to ſhew her Favour. He would not let his Son declare himſelf firſt, under pretence of leaving others to their liberty, but in effect, that they might do what he would not be thought the Author of; and to ſhew, that inſtead of impoſing a neceſſity on the Judges to follow *Druſus*'s Opinion, he might pretend *Druſus* conformed to theirs, which threw the Odium on them. See how Prince's Actions are covered with ſhews of Modeſty, Clemency and Juſtice. When *Philip* II. King of *Spain*, preſerved the Lady *Elizabeth*, and gained her Liberty, after ſhe was committed to the Tower upon *Wiat*'s accuſing her, this Action was magnified by the *Spaniards*, as a ſingular Example of Clemency and Generoſity. When he would not conſent ſhe ſhould be ſent into *Spain* to be ſhut up in a Convent, the Engliſh believed it to be for the Reaſon he gave the Queen, becauſe the Kingdom would have reaſon to complain, if the Lawful Heir was taken from them when the Queen and he had no Children. When to prevent the Beheading of her, he told the Queen, That the Prince, who has his Hands in the Blood of his Relations, prepares a Sword for himſelf, ſhe believed him concerned for her Safety. But all theſe were only Pretences, as his own Hiſtorian *Cabrera* allows. 'The French, ſays he, would have 'it, That *Philip* ſaved *Elizabeth* only out of State Policy to prevent '*England*'s being joyned after the Queen's

HISTORICAL NOTES.

1 *Ita enim apud Romanos*, ſays *Appian*, *futuri anni Conſul primus conſet.*

2 The

XXIV. During this Process, the publick Plays being shewn, *Lepida* goes to the Theatre, with divers Noble Ladies, and directs her Prayers and Tears to her Ancestors, calling on *Pompey*, whose Images were placed round the Theatre he built, which wrought so great Compassion in the Spectators, that with Tears they imprecated *Quirinus*, who considering his Age, and the meanness of his Birth, was not a fit Husband for such a Lady, once designed to be *L. Cæsar*'s Wife, and Daughter-in-Law to *Augustus*: But her Crimes being discovered by Torturing her Servants, *Rubellius Blandus*'s Sentence was received, That she should be banished. *Drusus* yielded to it, tho' others would have been more merciful. Then *Scaurus*, who had a Daughter by her, obtained that her Goods should not be Confiscate. At last, *Tiberius* declared he was assured by *Quirinus*'s Slaves, she sought to Poison him.

XXV. The Afflictions the great Families were under almost at the same time [d], the *Calpurnii* having lost *Piso*, and the *Æmilii Lepida*, were alleviated through Joy, That *D.* [e] *Silanus* was restored to the *Junii*. His Case I relate in a few words. As *Augustus* was fortunate in publick Affairs [f], so he was unhappy at home

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

'Queen's Death in *Mary* Queen of 'Scots, who had Married the Dau-'phin of *France*, by which Union 'France had been formidable to the 'Low Countries, which was very 'true. And God suffer'd *Elizabeth* 'to disturb and divide these Pro-'vinces, and to give *Philip* great 'Trouble for preferring his own 'Interest to that of Religion, in sa-'ving one was afterwards the great-'est Enemy the Roman Church ever 'had. Thus God punishes Princes 'who prefer the Welfare of their 'Temporal Affairs before their Con-'science. *Chap.* 7. & 10. *du Liv.* 1. *de son Histoire, & Aubery du Maurier dans la Preface de ses Memoires.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

d The *Calpurnii* and *Æmilii* were very considerable Families in *Rome*.

e Decius.

f Tacitus, says, *Valida in Remp. fortuna*, which rendring Literally, is, He had good Fortune against the Commonwealth. And I believe, that is the

home [2], in the lewdneſs of his Daughter and Neice, whom he baniſhed, puniſhing the Adulterers with Death or Exile. For finding their Offences the ſubject of common Diſcourſe, he gave them the Name of Sacriledge or Treaſon to have a pretence to ſhew no Pity, and to exceed the Laws [3]. But I reſerve for another work, the ends

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. It is fatal to Princes that are happy in their Government, to be unfortunate in their Families, either by the Diſobedience of their Children, as *Charles* VII. of *France*, *Philip* II. of *Spain*, or in the Lewdneſs of their Wives or Daughters, as *Auguſtus*, *Tiberius*, and many others. Beſides, *Auguſtus* deſerved this very well, becauſe he forgot all the Sacred Tyes of Friendſhip when he conſulted his Pleaſure, and abuſed *Mecenas*'s Wife, who was his firſt Miniſter and Favourite, which has given occaſion to *Arioſto* the Italian Poet, to ſay,

Non fù ſi ſanto nè benigno Auguſto,
Come la tromba di Virgilio ſuona.

i. e. Auguſtus was not ſo Virtuous, nor ſo Good, as *Virgil* tells us.

3. The Prince that obſerves not his own Laws, gives room to think, either that they are unjuſt, or not neceſſary, and brings publick Hatred on himſelf, if he makes others rigorouſly obſerve them. The more ſevere Laws are, the more it concerns a Prince to Authoriſe them by his Example, which wins thoſe would otherwiſe oppoſe them. *Machiavel* gives us a very conſiderable Relation, which ſhews how dangerous it is for the Maker of a Law to Break it. He ſays, That Fryar *Hieronymo Savonarvis*, having among other things, for the ſecurity of the Government of *Florence*, obtained a Law for Appeals to the People in Matters of State, both from the Senate and the Council of Eight, (which he had a long time ſolicited, and got with much difficulty at laſt.) It happened, that not long after, there were five Perſons Condemned to Death by the Senate, who endeavouring earneſtly to Appeal to the People, were denied it, and could not have the Benefit of that Law, which was greater Diminution to the Reputation of the Fryar, than any thing had ever happened before. For if that Law was of ſuch Importance as he pretended, it ought to have been obſerved; if not, Why was it ſolicited ſo earneſtly? And it was the more remarkable in the Fryar, becauſe in his Sermons

HISTORICAL NOTES.

the Author's true Senſe, who in my Opinion would take notice of the extraordinary good Fortune he had to make himſelf by force of Arms abſolute Maſter of the Empire. For if *Tacitus* would only have ſpoke of his Government, he ſhould have ſaid *in Rep.* and not in *Remp.* Which none of the Spaniſh, Italian or French Tranſlators have obſerved, but *Rodolfus*, who ſays, (as Fortune was very favourable to the Emperor *Auguſtus*, againſt the Commonwealth.) But I think it more proper to content my ſelf wi. the common Interpretation, making only a Grammatical Note upon it, (which I do ſeldom) *Non ut arguerem, ſed ne arguerer.*

ends of others, and other Matters, if I live to write another Book, when I have finiſhed theſe Annals. *D. Silanus*, who was accuſed for Debauching *Auguſtus*'s Neice, was only forbid his Houſe [g], which he interpreted Baniſhment, and till *Tiberius*'s Reign durſt never ask leave of the Emperor and Senate to return home. And then depended on his Brother, *M. Silanus*'s Credit and Reputation for his illuſtrious Birth and great Eloquence. But *Silanus* thanking *Tiberius* on his Brother's behalf, he replied before the Senate, it was matter of Joy to him as well as others, to ſee his Brother return home after ſo long Travels; that he lawfully might, becauſe he was not baniſhed either by Decree of the Senate, or other Law [h]. That his Offence againſt his Father remained, and his return

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

mons and Diſcourſes afterwards to the People, he neither blamed the breaking of that Law, nor went about to excuſe it: For being to his purpoſe, he would condemn it, and excuſe it he could not, having nothing to ſay; which Action having diſcovered the Ambitious Partiality of his Mind, leſſened his Repute, and loaded him with Scandal. *Chap. 45. Liv. 1. de ſes Diſc. Sixtus* V. loſt a little the Reputation he had of a conſtant Man, by one or two Promotions he made *extra tempora* in 1587. after his Bull, whereby he decreed, That no Promotions ſhould be made but in *Ember-Week* in *December*. *Leti livri dernier de ſa Vie.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

g So I render, *Amicitia Cæſaris prohiberi*; for *Tacitus* ſays by that the *Romans* declared they renounced Friendſhip with thoſe had offended them. *Morem fuiſſe majoribus, quotis dirimerent amicitias, interdicere domo, eumque finem gratiæ ponere.* Ann. 6. To which *Tacitus*'s Words to *Tiberius* in his Harangue againſt *Piſo*; *Si obſequium erga Imperatorem exuit, ejuſdémque & luctu meo lætatus eſt, odero, ſeponámque à domo mea.* Ann. 3.

h There were three ſorts of Exile; the firſt was called *Deportatio*, Tranſportation, this was perpetual, and extended to loſs of Eſtates and Privileges. *Ann.* 1. *Deportati autem jus civitatis & bona amittebant.* The ſecond was *Relegatio*, by which a Criminal was ſent to ſuch a Place or ſuch a time, or perhaps for ever, but not deprived of the Priviledge of a Roman Citizen. The third, Depended on the Will and Pleaſure of the Prince, by a certain Writing under his Hand to thoſe he ſuſpected, or had offended him, and he recalled them at Pleaſure.

[i] This

return revers'd not *Auguſtus*'s Decrees [1]. From that time *Silanus* lived in *Rome*, but as a private Perſon.

XXVI. They afterwards debated moderating the Law *Papia Poppæa* [1], which *Auguſtus*, when he was old, added to the *Julian Laws*, to make Celibacy more Penal, and enrich the publick. Yet Marriages were not more frequent, moſt finding it better having no Children [2]. How-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Princes ought to forbear as much as may be, reverſing what their Predeceſſors have done. For beſides that, this Reſpect is of good Example for their Subjects, who have therefore the greater Reverence for Majeſty, it is a leſſon to their Succeſſors, how to behave themſelves towards them. Never any Prince had greater Cauſe to be diſcontented with his Predeceſſor, and deſpiſe his Memory, than *David*, and yet he not only ſlew him that brought the News of *Saul*'s Death and his Crown, and lamented him that would often have killed him, he makes his Elegy, magnifies his Valour, his Liberality, his Riches, the Lovelineſs of his Perſon, ſaying to the People of *Iſrael*, *He was ſwifter than Eagles, he was ſtronger than Lions*, 2 *Sam. c.* 1. *Lewis* XII. of *France* was very ill uſed under *Charles* VIII. yet he turned out few of his Officers, but ſaid he would maintain every Man in his Eſtate, whereby he gained great Honour. *Comminus dans le dernier Chapitre de ſes Memoires.*

2. When Men had rather want the Comforts and Pleaſures of Marriage than to bring upon themſelves the Neceſſity of Children, and conſequently of multiplying the Misfortunes of their Families, 'tis a certain ſign of a Tyrannical Government. It was in this Senſe, *Pliny* the younger wrote to *Trajan*, that he deſired Children in his Reign, becauſe he was aſſured of being an happy Father. And *Tacitus* ſays, After the Engliſh had loſt a Battle, whereby they were at the Mercy of the *Romans*, they fell into ſo great a Deſpair, that many of them killed their Wives and Children, *tanquam miſererentur*, in compaſſion to them, to deliver them from a cruel Slavery that was coming upon their Country. *In Agricola.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

i This Law was made by *Papius* and *Poppeus*, when Conſuls, and contained Rewards and Puniſhments. That the Magiſtrates ſhould have Precedence according to the number of their Children, or a Married Man before a Batchellor. That in Elections, thoſe who had moſt Children ſhould be preferr'd; That any Perſon might ſtand ſooner than ordinary for an Office if he had ſo many Children as to be capable of it. That whoſoever in the City had three Children, in other Parts of *Italy* four, and in the Provinces five, (ſome ſay ſeven) ſhould be excuſed all troubleſome Offices. Hence came the famous *Juſtrium Liberorum*, which the Emperor's often indulged to ſeveral to whom Nature had denied it. On the other ſide, Unmarried Perſons were uncapable of receiving any Legacy or Inheritance by Will, unleſs from near Relations.

k They

However, the Informers daily ruined many Families, ſo that their Laws were grown as fatal to them as formerly their Crimes. This leads me to give ſome Account of the Original of Laws, and to ſhew from whence it is they are come to ſuch an infinite number as at preſent.

XXVII. As the firſt Men were without Malice and Ambition [3], they wanted not Correction and Puniſhment, and as they were naturally enclined to good, they needed no Rewards. Nothing was forbid, where nothing was deſired that was not allowed. But after Equality was gone, Ambition and Violence ſucceeded Modeſty and Juſtice, and by degrees introduced Sovereignty and Tyranny, which have always ſubſiſted in ſome Countries. Some at firſt deſired to be governed by Laws, others not till they were weary of Kings [4]. The firſt Laws were ſimple, as Men's Minds [5], and the moſt celebrated

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. *Pagliari* pleaſantly asks, Who were theſe Men had this Simplicity and Innocence *Tacitus* ſpeaks of? The firſt Man that was Born in the World killed the ſecond, we ought then to conclude, ſince *Adam*'s Fall by Diſobedience, there have always been good and bad. *Obſervation* 341. But probably *Tacitus* never read *Geneſis*.

4. Divers Monarchies have been turned into Commonwealths, ſome through the Inconſtancy or Untractableneſs of the People, but moſt through the unbounded liberty of their Kings, who would not content themſelves with a Legal Authority. Therefore, ſays *Antonio Perez*, If Princes love and would preſerve themſelves, they ought not ſo much to beware of thoſe Phyſicians, that either through Ignorance or Flattery, or particular Hatred, ſuffer them to Eat what is contrary to their Health, as Counſellors that give them an Arbitrary Power without Bounds. For ſuch Counſellors will ſoon tire out the Patience of the People, and conſequently make them Dethrone their Maſters. *Dans ſes Relations.*

5. Laws ought to bear a proportion to the condition of Men, for they are made like Remedies in Phyſick, to Suit the Nature of Diſtempers. A Law-Giver that ſhall make Laws againſt Vices and Corruptions, unknown to the People he governs, will debauch their Innocence, by teaching what they ſhould rather be ignorant of. Like imprudent Confeſſors, that by unneceſſary Queſtions inſtruct Girls in the Knowledge of Ill, before they know the difference of their Sex. Or like ſome Preachers, that to Confute Errors and Infidelity, raiſe ſuch Scruples and Objections as their Anſwers do not ſufficiently clear, and inſtead of confirming the People in the Faith, make many of them curious and inquiſitive, and Scepticks, if not downright Atheiſts.

6. The

brated, were those *Minos* gave the *Cretians* [k], *Lycurgus* the *Lacedemonians*, and *Solon* the *Athenians*, but his were more numerous and more refined [6]. *Romulus* ruled as he pleased. *Numa* established a Form for Divine Worship and Religious Ceremonies. *Tullus* and *Ancus* made some Laws, but our chiefest Law-Maker was *Servius Tullius*, whose Laws Kings themselves were bound to Obey [7].

XXVIII. After *Tarquinius Superbus* was expelled [8], the People

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

6. The more cunning and discerning People are, the more numerous the Laws should be, for as a Law-Maker can never foresee all Cases that may happen, nor all the Subtilties and Cavils will be thought on for evading his Law, or at least, the Exceptions will be found, that is the Reasons against obeying it *hic & nunc*; he is obliged to explain his Law, or rather to make as many Laws as new Cases shall arise. There is no Country where there are better Laws, nor more than in *Normandy*, for the *Normans* have always been very cunning, and are in *France* like the *Athenians* in *Greece*.

7. According to *Plato*, Monarchy is the worst and best sort of Government. The worst if absolute, the best if limited. Those that teach Kings and Sovereign Princes the contrary, learn them to Tyrannize, not Reign, not to keep the People in Duty and Obedience, but to make them Rebel. No Princes have ever been better Obeyed, nor consequently more Princes, than those that have not set themselves above the Laws. *Commines* gives a very good instance in *Charles* VIII. of *France*, that at his Accession to the Crown, obtained of the States at *Tours*, a Gift of Two Millions and Five Hundred Thousand Livres, (which was, says he, rather too much than too little) tho' the Kingdom had been under grievous Taxes for Twenty Years. On the contrary, when a Prince will do every thing according to his Will and inordinate Desire, his People will not Obey him, nor Succour him in his Necessities, but instead of aiding him when he has great Affairs upon his Hands, they despise and run into Rebellion against him. *Chap. dernier du liv. 5. de ses Memoires.*

8. See the end of Independent, Arbitrary and Unlimited Authority, which Flatterers make Princes assume. See what happened to *Henry* III. of *France*, of whom it is said, he forbid the French make any Applications to him, and taught them there was no other measure of Justice than his Will. *Mezeray de sa Vie.* 'One thing that most hurt 'this poor Prince, says the Chancel-'lor *de Chiverny*, was the Opinion 'he had entertained of his own Suf-'ficiency, despising others Judg-'ments, which is the greatest Mis-'fortune that can befal a Prince, or 'any other Person. *Dans ses Memoirs.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

k They are now the Inhabitants of the Isle of *Candia*.

People made many againſt the Factions of the Senators [9], to defend their Liberties, and eſtabliſh Union. The *Decemviri* [l] were choſen to collect the beſt [10] Laws of other Countries, out of which they compoſed the Twelve Tables, the ſum of Law and Juſtice. As for the Laws that followed, though ſome were made againſt Malefactors, yet they were moſt commonly brought in, through the Diſſenſions of the People and Senate, for obtaining unlawful Dignities, driving out Noblemen, or other Diſorders. Witneſs the *Gracchii* and *Saturnini*, the Incendiaries of the People; and *Druſus*, who was no leſs prodigal in the Name of the Senate, and corrupted his Companions by Hopes, or deluded them. Neither the War of *Italy*, nor the Civil War [m], hindred them making many

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

9. The Nobility always love a Prince, whatever he is, better than a popular Government, where the People never fail bringing them to an Equality, which they cannot bear, being uſed to Diſtinction. For it is the ſame with Great Men, as it was with *Agrippa*, *Auguſtus*'s Son-in-Law, who, according to *Paterculus*, willingly obeyed one, but in revenge would command all others. *Parendi; ſed toti, ſcientiſſimus, aliis ſanè imperandi cupidus.*

10. Nothing is more uſeful to a Prince that has great Dominions, and conſequently great Affairs to Tranſact with other Princes, than an exact Knowledge of the Laws and Cuſtoms of other Countries: Beſides that, it teaches him to diſtinguiſh good and bad in every Government, ſhews him proper Expedients for Reforming Abuſes that daily happen in Government, whether in his Revenue, in his Military Diſcipline, in his Courts of Juſtice, and in all other Parts thereof. *Mariana* ſays, That *Henry* III. of *Caſtile*, ſent Ambaſſadors to Chriſtian Princes, and to *Mahometans*, only to inform him their manner of Governing, ſo to collect the Wiſdom of all Courts in his own, and to know the better how to ſhew the Majeſty of a King in all his Actions. What might have been expected from this Prince, who died at 27 years old, and was the ableſt that had Reigned in *Spain? Chap.* 14. *de liv.* 19. *de ſon Hiſtoire.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

l See *Decemviri* in the Hiſtorical Notes of the Preface to *Tacitus*.

m That this Recital of the Hiſtory of the ancient Commonwealth may be the better underſtood, in which *Tacitus* is ſo ſhort, it is in my Opinion proper to give an Extract here of ſome Chapters of *Paterculus*, which relate very well thoſe Diſſentions. *Scipio Naſica*, ſays he, was the firſt adviſed Force

many Laws, and very different, till *Sylla* the Dictator changed or aboliſhed them to make all new. Then there was

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Force againſt the Tribune *Tiberius Gracchus*, his Coſin, to prevent the Execution of the *Leges Agrariæ*, made in favour of the People. Ten years after, *Naſica* was followed by the Conſul *Opimius*, taking up Arms againſt *Caius Gracchus*, who, either to revenge his Brother *Tiberius*'s Death, or to open a way to Sovereignty, which he affected, exerciſed the Tribunate with greater Violence than his elder Brother, and ſubverted the Government of the City and State. The *Gracchi* being Dead, *Opimius* cauſed all their Friends or Servants to be put to Death, which was not liked, as proceeding rather from his particular Hatred to the *Gracchi*, than a deſire to make publick Examples of them. The *Gracchi* were ſucceeded by *Servilius Glaucia*, and *Saturninus Apuleius*, who to keep the Tribunate longer than the Laws allowed, and to prevent others being choſe in their Places, (which *Tacitus* expreſſes by *apiſci inlicitos Honores*) diſſolved by Fire and Sword the meetings of the People, which obliged *Marius*, then Conſul the ſixth time, to Sacrifice them to the publick Hatred. The Tribunate of *Livius Druſus*, who would have reſtored to the Senate the right of judging Cauſes, which *Caius Gracchus* had transferred to the Knights, was neither more quiet nor happier, all the Senators oppoſing him in thoſe things he deſigned in their Favour, chuſing rather to bear the Inſults of his Colleagues, than be beholding to him for the Honour he would procure them. So much envied they his Glory, which appeared to them too great. The Death of *Druſus*, who was killed as the *Gracchi*, for extending the Priviledges of the City of *Rome* to all *Italy*, (which explains *Tacitus*, *Corrupti ſpe, aut inluſi per interceſſionem ſocii*) kindles a War in *Italy*, or of the Confederates, *Sociale Bellum*, who preſently demanded this Honour, complaining with good Reaſon, that they were treated like Strangers by a City, maintained by their Arms, tho' of the ſame Nation, the ſame Blood, and *Rome* obliged to them for her great Power. This War was the firſt occaſion of railing, *Cn. Pompeius*, *Marius* and *Sylla*, who turned thoſe Arms againſt the City they were entruſted with againſt the Allies. For *Sylla*, that was of a noble Family, but much leſſened in their Greatneſs, valuing himſelf upon the Credit of ending the War in *Italy*, demanded the Conſulate, and obtained it by the Suffrages of almoſt all the Citizens. At the ſame time the Government of *Aſia* falling to *Sylla*, *Pub. Sulpicius* the Tribune, declared for *Marius*, who at 70 years of Age would Command all the Provinces, and by a Law turn'd *Sylla* out of the Government to give it to *Marius*, whence preſently began *Sylla*'s Civil War, who drove *Marius* and *Sulpicius* with their Accomplices out of *Rome*. This War was ſucceeded by that of *Cinna*, who was no more moderate than *Marius* or *Sulpicius*. He to Revenge himſelf of the Senate, that depoſed him from the Conſulate, and put another in his place, recalled *Marius* and his Son from Exile, and all of their Party that were Baniſhed, to ſtrengthen his own, to which by great Promiſes he drew all the Officers of the Roman Army at *Nola*. While he made War with his Country, *Cn. Pompeius*, ſeeing himſelf diſappointed in his hopes of being continued Conſul, ſtands neuter 'twixt the Commonwealth and *Sylla*, to watch an opportunity to mend his Condition, by going with his Army to that ſide had the Advantage. (For it often happens in Civil Wars, that great Men Sacrifice their Allegiance

was ſome Intermiſſion, which continued not long, by reaſon of *Lepidus*'s turbulent Demands, and the Licentiouſneſs of the Tribunes, who managed the People as they pleaſed; and made as many Laws as they had Perſons to accuſe, ſo that the Commonwealth being corrupt, the Laws were infinite [1].

XXIX. Then

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1. The multitude of Laws, ſays *Plato*, *de Republica*, is as ſure a ſign of the Corruption of a State, as a multitude of Phyſicians is of a Complication of Diſtempers. It may truly be ſaid, adds a great Miniſter, That new Laws are not ſo much Remedies for the Diſorders of States, as Teſtimonies thereof, and ſure tokens of the weakneſs of a Government; if old Laws have been well executed, there will be no need of renewing them, nor making others to ſtop new Diſorders, which then had never been ſettled. *Chap. 5. de la ſeconde partie du Teſtament Politique.* However it be, *Mezeray* had reaſon to ſay, That the multiplying Regulations in *France* ſerved only to multiply the Abuſes. *Dans la Vie d'Henry III.*

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giance to their Intereſt.) *Pompey* dying after he had given *Cinna* Battle, he and *Marius* became Maſters of *Rome*, whoſe Entry was followed with the Death of the Conſuls, *Octavius* killed by their Order, and *Cornelius Merula*, who cut his Veins to prevent *Cinna*'s Revenge, for being in his Place. *Marius* dying next year at the beginning of his Seventh Conſulate, *Cinna* that entred upon his Second had all the Power of the Government, but being very violent, the great Men retired to *Sylla* in *Greece*, which made him return into *Italy* to revenge the Nobles, who made him their Chief, as *Marius* was of the People, and *Cinna* was ſlain by the Soldiers who Mutined againſt him, when he would have had them Embarkt to Fight the Nobles. *Sylla* endeavours to end all Differences by a good Accommodation, and upon reaſonable Terms, but Peace would not pleaſe thoſe that hoped to advantage themſelves by Fiſhing in Troubled Waters. The Ambition of young *Marius*, elected Conſul at 26 years of Age, continued the War, but after he loſt a Battle, he was ſlain by ſome that *Sylla* hired to do it. He was ſurnamed, *The Happy*, ſo much was his Courage valued. This Victory made *Sylla* Dictator, who ſo much abuſed his Authority, that *Marius* and *Cinna* were regretted. For he was the firſt invented Proſcription, *i. e.* by publick Authority, gave a Reward to any one ſhould kill a Citizen of *Rome*, ſo that more was not given for the Head of an Enemy ſlain in Battle, than for a Citizen's killed in his own Houſe. After *Cinna*, *Marius* and *Sylla*, came *Pompey the Great*, who according to *Tacitus*, was not better than they, but knew more how to Diſſemble. *Poſt quos Cn. Pompeius occultior, non melior.* Hiſt. 2. As ſoon as *Pompey* was in the Management of Publick Affairs, not content to be the firſt, he would be alone, from thence came *Cæſar*'s Jealouſie, which in Concluſion produced another Civil War, where Fortune leaving *Pompey*, *Cæſar* became Maſter of the Empire. *Paterc. Hiſt. 2. Chap. 6.* & 12, 13. 15. 17. 19. 20. 21. 22. 25. 28. 33. 47. & 48.

[1] *Velleius*

XXIX. Then *Cneius Pompeius* was a third time Conſul [n], and choſe for Reformation of Manners, but being more ſevere [2] than the Offences deſerved, was the Subverter of the Laws he made, and loſt by Arms what he had gain'd by them [o]. From that time there were continual Troubles for Twenty Years, no Cuſtom, no Law obſerved, the greateſt Crimes went unpuniſhed, and many good Actions were fatal. At length, *Auguſtus Cæſar* being the Sixth time Conſul, and ſettled in his Authority, he aboliſhed thoſe things he commanded in his Triumvirate, and gave new Laws to be obſerved in time of Peace, and under a Monarch. And that they might be the better kept, he appointed ſome to look after them. The Law *Papia Poppæa* provided, the People, as common Parent, ſhould inherit their Goods, that left no Children [p]. But the Informers went farther, not only in the City, but through all *Italy*, where any Citizens were, ruined many Families, and frightened all. To remedy [3] which, *Tiberius* appointed by Lot, five that had been Conſuls, five that had been Prætors, and as many Senators,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. In making Laws, the Diſpoſition of the People is to be obſerved. No Laws are worſe than thoſe that require Perfection, for the difficulty of obſerving them brings them into a Diſuſe. Practice never reaches Speculation, and conſequently things are not to be adjuſted in ſuch a manner as will be beſt, but in ſuch a manner as will laſt longeſt. Cardinal *Pallavicini* very properly calls too ſevere Laws, the Bane of publick Tranquillity.

3. Since the end of Laws is the preſerving Order, and the Welfare of Societies, a Prince ſhould moderate or repeal them, when they are no longer profitable to the publick.

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n *Paterculus* ſays, That in this Conſulate he had no Colleague, and that this extraordinary Honour gave *Cæſar* ſo much Jealouſie, that from that time they were irreconcileable Enemies. He adds, *Pompey* uſed all his Authority againſt Canvaſing for Offices. *Chap.* 47.

o All good Men, ſays the ſame Author, would have *Pompey* and *Cæſar* both quit their Commands, *Pompey* agreed with thoſe would have *Cæſar* do it, but was againſt doing it himſelf too. And thence began the Civil War. *Chap.* 48.

p By the *Lex Papia*, thoſe who had never been Married, *nihil capiebant*

tors, to explain the Doubts in that Law, and by a favorable Interpretation to give the People some Relief for the present.

XXX. About the same time he recommended *Nero*, one of *Germanicus*'s Children, then 17 years of Age, to the Senate; and requested he might be dispenced with for the Vigintivirate [q], and be Quæstor five years sooner than the Laws permitted [r], pretending the same was granted him and his Brother at *Augustus*'s Request [s]. I doubt not but some then secretly laughed at this. These were the beginnings of *Cæsar*'s rising, the ancient Custom was in every Man's Eye, and a less Relation lookt upon to

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4. The Education Prince's Children have, and the Priviledge of their Birth, are such Advantages that they ought not to be subject to the Laws of Age, because they are ripe for Business sooner than others. Whence 'tis said,

Cæsaribus virtus contigit antè diem.

It is impossible, says Cardinal *Perron*, but Princes should know every thing; for they have the Fruits of their Labours that Study, and Learn in a quarter of an hour, what a good Wit has laboured for a month. *Perroniana.*

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ex testamentis, they were incapable of taking any thing by Will. But the *Orbi*, *i. e.* those who had been Married, but had no Children, lost only a Moiety. And it is in this Sense *Juvenal* makes the Adulterer say to the Husband;

Quod tibi filiolus, vel filia nascitur ex me,
Jura parentis habes; propter me scriberis hæres,
Legatum omne capis, nec non & dulce caducum. Sat. 9.

The Emperor *Antonine* took from the People the Right of *vacantia tenere*, and ordered such Goods to fall to the Prince's Treasure. *Hodie*, says *Ulpian*, *Ex constitutione Imperatoris Antonini, omnia caduca fisco vindicantur. In Fragm. Tit.* 18.

q The *Vigintiviri* distributed Corn to the People, they had the Care of the High-Ways, and to see the Money was not altered.

r According to the Laws, no Man could be Quæstor till he was 25 years of Age.

s *Augustus* to do a popular thing, and to give the People an empty shew of Grandeur and Liberty, pretended he wanted their Consent to grant his Wives Children a Dispensation he had in his own Power.

t And

to be betwixt a Father-in-Law and his Wife's Children, than an Uncle and his Nephew [t]. The Pontifical Dignity was alſo beſtowed upon him, and the firſt time he appeared in publick, he gave the People a Donative, who were joyful to ſee a Son of *Germanicus* at full Age. Their Joy was encreaſed by his Marrying *Julia*, *Druſus*'s Daughter [1]. But if this Marriage was univerſally approved, there were great Diſcontents upon *Claudius*'s Sons being to Marry *Sejanus* Daughter [2], as a Diſparagement to him, but *Sejanus*, whoſe Ambition was ſuſpected, was much exalted upon it.

XXXI. The end of this year died two great Men, *L. Voluſius* and *Sal. Criſpus*. The firſt of an ancient Family, but never in higher Employment than that of Prætor; he was made Conſul and Cenſor for chaſing Bands of Horſemen; he got vaſt Riches, which made that Houſe ſo great. The other was Grandchild to *Caius Saluſtius*'s Siſter, the famous Hiſtorian, whoſe Name he took by Adoption. Though he might eaſily have got Honours, yet after the Example of *Mecenas*

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1. Equal Marriages are always liked.

2. Princes of the Blood, when they have any thing to obtain, commit not ſo great an Error as ſome imagine, by Marrying the Daughters or Neices of Miniſters. For beſides, 'tis a means to keep in a Prince's Favour, it will alſo make them great; but Miniſters that have the Ambition to be Allied to Princes, expoſe themſelves very much to Envy; and when the Reverſe of Fortune comes, as it often happens, they have little Protection from them but for their Intereſt, and when that ceaſes, conſider them only as Relations that are Diſcredit to them. There is alſo another Reaſon ſhould keep Miniſters from aſpiring to this Honour, becauſe thoſe Princes are very liable to be ſuſpected by him that Reigns, which often falls upon the Miniſter that is concerned to protect them becauſe of the Relation. And the Prince that will be Maſter of all, and be chiefly regarded by his Creatures, can never love much, nor long, a Miniſter that divides his Affection and Complaiſance betwixt him and the Princes of the Blood.

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t And therefore *Tiberius* ſhould be more concerned for the Advancement of his Grandſon, than *Auguſtus* for his Wives Children.

Cenas [u], was never Senator, but had greater Power and Authority than many had triumph'd and been Conſuls. His manner of living was very different from his Anceſtors, either for his Apparel or Table, where the Plenty was ſuch as to be near Luxury. He had a Capacity for great Affairs [3], and very vivacious, though he affected to appear heavy and ſlothful. While *Mecenas* lived, he had the ſecond place in the Miniſtry, and the firſt afterwards. He was privy to the Murder of *Poſthumus Agrippa* [4], and as he grew in years, had rather the Name than Power of a Favourite. The like happened to *Mecenas* [5], ſo rare is it for a Prince's Favour to continue al-

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3. For the moſt part, thoſe that have managed, or are capable of managing great Affairs, have been Voluptuous. Never any Man was more vigilant than *Mecenas*, when the State Affairs required it, and never any Man loved Quiet, Lazineſs, and the Pleaſures of Life more than he. So *Saluſt* imitated him in all his Virtues and his Vices.

4. Sooner or later Princes forbear ſeeing, or at leaſt having a Kindneſs for thoſe have been Witneſſes, Accomplices, or have aſſiſted them in their Crimes, either through Shame or Repentance. *Voi la Note 3. du Chap. 1. du Liv. 1.*

5. The Diſgrace of the Chief Miniſters is not always an Effect of their ill Conduct. The wiſeſt and moſt moderate loſe Favour as well as thoſe who abuſe it. *Mecenas* was without diſpute one of the beſt and moſt underſtanding Miniſters *Auguſtus* could have, and yet he found his Maſter loved Change. *Gonçalo Hermandez* conquered the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the firſt Recompence he had, was, *Ferdinand the Catholick* gave Ear to all the Complaints and Calumnies of his Enemies, and was glad to have an Occaſion to reform and preſerve his Authority. After which, calling him into *Spain*, he confined him for 7 or 8 years to his own Eſtate, while he was unblemiſhed he refuſed him the Commanderie of *Leon*, and then that of *Hornachos*, vacant at the ſame time. *Mariana, ch. 9. du liv. 28. & 14. du liv. 30. de ſon Hiſtoire.* At the end whereof he gives a Commendation of this great Captain, in theſe words. He had, ſays he, a very beautiful Perſonage, and was altogether the braveſt and happieſt Warriour *Spain* has

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[u] *Paterculus* ſays, *Mecenas* contented himſelf all his Life with being a *Roman* Knight, without regarding thoſe Dignities he might eaſily have obtained from *Auguſtus*, who loved him as well as *Agrippa*, if he had been of a Temper to have deſired them. *Hiſt. 2. Chap. 88.*

[x] The

always [z], or becauſe both have their Satiety, thoſe when they have given all they can, theſe when they have got all they deſire [a].

The Year of the City, 774.

XXXII. This Year is Memorable for having Father and Son Conſuls together. Which was the Fourth time with *Tiberius*, the Second with *Druſus*. Two years before, *Germanicus* was *Tiberius*'s Colleague, who was not very agreeable to him. The beginning of this Year *Tiberius* goes for his Health to *Campania* [y], where he thought to withdraw himſelf wholly, and by his abſence leave the

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has bred a long time. The Ingratitude he met with, added to his Glory, and preſerved him from thoſe Errors he might have fallen into in his old Age. For it rarely happens that a Man puts often to Sea without meeting with a Tempeſt.

6. The Favour of Princes, (ſays *Anthony Perez*, who knew it by Experience) riſes or falls. When it can go no higher, it neceſſarily falls. When Princes have no more to give, they are aſham'd to ſee their own want of Ability; and when Favourites have no more to ask, they forbear their Compliances. For, according to *Commines*, more ſerve in hopes of the good Things to come, than thoſe already received. *Cap.* 11. *Lib.* 3.

1. A

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z The Chancellor *Chiverin* ſays, It has been fatal to the Race of the Valois to hate thoſe at laſt, they loved moſt at firſt. *Philip de Valois*, the firſt of that Line, was obliged to the Count *d'Artois* for his Crown, and afterwards did all he could to ſpoil him of his Poſſeſſions. *Lewis* XI, ruin'd the Duke of *Burgundy*, with whom he lived ſix years. *Lewis* XII. perſecuted the Mareſchal *Gie*; and *Francis* I. the Duke of *Bourbon*, whom he had entirely loved, and the Meſſieurs *de Montmorency* and *de Biron*, that had been his Favourites. *Henry* II. did the ſame to Monſieur *de Dampierre*, and the Mareſchal *de Gie*, by whoſe Hand he would be made a Knight; *Charles* IX. to Meſſieurs *Montmorency* and *de Coſſe*. *Henry* III. to the Meſſieurs *de Ligneroles*, *de Ballegarde*, *le Gnaſt*, *St*, *Luc*. *de Villequier*, *Beauvais-Nangis*, and above all the Meſſieurs *de Guiſe*, whom he lov'd ſo much in his Youth, and all of his Council that had ſerved him beſt. *Dans ſes Memoirs*. The ſame may be ſaid almoſt of all Princes.

y Now called *Terra di Lavoro*.

a The

the Affairs of the Conſulate to his Son [1]. And it happen'd a ſmall thing cauſing warm Diſputes gave *Druſus* an Occaſion of gaining great Credit [2]. *Domitius Corbulo*, who had been Prætor, complain'd to the Senate of *L. Sylla*, a Young Nobleman, that he gave him not Place at a Play of the Gladiators. His Age, Cuſtom, and all the Old Men were for *Corbulo*; *Mamercus Scaurus*, *L. Arruntius*, with ſome others, were for *Sylla* their Kinſman. Speeches were made on both ſides, and old Preſidents cited; ſeverely rebuking the Irreverence of Youth [3], till *Druſus* qualify'd the Matter with a proper Diſcourſe, and *Corbulo* was ſatisfy'd [4] by *Scaurus*, Uncle and Father-in-Law to *Sylla*, and the Beſt Orator in his time.

XXXIII. The ſame *Corbulo* complain'd, that through the Fraud of the Surveyors, and Negligence of the Magiſtrates, the High-ways were much out of Order, and ſcarce Paſſable, and willingly accepted finiſhing them. Which turn'd not ſo much to a Publick Benefit, as the ruine of Particular Perſons [1], whom he oppreſs'd in their Eſtate

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. A Prince that inſtructs his Son in the Offices of Government, does as becomes a Father and a Prince; as a Father, becauſe he gives his Son ſuch Education as he ſhould have; and as a Prince, becauſe he does his Duty to his Subjects, in endeavouring to leave them a good Succeſſor. *Commines* blames the Emperor *Frederick* the Third, that his Son knew nothing, had been ill Educated, and was utterly unacquainted with Matters of State. *Cap.* 3. *Lib.* 6.

2. From very ſmall Things we often ſee great Events. The Quarrels that happen among great Men, ſhould never be neglected; becauſe they often carry them into Factions, Cabals, and Parties.

3. It is not only good Breeding and Decency, but the Intereſt of a Prince and State to have old Men reſpected by the Young; and particularly in the Publick Aſſemblies and upon Ceremonies, where the Irreverence of Youth, to thoſe whom Age makes Venerable, is of very dangerous conſequence.

4. It concerns a Prince not to let thoſe Offences go unpuniſh'd, that the young Lords at his Court commit againſt his Judges and Magiſtrates. For he'll not be obey'd himſelf, but as he makes them reſpected that are the Guardian of the Laws. There are every where, but more in *France* than any other Country, a great Antipathy betwixt thoſe of the Sword and the Gown; what would become of things, if theſe reſtrain'd not the other?

1. There are always People, that have the Confidence to believe, they are capable of managing Affairs, they underſtand not at all. Thoſe that find themſelves in Credit with Princes,

Eſtate and Credit, by condemning them, and ſetting their Goods to Sale[2].

XXXIV. Not long after, *Tiberius* writ to the Senate, to give them notice, that by *Tacfarinas*'s Incurſion *Africk* was again in Arms; and that it was neceſſary for them to chuſe a Pro-conſul, skilful in Military Affairs, and of able Body and fit for this War. *Sextus Pompeius* takes this Occaſion to vent his Malice againſt *M. Lepidus*; he accuſed him as a Coward, Beggarly, and a Diſhonour to his Anceſtors[1]; and therefore not to be admitted a Candidate for the Government of *Aſia*. The Senators on the other ſide look'd on *Lepidus* as a Moderate Man, more worthy Praiſe than Blame; and his Father leaving him a ſmall Eſtate, his Living without reproach they judg'd a Credit, rather than Diſgrace. He was therefore

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Princes, think themſelves fit for any Employs; and upon this falſe Foundation do what they can to obtain them. Yet, 'tis very certain, that he is able to ſerve the Publick in ſome Offices, who will ruine it in others. M. *de la Chaſtre* ſaid, the Biſhop of *Beauvais* did what he could to ruine M. *Chaſteauneuf* with the Queen *Ann* of *Auſtria*, that ſo he might have none joyn'd with him in the Management of Affairs, of which he thought himſelf very capable. The Queen, he goes on, could not have choſe better for Fidelity, nor ſcarce worſe for Capacity, this good Prelate having not a Head for ſuch a Charge. *Dans ſes Memoirs.*

2. Reformation is more dangerous than the Evil to be reform'd, when it is committed to Perſons have neither Abilities nor Moderation that is requiſite. Upon Complaints made againſt certain Reformers that ruine more than they eſtabliſh'd, Cardinal *Perron* ſaid to the Council, *Theſe have reaſon to call themſelves Reformers, but it is Maſter* William's *Senſe.* This was a Buffoon, who call'd Ruining, Reforming, *Perroniana.*

1. The greateſt Men have at all times found Enemies, who would not only deprive them of their Employments and Dignities, but ruine their Credit, and endeavour to deſtroy the Opinion has been entertain'd of their eminent Worth. M. *de Montreſor* ſays, That Cardinal *Richelieu* in all he undertook, was more oblig'd to Fortune, than the State to his Counſels and Advices. And in another place, he adds, He never found any thing in him of foreſight nor a Great Man, but only that he was very happy, that Fortune carried him through Difficulties more than the Prudence many would value him for. *Dans ſes Memoirs.* The Biſhop of *Beauvais* ſaid, Cardinal *Mazarine* was not an able Man, becauſe he underſtood not the Revenues. *Memoirs de M. de la Chaſtre.*

1. There

fore sent into *Asia*, and for *Africk*, they referr'd the Nomination to *Tiberius*.

XXXV. Upon this, *Severus Cæcina* propos'd, their prohibiting Women going with their Husbands to their Governments; *Often declaring how happily he lived with his Wife, by whom he had six Children; and that he had advised nothing for the Publick, but what he observed himself, not suffering his to go out of* Italy, *though he had commanded abroad forty Years.* He added, *It was with very good Reason our Ancestors forbid it, That the Company of Women was burthensome and injurious by their Luxury in Peace, and Fear in War* [1]; *and made a Roman Army like the Barbarians going to War* [2]. *That Sex was not only weak and unable to Labour, but they got the Ascendant, Cruel, Ambitious, and Arbitrary. That Women have lately been seen to march among the Soldiers, and commanding the Centurions, were present at their Musters and Exercises. That they should consider when any have been charged with Corruption, much was objected to their Wives. That the greatest Villains in the Provinces have applied to them, who have undertaken and transacted their Affairs. From hence it is, two are courted and*

Politick Reflections.

1. There is nothing more contrary to that Application is necessary for Publick Affairs, than the Engagement of those to Women that have the Administration. As a Woman lost the World, nothing is more capable of hurting States, than that Sex, when they have those in their Power that govern, they make them do what seems good to them, and consequently, what is ill. The best Thoughts of Women being always bad in them that are guided by their Passions, which is commonly their Reason, when Reason it self should be the only Motive to animate and actuate those that manage publick Affairs. *Sect. 5. du c. 8. de la premier Partie du Testament Politique du Cardinal de Richelieu.*

Historical Notes.

2 The Latin is, *ad similitudinem barbari incessus*, because it was the Custom of Barbarous Nations to carry their Wives with them to the Wars, as *Tacitus* remarks, *Ann. 4. Adsistentes plerisque matres & conjuges. Ann. 14. Brittannorum copiæ animo adeo fero, ut conjuges quoque testes victoriæ secum traherent.* And in his account of *Germany. Feminarum ululatus audiri, vagitus infantium. Hi cuique sanctissimi testes, &c.*

[a] Because

and two Judgment Seats. That formerly they were reſtrain'd by the Oppian Laws, *but have broke through thoſe Ties, they govern not only their Families, but the Courts of Juſtice and the Armies* [2].

XXXVI. Few agreed with him, many interrupted [3]; ſaying, That was not the Matter before them [a], and *Cæcina* not a Cenſor of weight enough for ſuch an Affair. And *Valerius Meſſalinus*, *Meſſala*'s Son [b], who had much of his Eloquence, reply'd, *Many hard Cuſtoms of their Anceſtors* [4] *had been changed for others better and more agreeable. That the*

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. Since Intereſt is that commonly makes Men behave themſelves ill in Office, Eccleſiaſticks are generally preferable to others, ſays Cardinal *Richelieu*; not as being leſs ſubject to Intereſt, but as having neither Wives nor Children, are free from thoſe Ties engage others. *Chap. 7. de la ſeconde partie du Teſtament Politique.*

3. 'Tis always dangerous ſpeaking of Reformation, for there are ever more that fear, than deſire it. Cardinal *Richelieu* declar'd he durſt never begin a Reformation of the King's Houſe, becauſe he could never do it, without encountering the Intereſt of many that were conſtantly near the King, and in that Familiarity with him, they would diſſuade him from what was moſt neceſſary in the State, to prevent the Regulations of his Family, that would be very profitable to him. *Chap. 7. de la premier partie du meme Teſtament.*

1. There are things Convenient and Neceſſary at one time, that may be Pernicious at another. Thoſe that have the Government of States, whether Princes or Miniſters, ſhould accommodate themſelves to the Preſent, which commonly has no agreement with the Paſt. All Politicians agree in this. *Machiavel* ſays, That the Occaſion of every Man's good or bad Fortune, conſiſts in his correſpondence

HISTORICAL NOTES.

a Becauſe not propos'd by the Conſuls, nor the Prince, to whom it belong'd to propoſe Matters that were to be conſider'd, and therefore what *Cæcina* offer'd was not to the purpoſe; and he was not conſiderable enough himſelf to undertake a Reform of Pro-conſuls, and other great Magiſtrates that went to govern the Provinces. Yet *Tacitus* ſays in two places of his ſecond Book, that it was allow'd them to quit their Subject they were upon, when they had any thing to offer more important to the Publick; and that was commonly practis'd by the Senators. *Erat quippe adhuc frequens ſenatoribus, ſi quid e rep. crederent, loco ſententiæ promere.* And three Pages after. *A majoribus conceſſum eſt egredi aliquando relationem, & quod in commune conducat loco ſententiæ proferre.*

b *Meſſala Corvinus*, of whom *Quintilian* ſays, *Cicerone nitidior & dulcior, & in vocibus magis elaboratus.* Dialogo de Oratoribus.

the City was not beſieged as formerly, nor the Provinces in Arms, and ſome Regard ſhould be had to the Satisfaction of the Women, who are ſo far from being troubleſome to the Allies, they are not ſo to their Husbands. They ſhare with them in all Conditions, and are no inconvenience in time of Peace. 'Tis true, we ſhould go to the Wars without Incumbrances, but when we return, what Comfort more Commendable than that a Man enjoys with his Wife? 'Tis ſaid, ſome Women have been Ambitious and Covetous. What ſhall we ſay of the Magiſtrates themſelves, moſt of them have their Failings; will you therefore ſend none to the Provinces? But the Wives have corrupted their Husbands; are therefore ſingle Men uncorrupt [c]*? The Oppian Laws were once in force, the State of the Common-Wealth requiring them; but after, their Rigour was moderated, becauſe that was judged Expedient* [z]*. 'Tis in vain to cover our own Miſcarriages with other*

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

pondence and accommodation with the Times. Which is the Reaſon why a Prince's Fortune varies ſo ſtrangely, becauſe ſhe varies the Times, and he does not alter the way of his Adminiſtration. *Chap. 9. l. 3. of his Diſcourſe.* The Duke of *Rohan* ſays almoſt the ſame thing in his Epiſtle before his *Intereſt des Princes*, Dedicated to Cardinal *Richelieu*. That there is no immutable Rule in the Government of States. Upon Revolutions in States, a Change even in Fundamental Maxims is neceſſary to govern well. Therefore thoſe that in theſe Matters obſerve more Examples of what is paſt, than preſent Reaſons, neceſſarily commit great Errors.

2. When a Government is firſt fram'd, 'tis reaſonable to make the moſt perfect Laws Humane Society is capable of; but Prudence admits not the ſame in an ancient Monarchy, where Imperfections are grown Cuſtomary, and where ſome Diſorders are made a Part of the State. In which Caſe we muſt ſubmit to ſuch Infirmities, and be content rather with a moderate Rule, than to eſtabliſh one more ſevere and leſs agreeable, becauſe the Severity of it may give Diſturbance. *Sect. 1. Chap. 4. de la premiere Partie du Teſta. Polit.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

c If *Pilate* had taken his Wife *Claudia Procula*'s Counſel, who ſent a Meſſage to him to the Judgment-Hall to have a Care how he condemn'd the Innocent. His Wife ſent unto him ſaying, *Have thou nothing to do with that Juſt Man.* Matt. 27. He had never given up Jeſus Chriſt to the Jews. If there were many ſuch Wives, as this *Procula*, it were to be wiſh'd all the Governors of Provinces would carry their Wives along with them.

z 'Tis

other Names; for if the Wife does amiſs, it is the Husband's[d] *Fault*[3]. *Beſides, for the Failings of one or two, it is not reaſonable to deprive all Husbands theſe ſhares in their Proſperity and Adverſity; and to leave a Sex naturally weak, expos'd to their own Wanton Deſires, and the Luſts of others*[4]. *For if their Husbands preſence is ſcarce ſufficient to keep them Virtuous, what ſhall become of them when an Abſence of many Years ſeparates like a Divorce? We ſhould take care of the Diſorders abroad, and not forget thoſe may happen at home.* Druſus *added ſomething of his own Marriage; and that Princes often viſit the remoteſt Provinces. That* Auguſtus *had ſeveral times carried* Livia *with him to the Eaſt and Weſt*[5]; *That he had been in* Sclavonia, *and was ready to go into other Countries, if neceſſary, but ſhould do it with reluctancy, if he was to be ſeparated from his dear Wife*[6] *and Children.* So *Cæcina's* Advice took no Effect[7].

XXXVII. At

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. The fooliſh Vanity of Husbands that encourage their Wives in extravagance of Cloaths, is the firſt Occaſion of their Faults. Thoſe who maintain the ſame, when they find their Allowances not ſufficient, are glad to make uſe of a Lover's Purſe. This is the Fact, and you may ſee who is to blame.

4. If Extravagance was laid aſide, it would not be difficult to remedy the Vices of Women. For as they are more given to Vanity than Love, and the greateſt part love Men only as they ſupply their Vanity and Ambition, if Extravagance, which is the Incentive, was once gone, 'tis certain their Diſorders would ceaſe too, and Chaſtity and Modeſty ſucceed them. But the general Depravation of Manners gives us no room to hope for ſo great a good.

5. A Prince can offer nothing better to juſtifie himſelf, than the Example of a Predeceſſor, univerſally approved.

6. When Princes are young, and undertake long Voyages, they can have no better Company than their Wives, who may prevent their falling into Debauches, if they have Beauty and Complaiſance. For without thoſe advantages, 'tis impoſſible they ſhould have Power enough over their Husbands to reſtrain the Natural Inclination to Voluptuouſneſs.

7. A Prince need only give his Opinion, for that is generally follow'd by thoſe that ſit in Council with him.

8. Princes

HISTORICAL NOTES.

d 'Tis in vain, ſays *Ablancourt*, we cover our own Faults with other Names, and that Womens Failings are often owing to their Husbands.

e *Pliny*

XXXVII. At the next Meeting of the Senate, *Tiberius*'s Letters were read, which gently reproved their casting all the Cares of the Government [8] upon him, nominated *M. Lepidus* and *Junius Blæſus*, one of them to be choſen Pro-conſul of *Africk*. Both were heard, *Lepidus* earneſtly excus'd himſelf [9] for want of Health, his Childrens Age, and a Daughter he had to marry; conſidering too, that *Blæſus* was *Sejanus*'s Uncle, and therefore ſure to carry it [10]. *Blæſus* ſeem'd to refuſe too, but leſs earneſtly; and was heard favourably by the Flatterers.

XXXVIII. Then many ſecret Complaints were made, for every Villain that could lay hold on *Cæſar*'s Image, might freely reproach honeſt men [11], and raiſe Envy againſt

Politick Reflections.

8. Princes Hearts and Tongues ſeldom agree, when you hear them ſpeak you would think they were very Modeſt; but when you ſee what they do 'tis always the contrary. *Tiberius* complain'd the Senate ſhould leave it to him to name the Pro-conſul of *Africk*, and yet accepted what he ſeem'd to refuſe. He offer'd two to them, to leave a Liberty of Choice, but in effect they had no Choice, ſince he propos'd *Sejanus*'s Uncle for one, whoſe Fortune they worſhipp'd.

9. A good Courtier will avoid a Competition with the Relations of a Favourite or Chief Miniſter. On ſuch Occaſions there is more Safety and more Honour to give way than to be a Competitor.

10. Whatever Merit a Pretender may have, he ought never to flatter himſelf that he ſhall prevail againſt a Competitor that hath the Prince's Favour, or the firſt Miniſter's. There is almoſt the ſame Difference betwixt Merit and Favour, as the Divines make betwixt Sufficient and Effectual Grace. The Duke *d'Alva* had Merit, and the Prince *d'Eboli* Favour, in the year 1558. both ask'd for the Dutchy of *Bais* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, from whence the Duke drove out the French Army. This Service was freſh, and many former Services ſpoke for the Duke; but the Competition of the Prince *d'Eboli* hindred *Philip* II. giving this Recompence to one to whom he and his Father had ſo much Obligation. So true is the Maxim of *Lewis* XI. *That a Prince naturally loves thoſe more that are obliged to him, than thoſe to whom he is obliged. Comminei, Chap. dernier du Livre* 3. *de ſes Memoires.* Yet it is an ill Omen for a Prince when he that is moſt conſiderable for his Merit, is not alſo moſt conſiderable in Favour. Merit ought to ballance, and when Juſtice is on one ſide, Favour cannot prevail without Injuſtice. *Chap.* 7. *de la ſeconde Partie du Teſtament Politique*

11. A Prince ſhould never let any Man make uſe of his Name or Authority to do Injuſtice. *Lewis* XI. ſays *Commines*, oppreſs'd his Subjects, but would never ſuffer any Favourite or other Perſon to do it. *Sixtus Quintus* ſent *Bellochio*, his Gentleman and old Servant, to the Galleys, for ſetting the *Annulus Piſcatoris* to a Briet he would not grant. (It was a Brief that commanded one to ſell *Bellochio*'s Houſe, who had a Mind to build a ſtately Palace there.) *Leti libro* 3. *della Seconda Parte della vita di Sisto.*

1. Sup-

gainſt them. Even Freed-Men and Slaves were ſeared, inſulting their Maſters [e] and Patrons with Words and Blows. Therefore *C. Seſtius*, a Senator, ſpoke to this Effect, 'That indeed Princes were like Gods, but the 'Gods heard only juſt Prayers, That neither the Capi-'tol nor Temples of the City were a Refuge to any 'for their Crimes [f]. There was an end of the Laws, 'if *Anna Rufilla*, whom he Condemned for Fraud, might 'threaten and reproach him before the Senate and in 'publick and not be queſtioned for it, becauſe ſhe had '*Cæſar*'s Image before her [f]. Others delivered them-'ſelves to the ſame purpoſe, but ſome with warmth, be-'ſeeching *Druſus* to inflict ſome exemplary puniſhment 'on her, ſo ſhe was called for, Convicted and Con-'demned to Priſon.

XXXIX. At *Druſus*'s Requeſt, *Conſidius Æquus*, and *Celius Curſor*, two Roman Knights, were condemned by the Senate for falſly accuſing *Magius Cecilianus*, the Prætor, of High-Treaſon. Theſe Matters were to *Druſus*'s Honour [2], for by his means Converſation was made free and

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Sanctuaries were inſtituted for thoſe who deſire the help of the Law, but not for ſuch as make it their Buſineſs to injure others.

2. A Prince cannot gain himſelf more Love and Reſpect than by ſpeedy Juſtice. There cannot be a better Action than that of *John* III. of *Portugal*, who being before the Altar to Communicate, a Gentleman coming in, cried out aloud to the Prieſt that held the Hoſt, to defer the Communion till the King had heard him, and done him Juſtice, and this good Prince did not Communicate till he had done it. See the Treatiſe, Intituled, *Audientia de Principes*.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

[e] *Pliny* the younger ſpeaks of this Misfortune of Maſters, when he ſays to *Trajan*; You have delivered us from Domeſtick Accuſations, and have at laſt extinguiſhed, (as I may call it) *Bellum Servile*. *Philoſtratus* mentions a Maſter that was Condemned as Impious and Sacrilegious for beating his Slave, who had a piece of Silver with *Tiberius*'s Image upon it. *Dans la Vie d'Apollonius*.

[f] *Suetonius* ſays, The Senate forbid their laying hold on the Statues and Images, Condemning thoſe to the Mines that ſhould do ſo to injure others. *Dans la Vie de Tiberi, Chap.* 37.

and safe, and his Father's secret Designs qualified. They found no Fault with his Riots, thinking it better for one of his Age to spend the Day in the publick Shews [g], and the Night in Revels, than to live Solitary [3] without Plea-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. Solitude does Princes no good, especially when they are young. It only makes them cruel, fantastical, untractable, and averse to those Duties that belong to Sovereignty. I cannot give here a better instance of the mischief of Solitude in the Education of Princes, than that of *John* II. King of *Castile*, according to the Description of the judicious *Mariana*. 'All the Virtues of this King, says 'he, were obscured by the little 'care he took of his Affairs and 'the Government. He gave no 'Audience willingly, nor never any 'but in haste. He had no great 'Capacity, nor a Head fit for Affairs of State. That brought his 'Courtiers into Favour, and particularly *Alvaro de Luna*, who began to be more familiar with him 'than all the rest. Queen *Catherine* his Mother had good Reason 'to drive this Favourite from Court, 'and send him back into his own 'Country; but shewed little Wisdom in keeping her Son shut up 'in a House for six years together, 'without suffering him to go out, 'or any Person to visit him, besides 'some Domesticks of the Court. 'Whereby she pretended to prevent 'the Grandees making themselves 'Masters of him, and Innovations 'in the Kingdom. A miserable Education for a King! an unworthy 'thing, not to allow a Prince liberty to speak, to see, or be seen; 'but to keep him in a Cage to make 'him cruel and violent, and to mew 'him up that was born for Labour, 'and the Fatigues of War. Why 'would she soften and emasculate 'his Courage, who ought to be day 'and night on his guard, and watch 'over all the Parts of his State? 'Certainly such an Education will 'bring great Mischiefs upon the 'Subjects of any Kingdom. For 'the Prince's manly Age will be like 'his Infancy; he will pass the best 'of his Days in dishonourable Pleasures and Idleness, as *John* II. did. 'For after the Death of Queen *Catherine*, his Carriage was always 'like a Child, and as if he had never seen Light. The multitude of 'Affairs troubled him and perplexed 'his Head. Therefore he was always governed by his Courtiers 'to the great prejudice of his States, 'which were in perpetual Commotions. *Mariana*, says too, he was 'subject to Startings, which would 'take him all of a sudden, and 'his Caresses were all out of Season, 'so that he was more despised than 'feared, *Chap.* 11. *du* 20. *liv. de son Hist. d'Esp.* The Life *Henry* III. of *France* led after his Minions had persuaded him, not to appear any more to his Subjects, but to be shut up from them, like the Kings of the East, had the same Effects. 'His 'Desires, says the Chancellor *Chivergny*, shewed his Judgment was 'not

HISTORICAL NOTES.

g It is in Latin, *Ædificationibus*, but the Commentators think it ought rather to be, *Editionibus*.

h *Aqua*

Pleaſures [4], and to let Melancholly prevail upon him and draw him into ill Practices and Devices. For *Tiberius*, and the Informers gave diſquiet enough. *Ancarius Priſcus* accuſed *Ceſius Cordus*, Proconſul of *Crete*, of Extortion, and of Treaſon too, a Supplement in all Accuſations [5].

XL. *Tiberius* diſpleaſed with the Judges for acquitting *Antiſtius Verus*, one of the chief Lords of *Macedonia* of Adultery, ſent for him to *Rome* to anſwer for Treaſon [6], as an Accomplice with *Reſcuporis* in his Deſigns of making War upon us, when he had ſlain his Brother *Cotis*. He was Baniſhed [h] into an Iſland [7] that had no Commerce

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

' not as it uſed to be, that he was ' too much locked up and involved ' in other Pleaſure, his Minions had ' engaged him. And I ſhall take ' the liberty to ſay, that foreſeeing ' long before his Death, 4 years at ' leaſt, how impoſſible it was for ' him not to fall into ſome great ' Misfortune. I often laid before ' him the great Injury he did him- ' ſelf, and the Evil he and his State ' would undoubtedly receive. *Dans ſes Memoires.*

4. A Prince ſhould have ſome Relaxation from his ſerious Affairs, and after he has been at the Head of his Army. It is not poſſible the Soul ſhould be always bent to grave and painful Adminiſtrations, without any Refreſhment, or the Diverſion of other more agreeable Thoughts. *Titus*, who is recommended for one of the wiſeſt Princes ever governed, was deſperately in love with *Berenice*, but his Love never hindred his Buſineſs. *Harangue de M. d'Aubray dans la Satyre Menippée.*

5. When all Crimes are turned to Treaſon, 'tis a certain ſign of a Tyrannical Government, and that a Prince ſacrifices Juſtice to his Intereſt.

6. When a Prince ſets up new Accuſations againſt a great Man, that the Judges acquit of what he is charged with, 'tis plain he reſolves to deſtroy him.

7. The leſs Evidence there is againſt a man, the more ſeverely is he treated, if it be for Treaſon: Mathematical Demonſtrations of Conſpiracies and Cabals, ſays Cardinal *Richlieu*, are not to be expected; thoſe are not to be met with till the Event, that is, not till they are paſt Remedy. *Tome 5. des Memoires de ſon Miniſtre.* And conſequently what appears by ſtrong Conjectures, ſhould ſometimes be thought ſufficiently proved. *Chap. 5. de la ſeconde partie du Teſtament Politique.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

h Aqua & ignis interdictio, was the Phraſe uſed in Baniſhment, which was not a Puniſhment immediately, but by conſequence. For the forbidding the uſe of Water and Fire, which were neceſſary for Life, the Condemned Perſon was obliged to leave his Country.

merce either with *Macedonia* or *Thrace* [8]. For ſince *Thrace* was divided betwixt *Rhemetalces* and *Cotis*'s Children, to whom *Trebellienus Rufus* was Tutor, by reaſon of their Infancy, being not accuſtomed [9] to our Government; the People were full of Diſcontents, and complained of *Rhemetalces* and *Trebellienus*, that they never puniſhed the Oppreſſions of the Country [10]. The *Celaletes*, *Odruſians*, and other Potent People of *Thrace*, took Arms under divers Captains, but for want of Experience [11], came not to any formidable War. Some waſted the Country, others paſſed the Mountain *Hæmus* [i], to raiſe thoſe lived remote, others Beſieged *Rhemetalces*

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

8. If a great Man is potent in a Frontier Country, and behaves himſelf ſo, as to give cauſe to ſuſpect his correſponding with the Neighbouring Princes, the Prince is in the Right to ſecure his Perſon, either by calling him to Court, or arreſting him there if he comes not out. And tho' there be not ſufficient Evidence againſt him, yet there is no Injuſtice done him in preventing his return, for it is not reaſonable Princes ſhould live in Fear and Uneaſineſs for any Subject, nor that the Intereſt of a particular Perſon ſhould be conſidered more than the publick Safety.

9. It is abſolutely neceſſary a Governor ſhould know the Cuſtoms, Laws, and Manners of the Country where he is ſent; otherwiſe he will commit a thouſand Errors that will make him be hated or deſpiſed, which will be in prejudice of his Prince's Authority. Cardinal *Richlieu* ſays, in the firſt Chapter of his *Teſtament Politique*, that he was forced to put the Marſhal *de Vitry* out of the Government of *Provence*, tho' his Courage and Fidelity made him very fit for it, becauſe being of an inſolent haughty Temper, he was not proper to govern a People jealous of their Liberties and Priviledges, as the Provenſals are. And in *Arragon*, they pretend the King of *Spain* cannot give them a Stranger for their Viceroy, that is, one that is no Native, without breaking the Laws. So they call their Liberties and Immunities, in Defence whereof all the Kingdom roſe for *Antonio Perez* againſt *Philip* II. (1591.)

10. A Governor that ſuffers the People to be inſulted by Strangers, whether he can remedy it, or not, may however be aſſured, that upon the firſt occaſion they will Rebel againſt him.

11. The Event of Rebellions is almoſt always unfortunate, becauſe of the Incapacicy of thoſe that Command. For on ſuch occaſions, the People, who know not what is fitting for that time, commonly take him for their Captain who firſt offers.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

i a Mountain of *Thrace*, continually cold, at the foot whereof are the pleaſant Fields of *Theſſaly*.

k He

metalces, and the City of *Philippopoli*, built by *Philip* of *Macedonia*.

XLI. *Velleius* [k], that Commanded an Army near [l], having advice of theſe Diſorders, ſent ſome Horſe and light Footmen againſt thoſe pillaged the Country, or got Recruits, while he went himſelf to raiſe the Siege. All ended proſperouſly, the Foragers were ſlain, and a Diſſenſion ariſing among the Beſiegers, *Rhemetalces* made a ſeaſonable Sally upon the arrival of the Legions. This deſerved not the name of an Army [12], or Battle, in which a few unarmed Men were defeated, without any Blood-ſhed on our ſide.

XLII. The ſame year the Cities of *Gallia* began to Rebel, by reaſon of the exceſſive Debts they had contracted. The Incendiaries were *Julius Florus* and *Julius Sacrovir*, both nobly deſcended, whoſe Anceſtors, for their great Services, were made Citizens of *Rome*, an Honour at that time rare, and only a reward for Virtue [1].

By

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

12. A good and faithful Hiſtorian ſhould relate things plainly, and without Aggravation. If Truth be the life of Hiſtory, thoſe that write ought carefully to avoid Aggravation, which has always a mixture of Lying. *Commines*, ſpeaking of the Battle of *Morat*, where the Duke of *Burgundy* was beat by the Swiſſers, ſays, *Many talkt of Millions, and reported they know not what, making Armies five times greater than they are. This is a Fault very common with the greateſt part of modern Hiſtorians.*

1. Thoſe Honours that are rarely conferred, and only upon Perſons of extraordinary Merit, are great Rewards to thoſe that have them. *M. de Marquemont*, Archbiſhop of *Lions*, ſpeaking of the Prince of *Poland*'s arrival at *Rome*, and the Difficulties they were under how to treat him, ſays, he received no publick Honours, but thought himſelf well recompenced in being made a Canon of St. *Peter*, and to be allowed in the Habit of a Canon to ſhew the Holy Relicks of that Church, which was never done by any but *Charles* V. and another Emperor. *Dans une lettre du 5 Janvier* 1625. *Tome* 1. *des Mem. du Miniſtere du Card. de Rich.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

k He writ an Epitome of the Roman Hiſtory, in very elegant Latin, but full of groſs Flattery.

l The Army in *Miſſia*.

By Conferences they gain'd thoſe whoſe Poverty or Crimes had made deſperate. *Florus* was to raiſe the Low-Countrymen, and *Sacrovir* the French. In their Meetings they talkt Seditiouſly of their Taxes, the Exceſs of Uſury [m], the Pride and Cruelty of their Governors, and that ſince *Germanicus*'s Death, there were great Diſcontents in the Army. And that if they conſidered the Strength of the French, the Poverty of *Italy*; the weakneſs of the People of *Rome*, who underſtood nothing of War, and that the Strength of our Armies conſiſted of Foreign Troops, they would ſee this was a proper time to recover their Liberty.

XLIII. There was ſcarce a City free from this Contagion, but *Tours* and *Angiers* revolted firſt. The latter was reduced to its Duty by Lieutenant *Acilius Aviola*, who marched ſpeedily thither with ſome of the Gariſon of *Lyons*. And thoſe of *Tours* by thoſe Forces *Viſellius Varro*, Lieutenant of *Lower Germany* ſent *Aviola*, with the Succours he had from ſome of the great Men of *France*, who waited a more favourable opportunity to Rebel themſelves. *Sacrovir* fought bareheaded, as he ſaid, to ſhew his Courage, but the Priſoners ſaid, he did it to be better known, and that the *Romans* might not draw upon him.

XLIV. When *Tiberius* was conſulted upon this Rebellion, he ſlighted the Diſcovery, but fomented the War by Irreſolution [z]. For *Florus* purſuing his Deſigns, la-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

z. The want of Reſolution in Princes, ſays *Antonio Perez*, begets many Inconveniences. *Dans ſes Relations.* In great Affairs, ſays Cardinal

HISTORICAL NOTES.

m They were forced to borrow Money of the Roman Bankers to pay their heavy Taxes, which ruined them with Uſury.

z They

laboured to corrupt a Regiment of Horſe, raiſed at *Treves*, and uſed to our Diſcipline, inciting them to begin the VVar with deſtroying the *Roman* Merchants there: A few only were gained, moſt continued in their Duty. Other Bankrupt Men, and ſome of his Dependants took Arms, and would have thrown themſelves into the *Foreſt of Arden*, but the Legions from both Armies [n], which *Urſellius* and *C. Silius* ſent, prevented them. And *Julius Indus* being ſent before with a Detachment, glad of an occaſion to ſhew himſelf againſt *Florus*, his Countryman and particular Enemy [3], defeated the diſordered multitude. *Florus* eſcaped by ſculking in divers places, but finding all Paſſages ſtopt, and that he was like to be taken, killed himſelf. And thus ended the Rebellion at *Treves*.

XLV. That at *Angiers* was greater, becauſe that City was more populous, and the Army diſtant. *Sacrovir* made himſelf Maſter of this City, where all the Youth of *France* ſtudied to oblige their Relations and Friends to him by ſuch Pledges, and diſtributed Arms among them.

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

dinal *d'Oſſat*, for avoiding a great Evil and obtaining great Good, ſomething muſt be attempted, and a Reſolution taken to get out of ill Circumſtances the ſooneſt and beſt that may be. *Lettre* 127. *Charles Colonna*, an able Man both in Government and War, has given a good reaſon for it. Wavering in Counſels, ſays he, has never been found good, and whatever probability there may be that time will furniſh better Expedients, yet 'tis ſafer to reſolve to maſter the preſent Difficulties, than to expect they will ceaſe, for we know not nor can certainly, but greater may happen. *Livre* 8. *de ſon Hiſtoire des Guerres de Flandres.*

3. Great Men often revenge the Injuries done to a Prince or State, out of Malice to the Offenders. Cardinal *Richlieu* had reaſon to ſay, Such Men did good upon an ill Principle. When a great Man Rebels in a Province, a Prince cannot do better, than to give another great Man of the ſame Province, who has been his Rival and Enemy, a Commiſſion againſt him.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

n They were encamped upon the *Rhine*. *Duo apud ripam Rheni exercitus erant; cui nomen ſuperiori, ſub C. Silio legato; inferiorem A. Caecina curabat.* Ann. 1.

them. His Troops consisted of near Forty thousand Men, a Fifth Part were arm'd as the Legions, the rest with Hunting-staves, Hangers, and such other Arms as Huntsmen carry. These were join'd by some Fencers, cover'd over with Armour of Iron, they were call'd *Crupellarii*, (Cuirassiers) unfit to assault, and impenetrable. The Forces daily augmented by a Confluence from the Neighbouring Cities, not that they declar'd for them, but all long'd for Liberty. To which contributed the Dissentions of the Roman Generals[1]; both coveting to command the Army. But *Vitellius* being Old, yielded to *Silius* who was in his Prime[2].

XLVI. In the mean time, it was reported at *Rome*, that besides *Tours* and *Argiers*, 64 Cities had rebell'd, that the *Germans* had join'd them, that *Spain* was wavering, all (as the Manner of Report is) made much greater than they were. Every good Man was concern'd for the Common-wealth; many out of Hatred to the Present Government, desir'd a Change[3], and rejoyc'd in their

Politick Reflections.

1. There is not a better Opportunity to revolt, than when there are Dissentions, and consequently Disorder in the Armies of a Prince, whose Authority you would shake off. So a Prince that hath discontented Subjects ought at any rate to prevent a Misunderstanding among his Generals, For when he is ill serv'd by them (as ever happens, when they differ) he is exposed to the Practices of his Enemies.

2. Health of Body is almost as necessary to a General, as a Capacity of Mind; for it is an Employ will exercise both. According to Cardinal *Richelieu*, a General to be Excellent, should be young in Years, but not in Service and Experience. And though those that are Old are commonly the Wisest, yet they are not the Best to undertake, because they often want the heat of Youth, that is requisite on such Occasions: Besides, that 'tis certain, Fortune smiles upon Youth, and turns her back upon Old Age. *Section 4. du Chap. 9. de la seconde partie du Testament Politique.*

3. The Great Men in a Kingdom, govern'd by such a Prince as *Tiberius*, that is, by a Prince, that will endure no Companion, are apt to desire he may have Troubles and Wars, either to make them the more necessary, or to have the Pleasure of seeing him perplex'd and his Affairs in an ill Condition. The Count *S. Paul*, Constable of *France*, says *Comminet*, and certain of the Duke of *Guienn*'s Servants, with several others, desir'd rather War than Peace, betwixt the King and the Duke of *Burgundy*, for two Reasons, the one because they fear'd

their Dangers. Blaming *Tiberius* for employing himſelf in reading Informers Accuſations when there was ſo great Commotions. 'What, ſaid they, have the Senate 'found *Julius Sacrovir* guilty of Treaſon? Some have 'had the Courage to ſuppreſs by Arms the Bloody Li-'bels [o] of a Tyrant; War is a good Change for a Mi-'ſerable Peace. But he neither chang'd Place nor Countenance [p]; affecting to ſhew he was not afraid, either through Courage, or that he knew things to be leſs than they were reported.

XLVII. *Silius* march'd with two Legions, having ſent ſome Auxiliary Troops before; he laid waſte the Towns in the *Franche Comte*, which joyn'd to the *Anjovins*, and were their Confederates. Then marched ſpeedily to *Autun*,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

fear'd their great Offices and Penſions would be leſſen'd, if Peace continu'd, for the Conſtable paid four hundred Men every Muſter without controul; and beſides the Profits of his Office, above thirty thouſand Livres a year in Penſion, and the Revenues of many good Places he held; the other was becauſe they were perſuaded the King was of ſuch a Diſpoſition he could never be idle, ſo that unleſs he was buſied with Princes abroad, he would be with his Servants and Officers at home. The Conſtable offer'd to take *Saint-Quintin* when he pleaſed, and boaſted of Intelligence in *Flanders* and *Brabant*, and that he could make many Towns revolt from the Duke. The Duke of *Guien* and his principal Servants, offer'd to ſerve the King in this Quarrel; but their Deſign was other than the King expected, *Chap.* 1. *du Livre* 1. *de ſes Memoires*. *Claudian* explains in three Words, Why great Men hate Peace.

——*Mandatoque fortius urget*
Imperioſa quies.

4. Able Princes little regard the Cenſures of the People, it ſatisfies them to arrive at their End, which is the good of the State. Pope *Urban* VIII. uſed to ſay he would willingly ſacrifice his Reputation to the Good of the Publick, and to Peace, provided he could any way obtain it, repeating St. *Paul*'s words, *per gloriam & ignobilitatem, per infamiam & bonam famam*. *Lettres de M. de Marquemont, Ambaſſadeur a Rome dans le* 1. *Tome des Memoires du Cardinal de Richelieu.*

5. When

HISTORICAL NOTES.

[o] That is the Secret Orders a Prince gives to his Centurions and Soldiers, to Murder Men in their Houſes, that they ſuſpect. They are called in other Places, his Letters, his Codicils, and the Execution of his Orders. *Miniſteria militum. Ann.* 1.

[p] *Autun*

tum [p], the Standard-Bearers ſtriving who ſhould make moſt haſte; the Common Soldiers ſaid they would march Night and Day, and if they could but ſee the Enemy, would anſwer for Victory [5]. Twelve miles from the City, *Sacrovir* appear'd with his Troops in the open Field, drawn up in a Line of Battle. The Cuiraſſiers in the Front, his own Troops in the Wings, and thoſe that were ill-arm'd in the Rear. Among the Principal Officers *Sacrovir* was on Horſe-back, riding through their Ranks; Magnifying the Exploits of the *Gauls*, and how oft they had beat the *Romans*; laying before them how honourable their Liberty would be if they were Conquerors, and how inſupportable their Slavery, if Conquer'd [6].

XLVIII. His Harangue was not long [7], nor pleaſing; for the Legions drew near in Battle Array, and the Citizens and the Peaſants unskill'd in War, could neither ſee nor underſtand what they were to do. On the contrary, though *Silius* might have ſpared his pains, through the Aſſurance

Politick Reflections.

5. When Soldiers have a great deſire to fight, a General ſhould not let it cool, for it is almoſt always a Preſage of Victory.

6. Thoſe that fall into the hands of their Prince againſt whom they have rebell'd, ſhould expect to be treated with extreme Rigour. Which makes Princes for ever loſe thoſe States, they might recover, if the Rebels deſpaired not of a ſincere Pardon. Which made the Hollanders perſevere in their Reſolution rather to drown themſelves and their Country in the Sea, than be Subject again to *Philip* II. concluding what his Reſentment would be from the Cruelty of the Duke *d'Alva* his Miniſter.

7. Short Harangues are beſt for Soldiers, who can give no long attention, nor weigh the Reaſons are urg'd. Nothing makes greater Impreſſion upon them, than this *Imperatoria Brevitas*, whereby they retain all that is ſaid to them. Such was the Speech of *Hen.* IV. of *France*, one day when he was going to give Battle; *I am King*, ſays he, *and you are Frenchmen, and you cannot then but Conquer.*

1. There

Historical Notes.

[p] *Autun*, an ancient City in the Dutchy of *Burgundy*; in Latin *Auguſtodunum*, and *Hedua*.

[q] In

Aſſurance he had of his Men, yet told them: "That "it was a ſhame for them who had conquer'd the *Ger-* "*mans*, to be brought againſt the *French*, as if they were "their Equals. One band lately reduc'd the Rebels of "*Tours*; a few Troops of Horſe, thoſe of *Treves*; a "ſmall Number of theirs, thoſe of the *Franche Comte*. "Theſe of *Autun* are richer, but weaker, and more ener- "vate with Pleaſures. Conquer them then, and look "after thoſe that fly. The Army anſwer'd with Acclamations, and at the ſame time the Horſe compaſs'd the Enemy, and the Foot engag'd their Front. The Wings made little Reſiſtance, except the Cuiraſſiers, whoſe Armour was Proof againſt the Swords and Arrows, which oblig'd our Soldiers to fall on with their Axes and Hatchets, as if they were to make a Breach in a Wall. Some knock'd them down with Poles and Forks, and theſe Poor Men, unable to help themſelves[1], were left for Dead on the Ground. *Sacrovir* retires firſt to *Autun*, then for fear he ſhould be deliver'd to the *Romans*, goes with a few of his truſtieſt Friends to the next Village; where he kill'd himſelf, and the reſt one another, having firſt ſet fire to the Place, that they might be burnt.

XLIX. Then *Tiberius* writ the Senate an Account of the Beginning and Ending of the War; neither adding nor leſſening the Truth; aſcribing the good Succeſs to the Courage and Fidelity of his Lieutenants, and his Counſels. And gave Reaſons why neither He nor *Druſus* went to the War, magnifying the Greatneſs of the *Empire*; and that it was not fitting for Princes to leave *Rome* which governs the reſt, for the Rebellion of one or

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. There are no worſe Arms than thoſe a Man cannot ſtir in. *Saul* having armed *David* with his Armour, he put an Helmet of Brass on his Head, put on his Coat of Mail, and girded his Sword upon his Armour; but when *David* had try'd theſe Arms, that they were too heavy for him, he ſaid unto *Saul*, *He could not go with them, and took only his ſtaff in his hand, and five ſmooth ſtones his head choſe out of the Brook and put in his Scrip, to conquer* Goliah, 1. *Sam.* 17.

2. When

or two Cities. But now, that the State had no longer cauſe to fear any thing, he would go and ſettle that Province. The Senate decreed Vows and Supplications for his Return, with other Honours. *Cornelius Dolabella*, when he endeavour'd to exceed others, fell into an abſurd Flattery, propoſing *Tiberius* ſhould return in Triumph from *Campania*. Upon which he writ to them, that after he had conquer'd warlike Nations, and receiv'd or refus'd ſo many Triumphs in his Youth, he wanted not Glory ſo much as to accept vain Honours [2] in his old Age, for taking the Air near *Rome*.

L. About the ſame time he deſir'd the Senate, *Sulpicius Quirinus* [3] might have publick Funerals. He was not of the Noble and ancient Family of the *Sulpicii*, but born at a Free City [q] called *Indovina*; and having ſerved *Auguſtus* well in the Wars [r], was honoured with the Conſulate, and after, with a Triumph for taking the Caſtles of

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. When Princes have acquir'd a ſolid Reputation, they deſpiſe falſe Honours, becauſe their Glory needs it not; and what their Flatterers give them, ſerves only to blemiſh the Good Opinion of their true Merit. Therefore *Alexander* threw into the River *Hydaſpes* the Hiſtory of the Victory he gain'd of *Porus*, telling the Author, when he read it to him, it was very raſh in him to inſert falſe Exploits; as if *Alexander* had not true ones ſufficient to recommend him without Lying. *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia*, was deſpis'd by the Senate of *Rome*, for deſiring an Harangue full of Flattery, upon a Victory the Romans gain'd in *Macedonia*.

3. There is no Kindneſs more ſincere than that Princes ſhew after the Death of thoſe Miniſters who have ſerved them well. The Portugueſe accuſe *Philip* II. of Ingratitude, becauſe he did not forbear, (according to the Cuſtom of their Kings on the like Occaſions) appearing in Publick, that Day the Duke *d'Alva* died that conquer'd the Kingdom of *Portugal* for him. And *Henry* IV. was commended by all the Court of *Rome*, and all the Princes of *Italy*, for celebrating the Obſequies of Cardinal *Toledo* in the Church of *Noſtre Dame* in *Paris*, and of *Noſtre Dame* in *Rouen*, he having chiefly promoted his Abſolution. And 'tis a wonderful thing, ſays the Wiſe Cardinal *d'Oſſat*, that out of *Spain*, from whence came all the Oppoſition to ſo good a Work, God ſhould raiſe a Perſon of ſo great Authority to Procure, Sollicite, Direct, Advance and Perfect, what the Spaniards moſt deprecated. *Letters* 24, *and* 80.

1. To

HISTORICAL NOTES.

q In Latin 'tis render'd *Municipium*.

r The Latin has it, *impiger militia, & acribus miniſteriis*.

[*Paterculus*

of the *Homonadenſes* in *Cilicia*. Then being Governor to *C. Cæſar* in *Armenia*, he made his Court to *Tiberius* at *Rhodes*[1], which *Tiberius* open'd to the Senate, commending his Dutifulneſs, and accus'd *Lollius*[f] as the Author of *C. Cæſar*'s[2] Sedition and Lewdneſs. But his Memory was

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. To be heartily loved by Princes we ſhould court their Friendſhip in their private Condition, or when perſecuted by their Predeceſſors. The Friendſhip of particular Perſons is never acquir'd but by time, with greater reaſon then, that of Princes ſhould be acquir'd with long Services. They have little value for thoſe that come to them, when they are in their Thrones, becauſe they are commonly ſuch as make Court rather to their Fortune than Perſon, and look upon their Reward as near; when thoſe that adhere to them in the time of their Rivals and Enemies, as *Quirinus* did to *Tiberius* while *C. Cæſar* was alive, and next Heir to the Empire, have full Right to a Prince's Favour, who conſiders them as diſinherited Friends. So the Duke of *Beaufort*, at his return from *England*, was the Favourite of Queen *Ann* of *Spain*, who not only ſpoke of him with all marks of Eſteem; and commanded her Creatures to have a Friendſhip for him; but when the Phyſitians one day thought *Lewis* XIII. dying, choſe him to be Governor of the Dauphine and Monſieur. A Truſt that ſhewed ſufficiently to what Honours and Dignities he was deſtin'd, if he had known how to manage his Fortune. *Memoires de la Chaſtre*. *Henry* IV. of *France* never left asking the Promotion of the Sieur *Seraſin* to be a Cardinal, till he obtain'd it, becauſe this Prelate (he was Auditor of the *Rota* above 30 Years) was always for him and his Crown, in the moſt difficult and dangerous Times. So ſays Cardinal *d'Oſſat*. *Dans ſa Letre* 61.

2. An ill Governor or Tutor is very dangerous for a Young Prince.

Teſta recens imbuta diu ſervabit odorem.

Plato ſays, That Kings ſhould have four Maſters or Governors for their Children, to teach them the four Virtues neceſſary for thoſe that Reign. The firſt teaches them Prudence, the Second Juſtice, the Third Temperance, and to deſpiſe Pleaſures, the Laſt, the Art of War, and ſets Examples before them of the Courage and Conſtancy of their Glorious Anceſtors. *Dans ſon premier Alcibiade*. *Paul Emilius* ſays, that *Giles Romain*, Arch-Biſhop of *Bourges*, exhorted King *Philip* the Fair, in that to imitate the Kings of *Perſia*. *Livre* 8. *de ſon Hiſtoire de France*.

3. There

HISTORICAL NOTES.

f *Paterculus* ſays ſo of *Lollius*, That he was a Man that more deſir'd to grow rich, than to live well, and with all the Care he took to conceal his Vice. Yet he was, and alſo appear'd to be very vicious. *Cap.* 97, *du Livre* 2. *de ſon Epitome*. And in the 102 *Chap.* He adds, *Auguſtus* choſe *Lollius* to be *C. Cæſar*'s Governor. *Quem moderatorem juventæ filii ſui Auguſtus eſſe voluerat.*

1 That

was not very agreeable to the Senate, becauſe he accuſed *Lepida*, and was ſordid and inſolent in his Old Age.

LI. The end of this Year *C. Lutorius Priſcus*, a Roman Knight, who had compos'd an Excellent Elegy on *Germanicus*, and received a Reward from the Emperor for it, was accus'd for making it for *Druſus* when he was ſick, in hopes of a greater Gratuity if he had died [3]. *C. Lutorius* was ſo vain as to read it in *P. Petronius*'s Houſe to ſeveral Noble Ladies. And when the Informer cited them to give Teſtimony, only *Vitellia* denied ſhe heard it read; but greater Credit was given to others that teſtified againſt him. *Haterius Agrippa*, Conſul Elect, delivers his Opinion, that he ſhould die. *M. Lepidus* ſpoke to this Effect.

LII. *If we conſider only how* Lutorius Priſcus *hath debauched his Mind and his Auditors Ears, neither Priſon, nor Halter, nor any ſervile Puniſhments were enough for him. But though his Crimes are without meaſure, yet the Moderation of a Prince, their own, and your Anceſtors Examples, will qualifie*

Politick Reflections.

3. There is nothing more diſagreeable to Princes, than what puts them in mind of their Death. In whatever Condition they are they would not be told they ſhall die. When *Lewis* XI. anſwer'd thoſe that told him, he was a Dead Man, *It may be I am not ſo bad as you think me.* He ſhew'd, That thoſe who took upon them this Commiſſion, did him a piece of Service he ſhould not thank them for, if he recover'd. It ſeems, the late King, who was much a better Prince than *Lewis* XI. was diſpleas'd with the Credulity of the Queen, and would have her hold a Council, as ſhe had done the day before by his Order, and made her go out of his Chamber, as he was Departing. So eaſily do Princes flatter themſelves with hopes of long Life. So M. *de Chiverny* acted very wiſely, when he refuſed to aſſiſt at a Conſultation of Phyſitians upon *Charles* IX. becauſe belonging to the King of *Poland*, his Brother and Lawful Succeſſor, he would have been look'd upon at that Meeting, as one that deſir'd the King's Death, and the Acceſſion of his Maſter to the Crown. *Dans ſes Memoires.* If *Lutorius* did ill in making an Elegy upon *Druſus*'s Death, which he thought certain, theſe are no leſs Criminal, that make Funeral Orations upon Princes in their perfect Health, to be early enough with them when they die, and to get the Reputation of great Orators; perſuading the World they have made a Diſcourſe in five or ſix days, which ſometimes has coſt them more years. However, theſe People ſhew their Vanity more than their Eloquence.

4. How

liſie the Puniſhments. Vanity differs from Wickedneſs, and Words from ill Deeds. There may ſuch a Way be found to puniſh him, that we may neither repent our Clemency, nor Severity. I have heard our Princes complain, when any through Deſpair have prevented their Mercy[4]. *Lutorius's Life is yet ſafe, and the preſerving it will neither endanger the Common-Wealth, nor can the taking it away be any Example. As his Studies were full of Folly, ſo were they ſenceleſs and ſoon over. Neither have we reaſon to fear any thing great or ſerious in one that betrays himſelf to the Women. Yet let him leave the City, his Goods be ſeiz'd, and he baniſh'd, which I take to be as bad as if he was convict of Treaſon.*

LIII. Among all the Conſuls only *Rubellius Blandus*[5] agreed with *Lepidus*, the reſt were of *Agrippa's* Opinion; ſo *Lutorius* was carried back to Priſon, and ſoon ſuffer'd. *Tiberius* writ to the Senate with his uſual Ambiguities, extolling their Zeal for ſeverely puniſhing the leaſt Offence againſt their Prince, deſiring them not raſhly to puniſh Words for the future[6]. He commended *Lepidus*

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

4. How cruel ſoever a Prince is, he takes Pleaſure in being praiſed for his Clemency. It ſome times happens, that the Commendations given him for Vertue he has not, create a deſire in him to merit that by his future Practices.

5. A Subject that has his Prince againſt him, never finds many Judges to protect his Innocence; and if little guilty all ways are thought on to condemn him. *Dangerous*, (ſays *Anthony Perez*) *is that Juſtice where there is an Inclination to condemn. What will it be then, if accompanied with abſolute Power, Diſpleaſure, and Flattery? Aſſerſmes de ſes Relations.* That puts me in mind of the Spaniſh Proverb, *alla van Leyes, do quieren Reyes.* The Laws go as the Kings pleaſe.

6. Bloody Princes are wont to put on Clemency after Blood is ſpill'd, to caſt the Odium on thoſe have ſerved them in it. After Queen *Elizabeth* had cut off the Queen of Scots Head, ſhe committed Secretary *Davi-ſon* to Priſon, who carried the Warrant for her Execution, pretending he had ſurpriz'd her in ſigning it. And *Philip* II. of *Spain* let Proceſs iſſue againſt *Antonio Perez* his Secretary for the Murther of Secretary *Eſcovedo*, though he had his Order under his hand for it. And *Cabrera* that pretends to write in Favour of *Philip*, cannot forbear declaring the violent Death of this Man, wrought no Compaſſion in him. *Chap. 3. du Livre 12. de ſon Hiſtoire.*

1. When

Lepidus, and blamed not *Agrippa* [s]. And a Decree paſs'd the Senate, that their Sentences ſhould not be carried to the Treaſury before the Tenth Day [t], to give the Condemn'd ſo long time to live. But the Senate could not alter the Sentence [u], and time never mollify'd *Tiberius*.

The Year of Rome 775.

LIV. *C. Sulpicius* and *Decimus Haterius* were the next Conſuls. This year there were no Troubles abroad, but great ſeverity was apprehended againſt Luxury at home, which grew to excels in all things that were expenſive. Yet ſome of their Expences, however profuſe, were covered by concealing their Coſt [x]. But all their Diſcourſe was of their Gluttony, which they feared *Tiberius*, a Prince of Frugality equal to the Ancients, would reſtrain. For *C. Bibulus* beginning, the other *Ediles* ſhewed that the Sumptuary Laws were neglected, and that notwithſtanding any Prohibitions, the price of Neceſſaries daily encreaſed, and that ſuch Diſorders were not to be redreſſed by ordinary Ways. And the Senate, after Deliberation, referred the whole matter to the Prince. But

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. When a Prince blames not cruel or ſevere Actions, 'tis a ſure ſign he is eaſie, or at leaſt not troubled at them.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

t That is, that thoſe who are ſentenced ſhall not be executed till ten days after Sentence given.

u The Roman Laws allowed not the Magiſtrates to change any thing in their Sentences, not ſo much as a Letter. *Proconſulis tabella ſententia eſt; quæ ſemel lecta neque augeri litterâ, neque minui poteſt, ſed utcunque recitata, ita Provinciæ inſtrumento refertur. Apul. Lib.* 11. *Hor.* Therefore *Pilate* anſwered the *Jews*, that would have had him alter the Inſcription upon Chriſt's Croſs, *Quod Scripſi, Scripſi.*

x The price of Jewels, Veſſels of Silver and Gold, and rich Stuffs, being not commonly known, thoſe that Bought them took care not to tell what they coſt.

y The

But he, after he had considered, whether such Extravagances could be redressed, whether a Reformation would not be more to the prejudice than benefit of the Commonwealth [2], how dishonourable it would be to him to undertake what he could not effect, or if he did, that it would require the punishing some noble Persons. He writ thus to the Senate.

LV. 'It were perhaps more proper, *My Lords*, in 'other Matters, to ask my my Opinion in your Pre-'sence, and to have me there tell you what I thought 'expedient for the Commonwealth, but in this 'tis better 'I am absent, lest by the Fears and Countenances of 'some among you, I should discover those who lead this 'shameful life, and as it were, take them in the Fault. 'If the *Ediles* had first consulted me, I cannot tell but I 'might have advised them rather to connive at those 'Vices that have taken deep root and are inveterate [3], 'than

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. The first thing a Reformer should well consider, is, That his Reformation bring not greater Mischiefs than those he would Reform. *Pius* V. after he had shut up all the Courtisans in a separate place, was acquainted by the Confessors, that Adulteries, Incests and Sodomies plainly encreated. *Pagliari dans son Commentaire sur Tacite, Observ.* 389. *Sixtus* V. who understood the best of any Man how to make himself Obeyed, succeeded no better than *Pius*. He drove many of them out of *Rome*, where they were in very great numbers, and shut up the rest, but the Confessors laying the same things before him as before *Pius*, he commanded the Governors of *Rome* to revoke the Order, and gave leave to those were gone away, to return. *Leti Livre* 1. *de la seconde partie de sa Vie.*

3. A Prince that would establish an absolute and despotick Government, if he be wise, will have a care how he reforms Luxury, the best and most agreeable Instrument of Slavery. *Ciriacus de Lentz* says, speaking of *Tiberius*, Therefore a Prince will not reform Luxury, because the great and rich Men that live in Pleasure and Magnificence, are so many Pledges and Hostages of Slavery. If *Vespasian* could by his Example recover the ancient manner of living, and restore Frugality: If *Lewis* XIII. could by an Edict remedy the Fashions and excessive Expences in Cloths, Why might not *Tiberius* have done the like, if he had the like Inclinations? *Dans son Augustus.* He adds, in his *Aula Tiberiana*, That the *Cato's*, *Thrasea's*, and *Helvidius's*, are never acceptable to Tyrants; and that *Socrates*, tho' very poor, was suspected to the Thirty Tyrants, because he contemned the Pleasures of Life: So that ill Princes, look as ill upon those as they do upon Ambitious Persons, that prefer their Reputation before the Engagements of Pleasures. *Aphorism* 6. *du Liv.* 3.

'than hazard ſhewing there are ſome we are not able to 'remedy [x]: But theſe worthy Magiſtrates have done 'their Duty, as I could wiſh all others would. For me, 'I think it neither honeſt to hold my Tongue, nor ex-'pedient to ſpeak, for I am neither an *Edile*, *Prætor*, nor '*Conſul* [y]: Something more is expected from a Prince, 'and when every man aſſumes to himſelf the Praiſe of 'what is well done, the blame of what ſucceeds not falls 'upon him alone. Where ſhall I begin to Reform? 'Shall it be your large and ſpacious Country Seats? The 'multitude of your Servants of ſeveral Nations? The 'Quantities of your Silver and Gold [y]? Your painted 'Tables,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

4. Tho' the Complaints made againſt inveterate Vices are reaſonable, yet Princes will tolerate them, becauſe we are not capable of that Perfection thoſe Cenſors expect that underſtand not the Government of States. The moſt reaſonable Orders are not always beſt, becauſe ſome being not ſuitable to thoſe who are to obſerve them.

5. Great Princes are not to trouble themſelves with all Affairs, nor to deſcend to little matters. While they are employed on the greater, their Miniſters and Magiſtrates diſpatch the leſſer. Their Application to theſe would make them forget, or at leaſt Poſtpone others, which were very prejudicial to the good of the State. *Juan Antonio de Vera*, ſays the Emperor *Charles* V. tho' a pious Prince, never had much Communication with Monks, out of Confeſſion, while he Governed. And one day that Father *Francis* of *Madrid* conſulted him upon ſome Abuſes of their Order, which he thought worthy Reformation, he anſwered in ſome diſpleaſure: 'Father *Francis*, 'of all you have ſaid to me, I find 'nothing concerns the Emperor, but 'would have you apply to the Pope, 'or the General, rather than to me, 'who loſe not my time in diſcour-'ſing the Affairs of a Cloiſter. *Dans l'Epitome de ſa Vie.* 'I beſeech 'your Majeſty, ſays Cardinal *Rich-'lieu*, to apply your ſelf to thoſe 'great matters, concern your State, 'and deſpiſe the leſſer, as unworthy 'your Care and Thoughts. —— 'You will not only be far from re-'ceiving any Advantage from em-'ploying your ſelf in things not 'conſiderable, but on the contrary 'much Damage, by diverting you 'from others that are better, and 'alſo becauſe little Thorns being 'more apt to prick than bigger, 'which are more eaſily perceived, it 'were impoſſible to prevent Diſcon-'tents, uſeleſs to your Affairs, and 'very contrary to your Health. *Chap. 5. de la premiere partie de ſon Teſtament Politique.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

[y] The way *Henry* III. of *Caſtile* took to put down Exceſs in Entertainments, deſerves to be mentioned here, as a great inſtance of what a Prince may

'Tables, and brasen Statues of exquisite Work? The promiscuous Habits of Men and Women? Or the Extravagances of the Women only in their Jewels, for which our Money is carried away to Foreigners and Strangers? I am not ignorant you blame these things at your Entertainments, and a mean is wished for. But if a Law should be made against them, and punishments appointed, those that complain now, will cry out, that the City is subverted, the Destruction of the Nobility sought for, and none free from those Crimes. But we see, old Maladies are not to be Cured without sharp

HISTORICAL NOTES.

may do that has Wit and Courage. One day, when his Table was ill served, he was told, The Grandees of his Kingdom lived much better, and that there was nothing so Magnificent as the Entertainments they gave one another. The same day he had notice, the Archbishop of *Toledo* gave a Supper to several Lords, he went in Disguise, and saw the Magnificence of the Entertainment, where nothing was wanting, and what was worse, he heard them relate their great Estates, and the Pensions they held out of the King's Demeasns. The next morning, he caused a Report to be spread, That he was Sick, and would make his Will, upon which they all went to Court. About Noon he came into the Room where he usually gave Audience, and they waited for him, and as soon as he sate down, he directed his Discourse to the Archbishop, and asked him how many Kings of *Castille* he had known, and asked all the same Question: Some said, they had known three, others four, others five, *&c.* How can that be, says the King, when I have known twenty at my Age. And seeing them surprised at what he said, he proceeded, *'Tis you my Lords are the Kings, to the great Damage of this Kingdom, and Dishonour of your King, but I will prevent your Reign continuing long, and carrying the Merriment any farther you make of me.* The Archbishop threw himself at his Feet, and asked Pardon, as did also the rest. The King gave them their Lives, but made them Prisoners till they restored the Castles they held of the Crown, and all they had got from the last Kings. An Action that gained him so much Glory and Authority, that the great Men were never so humble and obedient. Besides, it brought him in such a Treasure, that he left a great Sum behind him, without over-charging his People. *Mariana, Chap.* 14. *du Liv.* 9. *de son Histoire d'Espagne.* 'Tis observable too, the King did this at 15 or 16 years of Age. He was called, *Henry the Infirm*, because of his Sickly Countenance, but deserved the Title of *Henry the Brave and Valiant*, for his Courage. Which Example plainly shews, as *Richlieu* says, Kings can do any thing, when constant and resolute, and that those things which seem the most difficult, and almost impossible, are so, only because of the negligence and indifference of their Execution.

'ſharp and harſh Remedies [1]. A corrupt Mind is not 'to be regulated with gentle Methods, when inflamed 'by inordinate Appetites. So many Laws framed by 'our Anceſtors, ſo many by *Auguſtus*, have only given 'greater Eſtabliſhment to our Luxury, the former have 'been forgot, the latter (which is worſe) have been con-'temned [2]. For when we love what is not yet forbid, 'we fear it may be, but when we tranſgreſs the Laws, 'and are not puniſhed, there is neither Fear nor Shame 'left [3]. Why was Frugality formerly uſed? becauſe 'every Man moderated his Deſires; we had only one 'City, and our Dominions not reaching out of *Italy*, 'we had not the ſame Provocations; by Foreign Con-'queſts we learn the uſe of Foreign Commodities, by 'Civil Wars our own [2]. That which the *Ediles* com-'plain

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Deſperate Diſeaſes muſt have deſperate Cures.

2. There is no Remedy when Vice is turned into Virtue. Then we are to accommodate our ſelves to *Hippocrates*'s Aphoriſm, to adminiſter no Remedies where Diſeaſes are deſperate.

3. While Abuſes are tolerated, Men obſerve ſome Rules of Decency, becauſe they fear, if they take too much liberty, the Prince or Magiſtrate will Reform them. But if a Reformer wants Power to make himſelf Obeyed, as it ſometimes happens, or wants Courage to puniſh the Great Men, who are commonly the firſt that break new Regulations, the Examples of ſuch Impunity opens the Door to Contempt, and from Contempt they go inſenſibly to Licentiouſneſs. Therefore a Prince ſhould not meddle with Reformation, if he finds himſelf wanting in Power, or of a Temper to be wrought upon by Interceſſions: or if he will Reform, ſhould take a Reſolution to be inexorable, as *Sixtus* V. was, when any dared to break his Laws.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

2 *Paterculus* imputes the Luxury of *Rome* to the two *Scipio*'s, ſurnamed *Africanus*. The firſt, ſays he, opened the way to the Roman Greatneſs, but the other to their Luxury. For when *Rome* no longer feared *Carthage*, which was burnt, they left not their Virtue by degrees as before, but run impetuouſly into all Pleaſures and Vices. The antient Diſcipline was deſpiſed, and gave way to new Cuſtoms, and all the City turned preſently from their Vigilance to Lazineſs, from Warlike Exerciſes to Looſeneſs, and from Labour to Idleneſs. At laſt, the publick Magnificence was ſucceeded with

'plain of, is a ſmall matter in compariſon of others. 'But no man puts us in mind that *Italy* wants the ſup- 'port of other Countries, that the Life of the People 'of *Rome* is toſſed with the uncertainty of Sea and Tem- 'peſt [a], and were it not for the Plenty of the Provinces, 'tis not our Farms and Poſſeſſions would maintain us 'and our Slaves. Theſe, My Lords, are the Cares em- 'ploy your Prince, without which the Commonwealth 'could not ſubſiſt. For the reſt, every Man ſhould ap- 'ply the Remedy himſelf, let Shame amend us, Neceſ- 'ſity the Poor, and Satiety the Rich [5]. But if any of 'the Magiſtrates finds he has Courage and Ability enough 'to put a ſtop to this Evil, I ſhall be glad of his Help, 'and ſhall own he eaſes me of a great part of my La- 'bour. But if they only complain of theſe Faults, and 'think to gain themſelves Credit, and raiſe me Ha- 'tred, and then leave me. I aſſure you, My 'Lords, I will not make my ſelf Enemies to no pur- 'poſe [1], and though I may have many, and for the 'moſt

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

4. Some People think all is loſt, if what offends them is not immediately Remedied, but a Prince ſhould not be drawn away by anothers Paſſion. He is to foreſee the Inconveniences may ariſe from the Reformation is deſired, and to conſider well if he can undertake it with ſucceſs, ſo that he may ſatisfie more than he ſhall diſpleaſe. For ſo you ſee the Wiſdom of a Reformer.

5. Pleaſures leave us when they entertain no longer. Many Voluptuous Perſons become Abſtemious becauſe they want new Pleaſures.

1. There is this Difference betwixt a Prince and his Miniſters: The Prince ſhould avoid all he can what may draw upon him the Hatred of the People, or of the Great Men, becauſe the keeping his Authority depends upon the Affection of his ſubjects,

HISTORICAL NOTES.

with the waſtful Expences of particular Men. *Au Commencement du Liv. 2. de ſon Epitome.*

a For all their Corn came out of *Egypt*, and conſequently by Sea.

'most part unjustly [2] for the Commonwealth, I desire I 'may not make my self more, when it is neither of Ad-'vantage to you, nor me.

LVI. After these Letters were read, the *Ædiles* were discharged that Care. And the Luxury in their Tables which had been very profuse from the End of the Battle at *Actium*, till the Accession of *Servius Galba* to the Empire, that is, for about 100 Years [b], was by Degrees lest of [3]. The Causes of this Change, were these: Formerly the most considerable Families for their Birth or Riches were ruined by their Magnificence. For then they were permitted

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

jects. On the other side, his Ministers being obliged by the Duty of their Places, to sacrifice their particular Interests to the Publick Good, and their Master's Service, are never to suppress any good Advice, for fear it should make them odious to the People or to the Great Men: For, according to *Richelieu*, the Probity of a Minister of State should be Proof against all Interests, and so constant, that neither Calumnies nor Opposition, should discourage him doing well, nor turn him from those Ends he has propos'd to himself for the good of the State, *Chap. dernier de la premiere Partie du Testament Politique.* Cardinal *d'Ossat* speaking of a Knight of *Malta*, from whose importunity he could not quit himself without promising, tho' coldly, to recommend him to *Henry* IV. of *France*, for a Favour he unseasonably ask'd. I repent my self says he, and will another time conquer this Pusillanimity, without exposing again the Impertinences of such Importuners, nor my own cowardly shame to refuse them. *Letter* 197.

2. It is common for Princes to do well, and their Subjects to approach them. There are scarce any Princes have Justice done them, while they live, because Men naturally hate those whose Authority they fear.

3. In *France*, Excess in Entertainments begins to moderate, but it is to give place to another Extravagance in their Cloaths and Furniture, which is more dangerous. 'Tis this has so multiplied Ladies that Persons of Quality and Birth are not to be discover'd from Citizens Wives and Daughters, but by their Civility and Modesty. In the last Age, the first Presidents *de Thou* and *de Harlay* were content to eat upon Pewter; now the meanest Officers of the Revenue are served in Plate. The Chancellor *de Bellievre* gave his Daughters only 20000 Livres, now one of the King's Farmers gives his 100000. *Adeo præcipiti cursu a virtute desitum, ad vitia transcursum.*

4. Great

HISTORICAL NOTES.

[b] The Battle at *Actium* was in the Year of the City, 724. and *Galba* came to the Empire in the Year 822.

[c] People

permitted to court the People, their Allies and Princes, and be courted by them. And the more ſplendid any man was in his Houſes, Furniture, and Attendants, it gained him the greater Reputation and more Clients[c]. But after they began to murder one another, and their Greatneſs was a Crime[d], others grew wiſers. And new Men that were oft taken into the Senate from the free Towns, the Colonies, and Provinces, brought with them the Frugality they had been uſed to; and though ſeveral through Fortune or Induſtry had great Riches in their Old Age, yet they never chang'd their manner of living. But *Veſpaſian* was chiefly the Occaſion of this Frugal way of living, who conforming himſelf to the ancient Economy, rais'd in every Man a deſire of Imitation[f], which prevailed more than all the Laws, or Fear of Puniſhment. Unleſs there be a Circulation in all things, that Manners change as well as Times and Seaſons, all things were not better formerly[g] than now, and our Age has ſet Examples worthy

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

4. Great Reputation is as dangerous as ill Reputation. If it revives the Dead, it often makes the Living die. Princes cannot bear Merit that is too much taken notice of. It is therefore a great piece of Knowledge to know how to conceal it well, not only from the Prince but from the People, whoſe Applauſes are fatal.

5. Nothing eſtabliſhes Virtue more than the good Life of a Prince; which is a ſpeaking Law, and prevails more than all they make. If it be true, that whatſoever Fault a Prince commits, he offends more by his ill Example, than the Nature of it; tis not leſs certain, that let him make what Laws he will, if he practiſes what he preſcribes, his Example will go as far to make them executed as the Penalty he lays. A Prince that never Swears, ſhall ſooner ſuppreſs Swearing and Blaſphemies among his People, than the Security of his Magiſtrates againſt thoſe are ſubject to ſuch Impieties, *Chap.* 1. *de la ſecond partie du Teſtament Politique.*

6. All our Veneration is for what is paſt, and we deſpiſe the Preſent; for the Preſent Troubles and Diſquiets us with Objects that diſpleaſe, when what is paſt inſtructs us, without ſhewing us any thing we can repine at, or that can put us into ill

HISTORICAL NOTES.

c People that made Court to Great Men for their Protection.

d That

worthy Praiſe and Imitation. But let ſuch Diſputes continue between us and our Anceſtors.

LVII. *Tiberius* having got a Reputation for his Moderation, for ſuppreſſing Informers [6], writ to the Senate to make *Druſus* Tribune [7]. *Auguſtus* found out this Title, inſtead of that of King or Dictator, and yet by that Name [8] had a Sovereignty [9] above the other Magiſtrates. He choſe

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

ill Humour. It is certain, as the Word is fram'd, we ſhould judge the ſame of thoſe, we admire becauſe they were ſome Ages before us, as we do of our Contemporaries, for Vices are as old as Men.

7. When Princes have done any thing that gives them Reputation, they are wont to make uſe of it, as a Right to obtain what they deſire, and they generally ſucceed in the firſt Heat of popular Applauſe.

8. New Titles great Men take, give them often a ſort of Title to uſurp States that belong not to them. *Paul Emilius* obſerves very well, that the Title of Prince of *France*, which *Charles Martel* took inſtead of Steward of the King's Houſe, was the firſt ſtep to raiſe his Family to the Throne. The Conſtable of *Montmorency* ſhewed good Policy when he oppoſed the *Guiſes* that would have taken the Name and Arms of the Houſe of *Anjou*, from which they were deſcended by *Yoland* of *Anjou*, their Great Grandfather of their Mother's ſide; becauſe this new Name would have ſtrengthen'd their old ſtale Pretenſion, (ſo Cardinal *d'Oſſat* calls it, *Letter* 123.) to *Provence*. And for the ſame Reaſon, when *Henry* 4. gave the young Duke of *Guiſe* that Government, the Chancellor *Chivergny* proteſted in full Council againſt it, and would have his Proteſtation regiſtred in the Parliaments of *Paris* and *Aix*, before he would ſeal the Letters-Patents. *Memoirs de Chivergny*, 1594. The The Duke *d'Oliverez*, firſt Miniſter of *Spain*, ſoon repented making the Duke of *Braganza* General of the Portugueſe, which new Power, together with the Right he had to the Crown, was a Step to get it him.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

[6] That would have Inform'd againſt their Luxury.

[7] We may obſerve here, the Dexterity of *Auguſtus*, when he quitted the odious Name of Triumvir, he took that of Conſul, *Conſulem ſe ferens*. *Ann.* 1. But when the Tribunes of the People oppos'd the Conſuls, and diſputed their Authority, by the Right they had to proteſt againſt the Proceedings of the Senate, and by the Prerogative of their Dignity, which made them Sacred and Inviolable, *Auguſtus* who ſaw the Conſulate diſtinguiſh'd him not from other Conſuls, reſolves to make himſelf Tribune, by vertue of which he could oppoſe the Reſolutions of other Magiſtrates, and none of them his. So that out of two Offices that ſprung from Liberty, which he pretended to retend (*ad tuendam plebem Tribunitio jure conſentum*) he made himſelf a real and perpetual Dictator, as abſolute as *Julius Cæſar*, but leſs odious, becauſe he pleaſed the People with the Title of Tribune. A Dignity he held 37 Years, as *Tacitus* obſerves, *Ann.* 1.

[8] A

choſe *M. Agrippa* for his Aſſociate, and after his Death, *Tiberius Nero*, that his Succeſſor might be known, thinking thereby to reſtrain the Unlawful Hopes of ſome others, truſting to *Nero*'s Modeſty and his own Greatneſs. After his Example, *Tiberius* advanced *Druſus*; while *Germanicus* liv'd he carried himſelf indifferently between them. His Letters began with a Prayer to the Gods to proſper his Counſels for the Good of the Common-wealth; then added a few Words, and thoſe truly of his Son's Behaviour, *That he had a Wife and three Children, and of his own Age when* Auguſtus *called him to that Honour; neither could it be ſaid, this was precipitately done; but after he was tryed eight years, had ſuppreſs'd Seditions, ended the Wars, triumphed, and had been twice Conſul.*

LVIII. As the Senate expected this Demand, ſo their Flattery was the more Artificial; but they could think of nothing more to decree, than that their Princes Images, Altars to the Gods, Temples, Arches, and ſuch cuſtomary Honours, ſhould be erected for him, Only *M. Silanus* by diſhonouring the Conſulate thought to do Honour to the Princes, and propos'd, that Publick and Private Acts ſhould be dated for the Future, not from the Conſuls, but Tribunes. And *Q. Haterius* moving the Decrees of that Day ſhould be writ in Gold Letters, was laugh'd at', that an old Man to his ſhame ſhould fall into ſuch filthy Flattery

LIX. At this time, the Government of *Africa* was continued to *Junius Blæſus*, *Servius Maluginenſis*, a Prieſt of *Jupiter*, deſir'd that of *Aſia*, ſaying, *It was a Miſtake to think the Prieſt of* Jupiter *might not go out of* Italy, *there was*

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. The higher a Man is in Dignity, the more ſhameful is Flattery in him; but eſpecially if he be in ſuch a ſtation as makes it his Duty to preſerve and maintain the Authority of the Laws. It was pleaſant to ſee *James Faye*, who called *Henry* III. of *France*, the Saint of Saints, harangued the Parliament, and ſay he deſerved Canonization, better than any the Kings of *France* his Predeceſſors, though he abandon'd the Government of his Kingdom to his Favourites. *Journal de ſon Regne.*

2. The

was no other Law for them, then the Priests of Mars *and* Quirinus; *and if these had govern'd Provinces, why not they? That neither the Laws nor Ceremonials*[2] *were against it. That the High Priest had often officiated for the Priest of* Jupiter, *when sick, or employ'd in publick Affairs. That after* Cornelius Merula *died, there was no Man in his Place for* 62 *Years*[3], *and yet the Rites wanted not. And if his Creation could be omitted so many years, without interruption to the Sacrifices, how much more easily may he be absent a Year with the Proconsulary Dignity? Formerly they were forbid by the High Priests out of Ill-Will, now (Thanks to the Gods) the High Priest was the best of Men*[4], *not subject to Emulation, Malice, or private Affection*[5]. Against this *Lentulus* the Augur,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. The Clergy have always been ingenious in finding Reasons, or rather Pretences to exempt themselves from their most indispensable Duties. Residence was so strictly observed by the Roman Priests, that *Seneca* says their Priests were like Exiles that could never quit the Place of their Punishment. *Quosdam exilia, quosdam sacerdotia uno loco tenent. De tranquillitate vitæ. Visus est sibi quis*, says *Artemidorus*, *ad firmamentum templi Neptuni catena alligatus esse: factus est sacerdos Neptuni: oportebat enim ipsum inseparabilem esse sacerdotem. Lib.* 5. *de somniorum eventibus, Somnio* 1. A Pagan looks upon his Priesthood as an indissolvable tie upon him, that confines him for his Life to *Neptune*'s Temple; yet the Christian Priests and Prelates make no scruple of spending all their Lives in a manner from their Churches, without doing the State any Service. *Filii hominum, usquequo gravi corde?*

3. A Fault is a Fault though it has lasted a long time, and consequently a Prince should not lose an occasion to remedy it, when he finds one.

4. The Priesthood and Sovereignty are so far from being incompatible in the same Person, that on the contrary, one is a strengthning of the other; so *Tacitus* observes of the Kings of the Jews, amongst whom *Honor sacerdotii firmamentum potentiæ assumebatur*, Hist. 5.

5. There is no Quality more essentially necessary in a Pope, than to be a Common Father: All Popes have equally this Title, but do not equally perform their Duty. The Partiality they all have, one for this Crown, another for that, never fails to produce ill Effects. As it is impossible a Partial Pope should be Just, 'tis likewise impossible those Princes should have any Reverence for him who suffer by his Partiality. Besides those he favours, often reap no other Fruit from it than War with their Neighbours. What made the League betwixt *Henry* II. of *France*, and *Paul* IV. but the loss of the Battels of *S. Quintin* and *Gravelines*, which was a just Punishment for the Breach of the Truce of *Vaucelles*, and altogether a convincing Evidence, that the Absolutions a Violent and Passionate Pope gives, are not always sure signs of a Divine Absolution. So the wise Cardinal *d'Ossat* had good reason to say, *that a Pope should be a Man*

Augur, and others differently ſpoke; at laſt it was reſolv'd to refer the Matter to the Emperor's Deciſion.

LX. *Tiberius* defers giving his Opinion in it, and moderates the Honours decreed *Druſus* with the Office of Tribune, reproving by Name the Inſolence of that Propoſition that the Decree ſhould be writ in Letters of Gold, contrary to Cuſtom. *Druſus*'s Letters were read, which were taken to be very arrogant, though they had a turn of Modeſty too. They ſaid, "Things were come to "that paſs, that *Druſus* upon receiving ſo great Honour, "would not vouchſafe a Viſit to the Gods of the City, "nor ſhew himſelf in the Senate, or begin at leaſt, his "Authority

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

Man of Virtue and Underſtanding, that he may not be deceived by the Artifices of ill Men, and to make him a common Father, in holding the Ballance equal, not doing ill to any at the Deſire and Suggeſtion of others. Letter 330. *Gregory* XIV. at the beginning of his Papacy declar'd he pretended not to govern according to the Maxims of State, but according to the Laws of the Goſpel. That was ſpeaking like a Pope, but as a good Milaneſe he could not keep his word; for he ſoon declar'd for the League in favour of the King of *Spain*, and the *Guiſes*; As if Partiality had been an Evangelical Precept for a Common Father, *Herrera c.* 16. *du Livre* 6. *de la* 3 *Partie de ſon Hiſt.* If the Piety of the Faithful, ſays *Saavedra*, has given the Popes Temporal Power, it were more for the Security of their Grandeur never to uſe it againſt Princes, but when the Univerſal Good of the Church made it neceſſary. When the Triple Crown is turn'd into an Helmet, there is no Reſpect paid it, but as a temporal Thing; when it makes uſe of Politick Conſiderations, it is lookt upon only as the Crown of a Politick Prince, and not a Pope's, whoſe Authority ſhould be ſupported by Spiritual Power. His Paſtoral Duty is not for War but Peace. His Staff is crooked, not pointed, for 'tis to lead, not hurt. *Empreſa* 94. I will conclude this with a very judicious Reflection of Don *Juan Antonio de Vera*, in the Second Diſcourſe of his *Ambaſſador*. What ancient or modern Example, ſays he, can be brought in compariſon of that which Cardinal *Bembo* and *Thomas Porcacchi* relate of Pope *Julius* II. who being more an Enemy to the French King (*Lewis* XII.) than was fit for an univerſal Paſtor of the Church, orders the King of *Spain*'s Ambaſſador, and the Venetians, his Allies, to acquaint their Maſters, he had made Peace with *France*, but that they ſhould not be allarm'd at it, for he continued ſtill his ill Will to that Crown, that his Heart was Spaniſh, and that this Peace was only to lay the French aſleep, to take them afterwards, unprovided. If there be then ſo little Security and Faith in a Pope, what may we expect from Secular Princes? How can we truſt thoſe that are not Catholicks, or are born Infidels? Words worthy this Spaniard, who took for his Motto, *Veritas Vincit.*

" Authority in his own Country, if the War, or his Di-
" ſtance hinder him? However, he is entertaining him-
" ſelf on the Shores and Lakes of *Campania* [f]; Thus is
" he bred that is to govern the World. This he learn'd
" from his Father's Counſels. *Tiberius* might excuſe him-
" ſelf from appearing in Publick, by reaſon of his Years
" and Labours; but what hinders *Druſus*, beſides his
" Pride?

LXI. *Tiberius* daily ſtrengthen'd his Sovereignty; but to leave ſome ſhew of their ancient State to the Senate, he ſent them the Petitions of the Provinces to examine. The Licentiouſneſs and Impunity of Sanctuaries grew to that in *Greece*, the Cities ſet them up as they pleaſed. The Temples were filled with Slaves, Debtors that defy'd their Creditors, and Perſons ſubject of Capital Crimes [g]. Neither was any Authority able to ſuppreſs the

HISTORICAL NOTES.

f A Province near *Rome*, call'd now *Terra di Lavoro*. *Florus* ſays *Campania* was the fineſt Country in the World. *Terrarum pulcherrima.*

g As *Greece* was a Province almoſt all Maritime, and where, according to *Thucidides*, Piracy prevail'd much, and thoſe that exerciſed it were in good Eſteem; the Inhabitants built Temples to protect themſelves from the Inſults of the Pyrates; So theſe Temples were not like our Churches, but like Caſtles and Forts, with Vaults under ground, and were not for the Retreat of Criminals, but for honeſt Perſons, that fled from Oppreſſion. And if they were abuſed, they loſt the Privilege of the Sanctuaries, which at firſt was allowed to very few Places. But the Wickedneſs of Men, ingenious enough in finding out ways to abuſe the moſt ſacred things, wrought ſo great a Change, that what was inſtituted in *Greece* for a Protection againſt Oppreſſion, became one againſt Juſtice and the Laws; ſo that the Sanctuaries that were at firſt only a Refuge for honeſt Men, and ſuch as were afflicted, ſerved afterwards only for Criminals. This made the Senate of *Rome* to regulate them, and take from the Temples in *Greece* the Privilege of Sanctuaries, except Nine that gave better Teſtimony than the reſt of their Original. Too ſmall a Number for ſo great a Province, that was more than a thouſand Miles extent. There was at this time another kind of Immunity, not Inſtituted in Honour of any God, nor in Favour of any Temple, but only in conſideration of Juſtice. It was for thoſe had any Potent Enemy they could not oppoſe, they run to ſome Statue of the Prince, embraced it, calling for Publick Authority, and then no one durſt offer them the leaſt Violence. Yet this was not an Immunity, but rather an Appeal to Juſtice; For as ſoon as the Judges took Cogniſance of the Matter, if their Cauſe was good, they awarded them Satisfaction; but if Unjuſt, a double Penalty was inflicted, one for the Crime, the other for their boldneſs in running

the Seditions of the People, protecting Villanies, as much as the Rites of the Gods[h]. It was therefore ordain'd the Cities ſhould ſend their Deputies with their Privileges. Some voluntarily quitted them, as Uſurp'd; others juſtified theirs on old Superſtitions, or an account of Services to the People of *Rome*. The Pomp of that Day was great in ſhew, when the Senate conſider'd the Grants of their Anceſtors, the Agreements of Confederates, the Decrees of the Kings before the Roman Power prevail'd there, and the Religion of the Gods, being at the Will of the Senate to confirm or alter them, as formerly they had done.

LXII. The *Epheſians* appeared firſt, ſetting forth, That *Diana* and *Apollo* were not Born in the *Iſland of Delos*, as was commonly believed, that in their Country was the River *Cenchiris*, and a Wood called *Ortygia*, where *Latona* leaning on an Olive-Tree, which yet remains there, was delivered

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. As Princes are obliged to eſtabliſh the true Worſhip of God; they ought to be careful to baniſh falſe Appearances, which are to the prejudice of States. For we may truly ſay, That Superſtition and Hypocriſie are often coverings to wicked Deſigns. *Chap.* 1. *de la ſeconde Partie du Teſtament Politique.* The Conſpiracy of the Marchioneſs *de Verneuil* againſt *Henry* IV. of *France*, was contrived by a Capuchin, called Father *Arcange*, under pretence of Confeſſion, which cover'd the frequent private Converſations he had with her, and the Count *d'Auvergne* her Brother, who pretended he had taken a Reſolution to become a Capuchin.

1. There

HISTORICAL NOTES.

running to the Princes Statue, when guilty. Would to God Churches were only Sanctuaries for the Innocent, and that Criminals reſorting to them, were not only puniſh'd for their Crimes, but alſo for their Raſhneſs in believing God and the Churches will protect Aſſaſſins, Thieves, Rebels, inceſtuous Perſons and Villains. *Fra Paolo Sarpi, chap.* 7. *de ſon Traite des Aſiles. Philo Judæus* explaining the Law in the 21. of *Exodus*, *If a Man come preſumptuouſly upon his Neighbour to ſlay him with Guile, yea thou ſhalt take him from mine Altar that he may die*, ſays, That Wicked Men ſhould find no Sanctuary in Places conſecrated to Piety and Worſhip. *Profani in ſano nullum eſſe receptum, lib. de ſpec. legib.* In *Petrarchs* Letters there is one to the Pope, in which he congratulates his repreſſing the Liberty of the Cardinals, who protected any Offenders purſued by Juſtice. *Epiſt. 1. lib.* 7.

i During

delivered of these two Deities, and that the Wood was Sacred by the Command of the Gods. And that *Apollo*, after he had killed the *Cyclopes*, fled thither from *Jupiter*'s Anger. That *Bacchus*, when he conquered the *Amazons*, pardoned those that humbling themselves took hold on the Altar. That *Hercules* added to the Rites of that Temple after he was Master of *Lydia*, and their Priviledges were not lessened when under the Dominion of the *Persians*, and afterwards the *Macedonians* preserved them.

LXIII. Next, the *Magnesians* insisted on the Constitutions of *L. Scipio* and *L. Silla*, who conquered *Antiochus* and *Mithridates*, and in acknowledgement of the Felicity and Valour of the *Magnesians*, commanded *Diana Leucofryne*'s Temple should be inviolable. Then the People of *Aphrodisium* and *Stratonica*, produced a Decree of *Cæsar* the Dictator [i], and another since of *Augustus*, for the Services done them, and opposing an Invasion of the *Parthians*, never departing from their Fidelity to the *Romans*. Those worshipped *Venus*, these *Jupiter* and *Diana* surnamed *Trivia*. From *Hierocesarea* was brought greater Antiquity, they having a Temple dedicated by K. *Cyrus* to *Diana Persica*, and that *Perpenna*, *Isauricus*, and many other Emperors, had not only acknowledged this Temple for Sacred and Inviolable, but the Country two miles about it. The *Cyprians* pretended Franchises for three Temples, whereof the ancientest was built by *Aerias*, and consecrated to *Venus Paphia* [k], the second dedicated by his Son *Amathus* to *Venus Amathusia* [l], and the other to *Jupiter*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

i During the Civil War betwixt him and *Pompey*.

k So named, because this Temple was within the City of *Paphus*, now called *Baffa*.

l There was in this Island, a Place called *Amathus*, now *Limisso*, but it is little more than a Village.

m Ho

piter Salaminius, built by Teucer [m], when he fled from his Father Telamon.

LXIV. The other Ambaſſadors had their Audiences too, but the Senate growing weary with hearing ſo many, and their Canvaſſings, a Commiſſion was given to the Conſuls to examine their Titles, and make a Report. They made it very favourable for a Temple at Pergamum, dedicated to Eſculapius [n], but that the Claims of the reſt were grounded on obſcure beginnings [1], by reaſon of their Antiquity. Smyrna and Tenedos pretended both an Oracle of Apollo, that commanded one of them to Dedicate a Temple to Venus Stratonicis, the others a Statue and Temple to Neptune. Thoſe of Sardis and Miletum inſiſted on later Grants, one of Alexander in Honour of Diana, the other of Darius in Honour of Apollo. The Cre-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. There are a great many Priviledges and Exemptions of which we may ſay, as a Doctor did of Conſtantine's Donation, That it was read by the Blind, heard by the Deaf, and related by the Dumb. If, according to Cardinal Perron, all the Letters of the Pope's were forg'd by the Monks in Charlemaine's time, there is great Reaſon to believe they are the Authors of the greateſt part of their Regiſters.

HITORICAL NOTES.

m He called this Temple of *Jupiter, Salamine*, in Honour of his Country.

n The Church of *Orleans* is the moſt famous and authentick Sanctuary now in *France*, and it may be in *Europe*. The Priviledge the Biſhops have upon their Entry to free all the Criminals that fly thither from all Parts of the Kingdom, except Traitors, has been preſerved by a Poſſeſſion and uninterrupted Enjoyment ever ſince *S. Aignan*, and confirmed by the Conſent of all the Kings of *France*, and allowance of all the Courts and Magiſtrates of the Kingdom, that have never diſputed this Right. So the Learned Hiſtorian, *Adrian Valois*, has reaſon to wonder at the neglect of the People of *Orleans*, who feaſt and celebrate by a general Proceſſion the 8th of *May*, becauſe on that day they were delivered from a Siege of the Engliſh, 1429. and feaſt not on the 14th of *June*, the day their Anceſtors drove out *Attila* and the *Huns* that cloſely Beſieged them. *Quem diem ſi quando forte celebrare voluerint, ſciant anno* 451. 18 *Kal. Julii, qui eſt Junii dies quartus decimus, Hunnos urbe expulſos, ac majores ſuos captivitate miſerâ ac vinculis eſſe liberatos.* Notitia Galliarum, tit. *Genabum.*

Cretenſians deſired the Image of *Auguſtus* might have ſome Priviledge. Upon the whole, the Senate made ſeveral Decrees, whereby great Honours were allowed, but Moderation [2] preſcribed to all, commanding them to have the ſame in Tables of Braſs, and ſet them up in ſome publick Place in the Temples, to preſerve a Memorial, and prevent their falling into vain and ridiculous Superſtitions [o] under pretence of Religion.

LXV. About

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Princes ſhould religiouſly forbear violating the Rights of the Church, but when they degenerate, and are abuſed, they are obliged to apply neceſſary Remedies. *Theodorick*, King of *Italy*, commanded the Magiſtrates to protect the Church, and maintain it in its Rights, without prejudice to his Authority, *Salvâ Civilitate*, ſays *Caſſiodore*. And it was in this Senſe, that *Charles* V. coming to be Crown'd Emperor in *Italy*, anſwered the Pope's Legats that received him at *Genoua*, That he would never Violate the Rights and Priviledges of the Church; but ſo as to ſupport thoſe of the Empire, without ſuffering the Church to change them. *Saavedra empreſa* 94. *& Don Juan Antonio de Vera dans l'Epitome de ſa Vie.* The Immunity the Eccleſiaſticks have is good to Priviledge, but not exempt them from their Duty; it is to ſtraiten the Circumference in which they are to live, and not to give them head, nor to ſuffer them to exceed thoſe bounds of Modeſty are requiſite for their State.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

o if the *Genoueſes* remember the miſerable Condition their City was reduced to by the French Fleet 1684. they will truſt no longer to *St. Bernard*'s Lettes, the Original whereof, they ſay, is kept yet in their Archives, in which the Saint promiſed never to forget them. *In æternum non obliviſcar tui, plebs devota, honorabilis Gens, Civitas illuſtris. Epiſt.* 129. *ad Januenſes.* They may make Solemn Vows, and Dedicate Churches to him to protect them againſt the Arms of *France*, but he will let their City be Bombarded, and their Republick deſtroyed if they keep not themſelves within the Bounds of Reſpect and Modeſty. In 1625. this Republick being in a War with the Duke of *Savoy*, they made a Vow to *St. Bernard*, to reckon him among their Patrons, to Celebrate his Feſtival for ever with a general Proceſſion, to Build him a Chappel, and to give yearly Portions to Twelve poor Girls. *Don Joan Mabillon in Notis ad Epiſtolas D. Bernardi.* This good Saint, and all the reſt in Paradiſe, ſays a Prelate, Conform themſelves to God's Will, who gives Peace and War as pleaſes his Providence, and Laughs at the pretended Wiſdom of Mortals. *Lettre Monſ. Marquemont Archev. de Lion, du 5 May 1625. dans le 1 Tome des Memoirs pour l'Hiſtoire du Cardinal de Richelieu.*

p Men

LXV. About the ſame time, *Livia* falling dangerouſly ill, *Tiberius* haſten'd to *Rome*; there was yet a good Agreement betwixt the Mother and Son, or only Secret Hatred. A little before ſhe had dedicated a Statue to *Auguſtus* near *Marcellus's Theatre*, and ſet *Tiberius* his Name after her own, which it was believed he reſented as an Indignity to him', though he ſhewed it not. But when the Senate decreed Publick Prayers to the Gods, and the Plays, call'd *Magni*, to be exhibited, by the Chief Prieſts, the Augurs, the Fifteen together with the Seven, and thoſe of the Fraternity of *Auguſtus*, call'd *Auguſtales*. *L. Apronius* propos'd the Heralds [p] to be Overſeers; but *Tiberius* was againſt it, making a Difference in the Rights of the Prieſts, and producing Examples for it. And that therefore the *Auguſtales* [q] were joyn'd with them, becauſe a peculiar Prieſthood

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Majeſty knows no Superior. Kings, as Kings have no Mothers, and conſequently their Natural Mothers ſhould pay them the ſame Regard as their Subjects do, whereof ſhe is one. What *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, Queen of *Spain*, did at *Ferrara*, in her firſt Viſit to *Clement* VIII. with her Mother the Arch-Dutcheſs of *Gretz*, in giving the Arch-Dutcheſs the Chair provided for her, and taking another Place her ſelf, may be an Example of filial Piety, but was not an Action becoming Majeſty. It may be alſo ſaid, that on this Occaſion ſhe violated the Rules of good Breeding and Juſtice, when to honour her Mother, ſhe was wanting in that Reſpect was due to her Husband's Dignity. To recover which, *Clement* cauſed another Seat to be preſently brought for the Queen, who could not ſit in that of the Arch-Dutcheſs, without injuring the Majeſty of the King of *Spain*. *Gracian dans le 59. Diſcourſe de ſon Agudeza.* The Perſon of a Prince, ſays *Antonio Perez*, may have a Companion, but his Office cannot. And 'tis that the Ancients mean, when they ſay, *Jupiter* diſtributed to the other Gods, the White Wand, the Trident, and other marks of Sovereignty, but always reſerv'd the Scepter and Thunder to himſelf. *Dans les Aſſeriſmes des ſecondes Lettres.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

[p] *Numa* firſt inſtituted this Order at *Rome*, conſiſting of Twenty Perſons choſe out of the ancienteſt Families in the City, and ſettled in a College. Their Office was properly to be the chief Arbitrators of all Controverſies relating to War and Peace, nor was it Lawful to take up Arms till they had declar'd all Expedients for an Accommodation rejected.

[q] Who had no more Right, than the Faciales to preſide at the Publick Plays.

Prieſthood of that Houſe, for which the Prayers were made.

LXVI. It is not my Intention to relate here all Propoſitions, but only ſuch as are memorable for their Honeſty, or ſhameful for their Infamy. For I look upon the chief Part of an Hiſtorian to be, not to conceal Virtues, nor Vices. That therefore every one may be afraid of doing or ſpeaking ill, leſt they become Infamous with Poſterity [2]. But thoſe times were ſo corrupted with baſe Flattery, that not only the beſt of the City were forced to keep their Reputation in that manner, but alſo the Conſuls, moſt of the Prætors, and many pedary [r] Senators, ſtrove which ſhould propound things moſt baſe and mean. 'Tis reported, *Tiberius* never went out of the Senate, but he ſaid in Greek, *O how ready theſe Men are for Slavery!* ſo much did he abhor baſe and ſervile Submiſſion, who could not bear Publick Liberty.

LXVII. From Diſhonourable things they fell by degrees

Politick Reflections.

2. Who can ſtop the Mouth of Poſterity, and hinder their ſpeaking of thoſe, that make no other uſe of their Power than to commit Crimes with Impunity? Whatever Laws are made, ill Perſons can never eſcape this Puniſhment; and if they gratifie themſelves while they live, they have yet this Diſpleaſure, to know, that the People will ſcan their Actions and curſe them ſecretly; and that Writers will not ſpare them when they are Dead. See the End of the late Diſcourſe of the Satyr *Menippee*. A Satyr, ſays the Chancellor *Chivergni*, which is a Maſterpiece and Monument to the Eternal Reproach of thoſe who were the Authors of the League, and ſerves for an Example to ſuch others to turn them from the like Enterprifes. *Dans ſes Memoires.* As fear of Infamy creates an Averſion to Vice, ſo the Example of Virtue recounted in Hiſtory, ſhould excite us to imitate thoſe have left them.

3. When

Historical Notes.

r Beſides the proper Senators, any Magiſtrate might come into the Houſe, while he was in Office, and thoſe who had born any Curule Office. They were not allowed the Privilege of giving their Votes; yet they tacitely expreſſed their Mind by going over to thoſe Senators whoſe Opinion they embraced, and on this account had the Name of *Senatores Pedarii*.

ſ This

grees to wicked Practices. *Mamercus Scaurus* that had been Conſul, *Junius Otho*, Prætor, and *Brutidius Niger*, the Edile, proſecuted *C. Silanus*, Pro-conſul of *Aſia*, accus'd for his Corruptions in the Provinces, Charging him with prophaning the Divinity of *Auguſtus*, and contemning the Majeſty of *Tiberius*. *Mamercus* juſtified himſelf from ancient Preſidents, alledging that *L. Cotta* had been accuſed by *Scipio Africanus*, *S. Galba*, by *Cato the Cenſor*, and *P. Rutilius*, by *M. Scaurus*. A very unlikely thing, *Scipio* and *Cato* ſhould ever take ſuch Revenges, or *Scaurus*, Great Grand-father to this *Mamercus*, who diſhonour'd his Anceſtors by ſo infamous an Action. *Junius Otho*, who formerly taught School, and afterwards was made a Senator by *Sejanus*'s Intereſt, brought his obſcure beginning into Reproach by theſe Villanies [1]. *Bruſidius* was a Man well qualified, and if he had taken a right Courſe, might have come to Preferment; he was too impatient, which made him firſt endeavour to outgo his Equals, then his Superiors; and at laſt, even his own Hopes. Which hath been the ruine of many good Men, who have haſtned to gain that before their time, which they might have had with a little Patience, and poſſeſſed with Security [2].

LXVIII. *Gellius*

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. When Magiſtrates give themſelves up to ſervile Flattery, they ſoon fall into Cruelty. Thoſe Judges that ſeek to make their Fortune, are always ill Judges. It is for that Reaſon the Preacher ſaith, *Ask not of the King the Seat of Honour, and ſeek not to be made a Judge, leſt thou be not able to take away Iniquity, and leſt thou, fearing the Perſon of the Mighty, ſhouldſt commit an Offence againſt thine own Uprightneſs*, Eccle. chap. 7.

1. Great Men have no worſe Enemies than thoſe that have raiſed themſelves from a mean Birth to a ſhare in Publick Affairs. It were odious and unneceſſary to give Domeſtick Examples of this Kind, every Man has a hundred before his Eyes. The Cauſe of this Hatred, according to *Tacitus*, is, *Quia minoribus major admodùm cura*, *Hiſt.* 4. Becauſe theſe little People are naturally ill-diſpoſed to them. But there is another Reaſon has a better Foundation, becauſe few of them but have received ſome ill Uſage from Great Men, or have been oppreſſed by them. So that ſcarce any of them riſe without Reſentments. A Man is an Enemy to the Law, becauſe he loſt a Tryal, and the like Inſtances hold in other Caſes.

2. A wiſe Spaniard ſays, He that will not obey another, takes the

LXVIII. *Gellius Poplicola* and *M. Paconius*, one *Silanus*'s Treasurer, the other his Lieutenant, encreased the number of Informers. There was no doubt he was guilty of Cruelty and Avarice, but many other things were accumulated, dangerous to the Innocent. For besides so many Senators that were his Enemies, he was to answer himself the most Eloquent of *Asia*, that were pick'd out to be his Accusers; he was ignorant in Pleading, and in dread of his Life, (which was enough to have confounded the ablest Person.) *Tiberius* refrained not pressing him with hard Expressions, and a severe Countenance, he ask'd many Questions, but gave him not Liberty to answer, or reply; he often confess'd, what he might have denied, that *Tiberius* might not seem to ask in vain. And his Slaves were sold, that so they might be examin'd upon the Rack. And he was also accus'd of Treason to make it

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

way not to command himself. The Means should be suitable to the Ends we propose. We would have Passive Obedience be taken for a Principle in us, when it is often only an impudent Pride. When a Man has once gain'd Honours, his manner of rising to them is forgot. Suffering much, to arrive afterwards to great Employs, is neither Meanness, nor want of Spirit, but Discretion. There are those can wait for nothing, which proceeds from their Excessive Ambition, for they will almost at the same time out-go their Equals, then their Superiors, and out-strip even their own Expectations. Push'd on by their natural Impetuousness, they neglect the surest means, as too slow, and embrace the shortest, though most hazardous. The same thing commonly happens to them as to Buildings erected in haste, without giving time to the Materials to settle, they fall down presently. Those Trees that upon the first warm Weather put out their Buds soon lose them, not staying till the Severities of the Winter are past. He never reaps any Benefit from his Affairs that precipitates them, his Impatience makes them abortive, and serves only to hasten Danger. *Saavedra empresa polit.* 34. In less than an Year *N.... Maugot* was Master of Requests, First President of *Bourdeux*, Secretary of War, and Keeper of the Seals; but as he understood little of this last Place, they were forced to restore the Seals to Monsieur *du Vair*, his Predecessor. The Duke of *Beaufort* lost his Credit with the Queen-Regent, for pretending too much to her Favour and Confidence in him. For not being satisfied to rest upon the Pretensions the Duke of *Vendosme* his Father had to the Government of *Bretagne*, he supported those also of all the Great Men that suffer'd under *Richelieu*'s Ministry, to make himself Creatures, and to give such clear Testimonies of his Power, that every one might ascribe to that whatsoever could satisfie his Ambition and Vanity. *Memoires de M. le Duc de L. R.*

3. When

it neceſſary for his Friends to be ſilent, and leave him. He deſir'd a few days, then let fall his Defence, and had the Courage to ſend Letters to *Tiberius* mixed with Prayers and Complaints.

LXIX. *Tiberius* to juſtifie the Proceeding againſt *Silanus*, caus'd the Records of *Auguſtus* againſt *Voleſus Meſſala*, Pro-conſul alſo of *Aſia*, to be read, and a Decree of the Senate againſt him [3]. Then asked *L. Piſo*'s Judgment, who after a long Diſcourſe of the Prince's Clemency [4], concluded he ſhould be baniſh'd to the Iſland *Gyarus*. The reſt agreed with him, only *Cn. Lentulus* thought it fit that the Goods of his Mother *Cornelia* (for he was by another Woman) ſhould be ſeparated from the reſt, and given her Son, to which *Tiberius* conſented. But *Cornelius Dolabella* to flatter more [5], after he had blamed *Silanus*'s Morals, added, *That for the future, no Perſon of a Scandalous and Infamous Life, ſhould draw Lots for the Government of the Provinces, and that the Prince ſhould be Judge thereof*.

The

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. When Princes would do an hard thing they are uſed to ſeek for Examples to authoriſe, or at leaſt excuſe their Injuſtice. After *P.* II. of *Spain* had arreſted Don *Carlos*, he ſent his Officers to *Barcelona*, to take out of the Archieves the Proceſs againſt Don *Carlos*, Prince of *Viana*, Eldeſt Son of *John* III. King of *Arragon*, which he cauſed to be tranſlated into Spaniſh, to be a Preſident to him in proceeding againſt his Son. *Cabrera, chap.* 22. *du Livre* 7. *de ſon Hiſtoire.*

4. No Princes are ſo much commended for Clemency, as thoſe have leaſt of it. *Piſo*, according to *Tacitus*'s Character of him in his Sixth Annals, was a very wiſe Man, and hated baſe Flattery, yet commended *Tiberius* for a Virtue he wanted, not to flatter him, but to make him in love with the Reputation of it, and thereby to make him more merciful. For this Prince knew very well, *Quæ fama clementiam ſequeretur. Ann.* 4.

1. This is one of thoſe Counſels appear well, but under colour of encreaſing the Prince's Power, in effect deſtroy it. *Dolabella* would have furniſhed *Tiberius* with a way to exclude from Government all that diſpleas'd him; but on the other ſide it expos'd him to the Hatred of moſt of the Great Men, if he expected it, Cardi-

nal

HISTORICAL NOTES.

[3] This was the ſame Man was for *Tiberius*'s entring *Rome* in Triumph, which *Tiberius* expos'd in his Letter to the Senate, that it was not fit for him to accept a Triumph for taking the Air.

The Laws punish Crimes, but how much better were it for us to provide none shall be committed?

LXX. Against which *Tiberius* spoke. 'That he was 'not ignorant of the Reports of *Silanus*, but common 'Fame was not always to be believed. Many had behav'd themselves otherwise in the Provinces, than we hop'd 'or fear'd. For some being employ'd in weighty Affairs, have been excited [2] to better Behaviour, others 'became

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nal *Richelieu* speaking of the Selling of Offices, concludes it better to continue than suppress it, and give them freely, Though the Suppression of selling Offices, says he, is most agreeable to Reason and the Laws, yet there are such inevitable Abuses in the Distinction of them, when they are at a Prince's Pleasure, as make the Selling tolerable, for then the Artifices at Court go farther than Reason in the Disposing of them, and Favour beyond Merit. And a little after he says, A Suppression would be so far from serving Virtue, it would promote Cabals and Factions, and fill the Places with Men of mean Birth. The Weakness of the Age is such, that we sooner yield to Importunities than are led by Reason, and instead of being guided by Justice, are commonly carried away with Favour. From what is past we ought to fear the future, because we have always seen, that those in greatest Favour, have always carried it against Virtue. And since Princes and those they trust cannot know the Merit of Persons, but by the Judgment of others, they often mistake the Shadow for the Body. *Sect. 1. du c. 4. de la premiere Partie du Testament Politique.* Formerly the Popes pre-consul those they design'd to make Cardinals, to have time to learn Peoples Opinion of them, before they proceeded to their Promotion; but the Malice of ill Men that us'd a thousand Artifices and Lies to exclude those they hated, was the Reason this was abolish'd.

2. I have often thought, says *Ammirato*, from whence it comes that some Men behave themselves better in Business, others worse than was look'd for. For Example, *Vespasian* was better and more Moderate, after he was Emperor; when on the contrary, 'tis said, *Galba* would have always been thought worthy of it, if he had not Reign'd. *Pius* IV. who may be compar'd to the first, exceeded all was expected from him; when *Clement* VII. whom every one thought fit to be Pope, succeeded no better than *Galba*. To seek this Difficulty, we will use a Comparison. There are two Vessels, one small and full, the other large and almost empty; The full Vessel is like a Man in an Employment suitable to his Abilities; Those who see him carry himself so well in it, conclude he would do the like in a Greater, not taking notice, that his Vessel is as full as it can hold, and if more be put in, it will run over. So *Galba*, while a Private Man, seem'd much greater than he was. The large Vessels, almost Empty, or at least not Full, are the Men of great Capacity, who having neither Estates nor Employments suitable to their Merit, are not much esteem'd, whether it is that they use not all their Diligence or Exactness in what they do, or not being proportionate, we cannot judge what may be expected from them. But when their Condition is such as to fill their Vessel, they shew, contrary to common Expectation, that greatness of Soul and sublimeness of Genius,

'became more ſloathful. That a Prince could not fore-
'ſee all things; Neither was it Expedient he ſhould be
'led away by the Ambition of others. That Laws were
'made againſt Facts, becauſe future things are uncertain.
'So was it ordain'd by our Anceſtors, That Puniſhments
'ſhould follow Offences. Therefore they were not to
'alter what was ſo wiſely Decreed [3]. That Princes had
'Charge ſufficient [4], and Power enough; That as their
'Power encreas'd, the Laws grew weak, and Abſolute
'Power was not to be uſed, where the Laws would do.
This Anſwer was the better received, becauſe *Tiberius* was ſeldom Popular. And as he was Wiſe in moderating things (unleſs tranſported with Paſſion) he ſaid, The Iſland *Gyarus* was Barbarous and Uninhabited, and was

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nius, that their lower Fortune buried. *Veſpaſian* taking not all the Care he ſhould to have cleanſed the Streets, *Caligula* order'd the Skirt of his Gown to be fill'd with Dirt and Filth, and in *Nero's* Reign, he had like to have loſt his Life for ſleeping while *Nero* play'd. Which is not to be wonder'd at, conſidering he was not born for theſe Trifles, and that to fill his Veſſel he wanted the Government of the World, which he afterwards held. *Diſcours onzieme du livre* 3. *de ſon Commentaire ſur Tacite.* The Father of *William* Duke of *Mantua*, would have had him a Prieſt, becauſe he was little and Crooked, judging of his Soul by his Body; but he would not, and when he was Duke he ſhew'd by his Acquiſition of *Montferrat*, and ſome other Places, that a Great Soul may be lodg'd in a Little Body. To conclude, how many excellent Men die without being known, who would have been admired, if employ'd? How could *Arnaud d'Oſſat* have ſhewed his Abilities, if *Henry* IV. of *France* had not made him his Procurator, to ſollicite his Abſolution at *Rome?*

3. What judicious Princes have done, cannot reaſonably be changed, unleſs Experience ſhews ſome Inconvenience; and 'tis plainly ſeen the ſame may be mended. *Section* 1. *du chap.* 4. *la premiere Partie du Teſtament Politique.*

4. There is no greater Charge than doing Juſtice, if a Prince would be a perfect Sovereign. Sovereignty, ſays *Antonio Perez*, is a Charge, and conſequently the Actions of him who exerciſes it, depend not on his own Will; but on the Rules and Conditions the People have requir'd and he accepted. And if a Prince obſerves them not, becauſe they are only Humane Contracts; yet he cannot depart from thoſe the Laws of God and Nature have preſcrib'd, which are Superior to Kings, as well as Peaſants. *Dans les Aforiſmes de Relations.* And in another place he ſays, That Kings Crowns are made Circular, as an Emblem of the Bounds of Humane Power. *Ferdinand* the Catholick ſaid, The ſureſt way to keep a Throne, was to ballance the Intereſts of the Kingdom and People.

5. There

was for their ſhewing ſo much Favour to one of the *Junian Family*, and that had been of their own Body, as to ſend him rather to *Cythera*; Which *Torquata*, *Silanus*'s Siſter, a Lady of eminent Virtue, deſir'd, and all condeſcended to.

LXXI. Afterwards the *Cyrenians* were heard, and *Caſſius Cordus*, upon the Accuſation of *Ancarius Priſcus*, was condemn'd for Corruption. *L. Ennius*, a Roman Gentleman, was accuſed of Treaſon for converting the Prince's Statue into common uſes in Plate, *Tiberius* acquitted him, yet *Ateius Capito* openly complain'd, and with great Liberty ſaid, 'That the Determining ſuch a Matter ought 'not to be taken from the Senate, nor ſo heinous a Crime 'go unpuniſh'd; That the Emperor might be as merci-'ful as he pleas'd, in puniſhing Offences committed a-'gainſt himſelf, yet ought not to pardon thoſe againſt 'the Common-Wealth'. *Tiberius* underſtood theſe things rather in the ſenſe they were intended, than as they were ſpoken, and perſiſted in acquitting *Ennius*. This was the more Diſhonourable in *Capito*, that he who was ſo learned in Humane and Divine Laws, ſhould ſo blemiſh himſelf the Publick [u] and the good Qualities that were ſo Eminent in him'.

LXXII. Than

Politick Reflections.

1. There is no Flattery more agreeable, nor more refin'd, than what pretends to Correction or Liberty, for that catches Men, and eſpecially Princes, by their weak ſide, Self-love. *Plutarch* ſays, this pretended Liberty is like Blows from Ladies, which inſtead of hurting, irritate and provoke to Pleaſure. Princes have common Flatteries ſo continually in their Ears, that they would be wearied with them, if this Court-Food was not dreſs'd different ways, which recovers the Appetite their Favourites are concerned ſhould not be cloy'd.

1. Ill Men, ſays *Commines*, are the worſe for their Knowledge, but it mends thoſe that are well diſpos'd. Gentlemen of the Long Robe, are very requiſite for Princes when honeſt; but if otherwiſe, they are very dangerous. *Livre* 2. *Chap.* 6. *& Livre* 5. *Chap. derniere.* Pope *Nicholas* III. was uſed to ſay, Knowledge without Honeſty, was Poiſon without Remedy. *Pagi. Obſerv.* 431.

Historical Notes.

u The Latin is, *egregium publicum*, *Emanuel Suegro* renders it *la reputacion de la Republica*; Don *Carlos Columna*, *la reputacion publica*; *Adriano Petiti*, *la reputacione publica*; *M. de Chanvalon*, *l'Etat*; *Radolphus* with this Paraphraſe,

LXXII. Then a Queſtion aroſe, in what Temple the Offering ſhould be placed, which the Roman Knights had Vowed to *Fortuna Equeſtris*, for *Auguſta*'s Recovery; For tho' that Goddeſs had many Temples in the City, none bore that Name x. There was one found ſo called at *Antium*, and all the Rites in the Cities of *Italy*, the Temples and Images of the God's being ſubject to the Roman Empire, they appointed it ſhould be placed at *Antium*. And this matter being in Debate, *Tiberius* takes occaſion to give his Opinion, which he had deferr'd, about *Servius Maluginenſis*, Prieſt of *Jupiter*. He produced, and read a Decree of the Pontiffs. 'That when 'the *Flamen*, *Dial*, or *Prieſt of Jupiter* fell into any ſick-'neſs, he might with the High Prieſt's Permiſſion, be 'abſent from *Rome* two days, provided it was not on the 'Days of Sacrifice z, nor more than twice in a year: Which

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2. It is melancholly thing to conſider, that Pagans ſhould make their falſe Prieſts ſo ſtrictly keep Reſidence, and that the frequent Injunctions and Laws are not ſufficient to do the like among Chriſtians. A Prieſt of *Jupiter* could not be abſent from *Rome* above two days, and thoſe when he had no Religious Duty to perform. Now it is too common to ſee Biſhops and Clergymen whole years abſent from their Dioceſſes and Cures, and are little known but by their receiving Rents and Tithes. What would S. *Bernard* ſay, who ſo paſſionately deſired to ſee the Church of God in the ſame Condition as in the Apoſtle's time, when *laxabant retia in capturam*, ſays he to Pope *Eugenius*, *non in capturam auri vel argenti ſed in capturam animarum*. *Epiſt.* 237. However, ſays *Lewis* XIII. of

HISTORICAL NOTES.

Paraphraſe, *That Capito had tarniſhed the Luſtre of his publick Actions and Domeſtick Virtues.* A Senſe which appears very reaſonable, conſidering this Senator had been Conſul, and conſequently a Publick Magiſtrate. *Tacitus* had perhaps a mind to ſpeak of his different States of Life.

x *Livy* in his 42th Book ſays the contrary, mentioning, That *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, when Prætor in *Spain*, vowed a Temple to *Fortuna Equeſtris*, which he built after at *Rome*, when *Livius Poſthumus Albinus* and *Marcus Popilius Lenas* were Conſuls, and he Cenſor: But this Temple being never dedicated, whether by reaſon of *Fulvius* his Death, who died the year after he was Cenſor, or becauſe this Building was not then finiſhed, 'tis probable *Tacitus* therefore ſaid, there was no Temple of that Name in *Rome*, for the Name was not given but at the Ceremony of Dedication.

y The

Which being ordained in *Auguſtus*'s time, ſufficiently ſhewed they could not be abſent a whole year, nor conſequently govern Provinces. He remembred likewiſe the Example of *L. Metellus* the High-Prieſt, who kept *Aulus Poſthumius*, *Jupiter*'s Prieſt in the City. And therefore *Aſia* came to his ſhare, who was next among the Conſuls to *Maluginenſis*.

LXXIII. Then *Lepidus* deſired leave of the Senate to Repair and Beautifie at his own Charge, *Paulus Emilius*'s Baſilica [y], the Monument of that Family. For at that time, particular Men endeavoured to ſhew their Magnificence by publick Buildings, and *Auguſtus* forbid [z] not *Taurus*,

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of *France*, in a Circular Letter that he writ to the Clergy about Reſidence, there is not one can be ignorant that the Canons of the Church, (which King's are to ſee obſerved) and the Laws do oblige to an actual Reſidence, (upon which chiefly depends good Order and Diſcipline in their Dioceſſes. *Tome 5. des Memoires du Cardinal Richlieu.* Biſhopricks, ſays Cardinal *d'Oſſat*, are the greateſt and moſt important Charges of the Church, which cannot be well adminiſtred without the Preſence and Reſidence of Prelates, eſpecially in ſo diſorderly a time as this is, for a Biſhop has enough to do to diſcharge it well when he is preſent; however careful, diligent and zealous he is. *Lettre* 328. What *Denis de Marquemont*, Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, writ to Cardinal *Richlieu* to be recalled into *France*, is ſtronger and more affecting. 'Rome, ſays he, which was 'formerly my *Eden* and Delight, is 'become ſo inſuppoetable in this my 'laſt Voyage, that I have no Heart, 'nor Health, nor Deſire to ſtay there 'longer. 'Tis not fit for an Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, and an old Man, 'to paſs his time in Anti-Chambers. 'I forbear mentioning what is moſt 'conſiderable, the Reproaches of my 'Conſcience, and thoſe Comforts I 'am deprived of, and continually 'thirſt after, which I have had the 'Experience of in the Exerciſe of 'the Duties of my Function. *Dans les Memoires du Miniſtre du Cardinal de Richlieu.* Don *Franciſco Sarmiento*, Biſhop of *Jaen*, refuſed the Office of Preſident of *Caſtille*, which *Philip* II. preſſed him to take, telling him he could not in Conſcience do it, ſince he believed Reſidence of Divine Right.

Historical Notes.

y The *Baſilicæ* were very ſpacious and beautiful Edifices, deſigned not only for the Senate to ſit in, but for the Judges to, in Deciſion of all ſorts of Cauſes, and for the Lawyers to receive their Clients.

z *Statilius Taurus* built an Amphitheatre, *Philippus* the Temple of *Hercules*, ſurnamed of the Muſes, and *Balbus*, a Theater. *Taurus* and *Balbus*, who had both made their Fortune in the Wars, laid out only the Spoils they took from the Enemies, but *Philippus* built out of his own Eſtate.

Taurus, *Philippus*, and *Balbus*, beſtowing the Spoiles they had taken from the Enemy, or their great Riches, for the Ornament of the City and Glory of Poſterity. In imitation of which Examples, tho' *Lepidus* was not very rich, yet would he revive the Honour of his Anceſtors. *Pompey*'s *Theatre*, that was accidentally burnt, the Emperor promiſed to rebuild at his own Charges, there being none of that Family left able to do it, and that it ſhould ſtill retain *Pompey*'s Name [3]. On this Occaſion he much commended *Sejanus*, to whoſe Vigilance he imputed it, that the Fire did no more miſchief, and the Senate Decred, *Sejanus*'s Statue ſhould be erected in the Theatre.

LXXIV. A little after, when *Tiberius* honoured *Junius Blæſus*, *Proconſul of Africa*, with a Triumph, he ſaid, he did it in regard to *Sejanus*, whoſe Uncle he was; yet *Blæſus* had deſerved thoſe Honours. For *Tacfarinas*, tho' routed ſeveral times, rallied his Troops together in the middle of *Africk*, and had the Inſolence to ſend Ambaſſadors to *Tiberius*, to require a Country for himſelf and his Army, or elſe threatned perpetual War. 'Tis ſaid, 'Tiberius was never in greater Paſſion for any Affront to 'him or People of *Rome*, than to have a Traitor and 'Robber deal with him like a juſt Enemy [1]. *Spartacus*, after

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3. An extraordinary Example of Modeſty, that is followed by few or no Princes, or great Men, who often take the Honor of that to themſelves that has coſt them nothing. In *Innocent* X's time, *S. Peter*'s Church in *Rome* was called *S. Peter's Dove-Coat*, to expoſe the ridiculous vanity of this Pope, that ſet up his Arms there in a thouſand Places. *Eutropius*, ſaid *Conſtantine*, called the Emperor *Hadrian*, *The Pellitory of the Wall*, becauſe his Name was writ every where. This Vanity is now very common: 'Tis ſeen upon the Walls, upon the Glaſs, upon the Hangings, and even upon the Altars. I ſpeak not of Kings, Princes, or other great Men, but Upſtarts and Citizens, whoſe Arms we meet with every where.

1. A Prince ſhould never admit his Rebel Subject to treat with him; for beſides, that it is an Example of dangerous conſequence, 'tis in ſome meaſure making a Subject his equal, or independent. *Robert de la Marck*, ſays Don *Juan Antonio de Vera*, came a third time into *Germany*, from whence he was driven by the Emperor's Captains, for *Charles* V. would never march in Perſon againſt this Rebel, who deſerved only Contempt, &c.

after he had with Impunity harraſſed *Italy*, defeated ſo many Conſular Armies, and burnt ſo many Towns, was never Capitulated with, tho' the Commonwealth was then weakned with the Wars of *Sertorius* and *Mithridates*, and when the City is in a flouriſhing Condition ſhall ſhe make Peace with *Tacfarinas*, a Robber, and give him Lands? He committed this matter to *Blæſus*, with order to promiſe Pardon to thoſe would lay down their Arms, and to take their Captain what Rate ſoever he coſt him.

LXXV. Moſt of his Men accepted Pardon, and made War upon him in the like manner as he had done upon others. For as he wanted ſtrength, and underſtood pillaging better than they, he commonly divided his Army into ſeveral Parts, would fly when attacked, and draw the Romans into Ambuſcades, if they purſued. Their Army was divided into three Parts, one of which was commanded by *Cornelius Scipio*, *Blæſus*'s Lieutenant, who was to march where *Tacfarinas* waſted the *Leptins*, and the Retreats of the *Garamantes*. *Blæſus*'s Son led another Body to keep the *Cirtenſians* from joyning him. The General marched in the middle, erecting Caſtles and Fortreſſes in fitting Places, which brought the Enemy into great Streights. For which way ſoever he went, he found the Roman Forces in his Front, on his Flanks, or his Rear, and ſo had many killed, or taken. Afterwards *Blæſus* divided theſe three Bodies into ſeveral Parties, the Command of which he gave to Captains of Experienced Courage. And when Summer was over, he drew not his Men out of the Field, and ſent them into Winter-

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remembring what *Herodotus* writ of the Slaves of *Scythia*, that had taken Arms againſt their Maſters, and made Head againſt them in the Field, being proud of the regard had to them in going againſt them as juſt Enemies; but when their Maſters laid down their Arms, and took Scourges and Rods to meet them, theſe Wretches ſubmitted, when they ſaw the Contempt their Maſters had for them. *Dans l'Epitome de la Vie de Charles Quint.*

1. 'Tis

Winter-quarters in *Old Africa* [a], as was uſual, but as if it had been the beginning of War, having built new Forts, he followed *Tacfarinas* with light Horſemen, that were well acquainted with thoſe Deſarts, who daily changed his Quarters [b], till his Brother was taken, then retired with more ſpeed than was for the quiet of the Country, leaving thoſe behind him might revive the War. But *Tiberius* concluding it ended, allowed *Blæſus* the Honour to be ſaluted *Emperor* by the Legions. An ancient Honour victorious Armies formerly gave their Generals, upon the firſt tranſports of their Joy. And had ſometimes ſeveral Emperors together, all of equal Dignity. *Auguſtus* granted ſome of his Captains this Honour, and *Tiberius* at laſt to *Blæſus*.

LXXVI. This year two great Men died, *Aſinius Saloninus*, Nephew to *M. Agrippa* and *Pollio Aſinius*, and Brother to *Druſus* [c], deſigned to have been Married to one of *Germanicus*'s Daughters; and *Capito Ateius*, who was mentioned before, and had raiſed himſelf by his Studies to the higheſt Dignity in the City, but his Grandfather *Sullanus* was only a Centurion, and his Father Pretor *Auguſtus* haſtened him the Conſulſhip, that by the Dignity of that Office, he might be preferr'd before *Labeo Antiſtius* [1], who was not inferiour to him. For that Age

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. 'Tis very uſual for Princes to advance one Man thereby to leſſen another of greater Merit, they hate. For this Reaſon, *Philip* II. of *Spain* preferr'd almoſt in every thing, the Prince *d'Eboli* before the Duke *d'Alva*. At the beginning of the Regency of the late Queen Mother of *France*, Cardinal *Mazarine* continued the Seals to the Chancellor *Seguier*, who was hated both by him and the Regent, that he might have a Man of Wit and Quickneſs to oppoſe to *M. de Chaſteauneuf* that pretended to them,

HISTORICAL NOTES.

a So they called at *Rome*, that part of the Province the *Romans* gained from the *Carthaginians*.

b The Latin calls them *Mapalia*, poor little Hutts.

c He was the Son of *Vipſania*, *Agrippa*'s Daughter, *Tiberius*'s firſt Wife, and *Druſus*'s Mother.

d This

Age had these two great Ornaments of Peace together, but *Labeo* was most esteemed by reason of his Freedom[c] of Speech [d]; and *Capito*'s Complaisance was more acceptable to the Princes. One was much valued, because of the Injury done him in that he was not advanced higher than a Prætor [e], and the other envied because he was made Consul [f].

LXXVII. And

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

them, and to the Dutchess of *Chevreuse*, who laboured all she could to have brought her Adorer and Martyr into the Ministry. So the Regent called *M. de Chasteauneuf*. *Memoires de M. de Chastre.*

2. How good soever Princes are, they never love those who want Complaisance. Majesty is so used to Respect, that whatever savours of Freedom is insupportable. There are few Princes like *Stephen de Batior*, King of *Poland*, who gave the rich Palatinate of *Sandomir* to *Stanislas Pekoslawski*, who when he was Deputy from that Province to the Diet, always opposed him. *Pekoslawski*, said *Stephen*, when he named him to the Palatinate, *It a very bad Deputy, but very good Soldier*. A memorable Example (says the Bishop of *Premilz*) of Generosity and Moderation, and the more Commendable, because this Prince valued his Merit, when he had cause to hate his Person. *Piasecki dans sa Cronique.* What Pope *Julius* III. did in favour of *Braccio Martelli*, whom he removed from the poor Bishoprick of *Fiesole* to the rich Church of *Laccia*, though he had always stifly opposed the Authority of the Legats in the Council of *Trent*, where *Julius* had presided in that Capacity, is one of the noblest Examples of the last Age. *Le Cardinal Pallavicin ch.* 1. *du* 13. *Livre de son Histoire du Concile de Trent. Scipio Ammirato* says, That this Prelate's good Life made the Clergy of *Laccia*, who lived very dissolutely when he came to the Diocess, so regular and vertuous, that the strictest Observers were satisfied with them. *Disc.* 9 *du livre* 3. *de son Commentaire sur Tacite.*

3. When a great Man's Merit is generally known, the refusing him those Employments and Honours he deserves, recommends him to Posterity. And while he lives, the publick Compassion recompences the wrong done him. And it is a Glory to him to have it asked, Why he is not a Marshal, or a Governor of a Province, because it is an Argument he is worthy of them. *Giacomus*, asked with Admiration, Why St. *Thomas Aquinas* was not Created Cardinal as well as St. *Bonaventure*, whom he equalled both in Learning and Sanctity. And I may likewise ask, says a Modern Writer, Why St. *Bar-*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

d This was he, that giving his Vote for *Lepidus* to be Senator, answered *Augustus*, who asked him, If he knew no Man fitter, that every one had his Opinion. Upon which, *Augustus* being so incens'd, as to threaten his Life, *Labeo*, without changing his Countenance, or Courage, replied, That he thought he made a good Choice, when he was for one whom *Augustus* continued in the Dignity of High-Priest.

LXXVII. And *Junia* died in the 64th year after the *Philippenſian* War. She was *Cato*'s Neice, *C. Caſſius*'s Wife, and *M. Brutus*'s Siſter. Her Will was much diſcourſed of 4, becauſe when ſhe had honourably named all the great Perſons, and left them Legacies, ſhe omitted *Tiberius* 5, which

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

Bernard was not a Cardinal as well as ſo many other Religious, his Diſciples: But 'tis believed his Book *De Conſideratione ad Eugenium Papam*, boldly writ, and his Remonſtrances to many Cardinals, whoſe Behaviour he could not bear, were the Reaſons Pope *Eugenius* his Diſciple made him not a Cardinal. *Traite de l'Origine des Cardinaux, chap.* 6. Nothing expoſes a Courtier to more Envy, than to be called too ſoon to Employments, to the excluding others of higher Birth and Merit from them. The Promotion of *Bartelemi de Caranſa*, a Dominican, to the Archbiſhoprick of *Toledo*, created him as many Enemies and Perſecuters as there were Prelates in *Spain*. Don *Hernando de Valdez*, Archbiſhop of *Sevile*, and Inquiſitor General, who expected this Primacy of *Toledo*, accuſed him for not being Orthodox, and many Religious of the ſame Order, Councellors of the Holy Office, joined with this Grand Inquiſitor; ſo that this poor Prelate, the firſt Archbiſhop of *Spain*, was to be a Sacrifice to Calumny; when if *Phillip* II. had led him by degrees to this eminent Dignity, no one had taken notice of his Elevation and his Prince's Favour. *Cabrera ch.* 10. *du liv.* 4. *de ſon Hiſtoire.* Don *Bartelemi* was 17 years in the Priſons of the Inquiſition, 7 at *Madrid*, and 10 at *Rome*, where he died in 1576.

4. There is always much diſcourſe of great Perſon's laſt Wills, which are the moſt faithful Mirrours of their Senſe and Manners. *Teſtamenta hominum ſpeculum morum*, ſays *Pliny* Junior. While they live, you commonly know not their Hearts, they ſo diſguiſe themſelves, but when they die, their Teſtaments clear all Doubts, and undeceive many that thought they had the beſt ſhare in their Eſteem and Affection. What *Philip* II. of *Spain* did in 1580. at *Badajoz*, when he thought he ſhould Die, diſcovered to Queen *Anne*, who expected the Regence, that ſhe had a Husband of *Tiberius*'s Opinion, not to truſt Women with Power. *The ſincerity of a Man when he makes his Will*, appears fully, Cardinal *Richlieu*'s Teſtament Politick to *Lewis* 13. There you ſee the King's Picture drawn to the Life, there you have all the good Counſel an able Miniſter can give his Prince, exquiſite Policy, great Thoughts, bold Truths, a Maſculine Eloquence, and admirable Wit: But Self Love, which, according to the old ſaying, is the laſt Shirt a Wiſe Man puts off, has made him commit an Error, in ſpeaking too much of his Services, particularly in the firſt Chapter of the firſt Part, which is more to his own Commendation than his Maſter's. For the reſt, as to his manner of Drawing *Lewis* XIII. as a Prince and Magiſtrate, there is cauſe to ſay, *A Teſtament diſcovers many Thoughts the Teſtator durſt not divulge in his Life time. Ch.* 7. *de la premier Partie.*

5. Thoſe that are Born Republicans find it very difficult to quit the Love of Liberty, witneſs *Junia*, who after 64 years living under *Auguſtus* and *Tiberius*, preſerved always the ſame Sentiments, in which her Uncle, Brother and Husband died. So her Will could not fail being Republican as well as her Family, which had been for many Ages the Bullwark and Palladium of Liberty.

6. There

which he took not ill [6], neither hindred the Solemnizing her Funerals in an Oration to the People, and other Ceremonies [7]. The Images of Twenty Noble Houſes were carried before her Body, among which were thoſe of the *Mantii*, *Quincti*, and others of their Rank. But *Caſſius* and *Brutus* were the more remembred, becauſe their Images [8] were not ſeen there.

Politick Reflections.

6. There are ſome things that are not only more ſeemly, but more expedient for a Prince to diſſemble, than reſent. *Tiberius* could not ſhew himſelf diſpleaſed with *Junia*'s Will, without diſobliging all the great Perſons ſhe had named in it, ſo that they would have Cauſe to think he would take away the Freedom of Teſtaments. Beſides, *Junia* ſeemed to have a good Opinion of his Moderation and Juſtice, when ſhe made the greateſt Perſons in *Rome* her Heirs, without fearing the excluding him would overthrow her Will.

7. It is Generous to Honour Virtue in our greateſt Enemies. *Rodolph* Duke of *Suabia*, whom Pope *Gregory* VII. made Emperor in the room of *Henry* IV. that was Excommunicated and Depoſed, being Buried at *Merſbourg*, like an Emperor, the Saxons would have taken a Plate of Braſs from his Monument, on which was his Arms, with the Imperial Crown, and other Marks of Sovereignty, to avoid *Henry* IV's Reſentment, who had gained two Battels againſt the Rebels; but he forbid them, ſaying, He wiſhed all his Enemies as honourably Buried. *Heiſſ. dans ſon Hiſtoire de l'Empire, Vie d'Henry IV.* The Duke *de Seſſe*, Viceroy of *Naples*, under *Philip* II. of *Spain*, cauſed a ſtately *Mauſoleum* to be erected to the famous Captain, *Pedro Navarro*, tho' he took part with *Francis* I. of *France* againſt his Sovereign *Charles* V. and Died at *Naples* by the Hand of Juſtice. *Quamvis Gallorum partes ſecutum*, ſays the Epitaph, *pro ſepulcri munere honeſtavit, cùm hoc habeat in ſe præclara virtus, ut etiam in hoſte ſit admirabilis.* This Duke, ſays *De Maurier*, paid Reſpect to Virtue in an Enemy, and a Rebel, and not content to Eſteem him in his Heart, he raiſed him a *Mauſoleum*. *Dans la Preface de ſes Memoires de Hollande.* *Philip* II. of *Spain*, after he cut off Don *Juan de la Nuça*'s Head, who took up Arms in the Defence of the Priviledges of *Arragon*, ordered his Body to be carried to the Burial Place of his Anceſtors by ten Noble Perſons to pay Reſpect to his Worth, whoſe Perſon he had puniſhed. *Ch.* 10. *des dits & des faits de Philippe II.*

8. The Glory of Great Perſons depends not on the Humour nor Ill Will of Princes. They are groſly miſtaken, that think that the Suppreſſion of their Images, or Praiſes can bury their Memory in Eternal Oblivion. Princes can make Men hold their Tongues, but cannot make them forget the good Actions of thoſe have deſerved Univerſal Applauſe. The Complaiſance, every Man has for his Prince, ſuſpends for a time Commendation and Honours that are due to them, but when he is Dead, Liberty ſucceeds Reſtraint, and revenges upon the Memory of the Oppreſſor, the Injuſtice done to thoſe that are oppreſſed.

The End of the Firſt Volume.

THE
Life of *AGRICOLA.*

By JOHN POTENGER, Esq;

I. IT has been usual heretofore to transmit the Deeds, and Manners of famous Men to Posterity, neither is it omitted in our Times, tho' the Age is very careless of its own Transactions, as often as any great, and noble Virtue proves so transcendent as to baffle Envy, and prevent Ignorance, Vices equally common to great, and little Cities. But as our Predecessors were apparently more prone to Actions, worthy to be recorded, so every celebrated Wit was induced, by the meer Reward of doing well, to an impartial Publication of their Virtues: Nay, many have thought fit to be their own Historians, not through Arrogance, but a just Assurance of their good Behaviour. Neither is it any Discredit, or Objection to the Memoirs of *Rutilius*, or *Scaurus*, that they were written by their own Hands; so highly is

Virtue esteemed, when frequently practised: But I, who am about to write the Life of a dead Man, have need of Pardon, which I should not crave, were I not to write in Times so malignant towards the Virtuous.

II. We have read of *Arulenus Rusticus*, and *Herennius Senicen* made Capital Offenders; the one for praising *Priscus Heluidius*, the other, for commending *Petus Thrasea*; nay, the Books as well as the Authors were executed: A Triumvirate being appointed to burn those Monuments of famous Men, in the Publick Assembly, and in the open Market, believing by their Flames, the Peoples Freedom of Speech the Liberty of the Senate, and the good Conscience of Mankind would be destroyed. And by the Expulsion of Wise Men, and the Banishment of honest Arts, Goodness it self would be extirpated. We have given ample Proofs of our Patience; for, as the former Age saw the End of Liberty, so we have the Extremity of Servitude, being deprived, by frequent Inquisitions, of the Commerce of the Ear, and Tongue; so that we had lost our Memory with our Voice, could we as easily forget, as be silent.

III. Now at last our Spirits are revived: But if in the beginning of this blessed Age, *Nerva Cæsar* has reconciled two former Opposites, Liberty and Sovereignty; and *Cæsar Trajan* daily increases our Happiness under Kingly Government; so that we have not only fair Hopes, and a longing Desire, but

but a ſtrong Aſſurance of the Publick Safety: Yet, ſuch is the Infirmity of Human Nature, Remedies work ſlower than the Diſeaſe. And as our Bodies, that grow by degrees, quickly periſh; ſo it is eaſier to ſuppreſs, than reſtore Wit, and Learning, there being a kind of Charm in Idleneſs that makes Sloth, which was at firſt troubleſome, turn to Delight. What, if for fifteen Years, a large Space of Human Life, many have fallen by Accident, but the more Eminent by the Cruelty of the Prince? Yet ſome of us have not only ſurvived our Contemporaries, but, if I may ſo ſpeak, our ſelves, ſo many Years being ſubſtracted from the middle part of our Age; in which, if young, we grow old, if old, we're paſſing in ſilence to the laſt Period of our Lives. But I ſhall, without Regret endeavour, tho' in a rude Style, to relate our paſt Miſery, and our preſent Happineſs. And I hope this Account, being dedicated to the Memory of my Father-in-Law, *Agricola*, will, for its Piety, merit Pardon, if not Praiſe.

IV. *Cnæus Julius Agricola* was born in the Ancient and Famous *Colenny* of *Forium Julium*: Both his Grandfathers were Procurators to their Prince: the noble Imploy of a *Roman* Knight. His Father *Julius Græcinus* was a Senator eminent for Wiſdom, and Eloquence; good Qualities that provoked the Rage of *Caius Cæſar*, who put him to death, for refuſing to implead *Marcus Silanus*. He, being bred up under the Wing of a tender Mother, *Julia Procilla*, a Woman of a ſingular

Chaſtity, paſs'd his Minority in acquiring Virtues ſutable to his Age. He was not only guarded from the Allurements of the Vicious by a natural Probity, but by having, in his tender Years, *Maſſilia* the Seat, and Miſtreſs of his Studies; a Place that had exactly temper'd a Provincial Parſimony, with a *Græcian* Affability. I well remember, he frequently would relate how eagerly he was bent in his Youth, on the Study of Philoſophy, and the Law; more then was allowed a *Roman* Senator. But his Mother's Prudence corrected this irregular Heat. His high Spirit made him more vehement, than cautious in the Purſuit of Glory, and Renown: But Age and Experience made him more temperate; but, what was moſt difficult, he continued to bound his Deſires with Diſcretion.

V. He made his firſt Campaign with great Approbation under *Suetonius Paullinus* in *Britain*, a diligent, and good-natur'd General, who did him the Honour to chooſe him for his Comrade. *Agricola* did not, like other Gallants, make War the Buſineſs of Love, and Courtſhip: He was not addicted to Rambling, and Pleaſure, ſo as to have the Title, without the Skill of a Tribune; but ſpent his time in diſcovering the Country, in making himſelf known to the Army, and being informed by the Skilful; ſtill following the Brave; never attempting any thing out of Oſtentation, or declining any Attempt for Fear. Never were Affairs in *Britain* more deſperate: Our old Souldiers ſlain,

ſlain, our Colonies burnt, our Army intercepted; and we forced firſt to fight for Safety, and then for Victory. Theſe Exploits, by which the Province was recover'd, tho' acted by the Advice, or Conduct of another, were the General's Glory; and made our young Souldier more emulous, as well as more experienced, his Soul being fired with an Ambition of Military Fame, which was very diſagreeable to thoſe Times; in which, to be Eminent was to be ſuſpected; a great Name, and an ill one being equally dangerous.

VI. He went hence to *Rome* to commence a Magiſtrate; and married *Domitia Decidiana*, a Lady of a Noble Family, which Match was not only a Credit, but an Advantage to his Riſe: They mightily agreed, and lov'd; mutually preferring each other; a Point of no great Conſequence, only a good Wife is as great an Ornament, as a bad one is a blemiſh to her Husband. 'Twas his Lot, as Queſtor, to have *Aſia* his Province, and *Salvius Titianus*, Pro-Conſul, but he was corrupted by neither; tho' a greedy Pro-Conſul, and a wealthy Province, a fit Prey for the Avaricious, might eaſily have made way for a mutual Connivance. Here his Family, to his great Support and Comfort, was recruited with a Daughter, having loſt his Son a little before. The time between his being Queſtor, and Tribune of the People, nay, the Year of his Tribuneſhip, he paſt in Eaſe, and Quietneſs; well underſtanding the Temper of *Nero*'s Court, where, to

do nothing was Policy; the ſame was the Courſe, and Silence of his Pretorſhip: He executed no Judicial Office; he managed Plays, and other pompous Vanities, by a Temper of Reaſon, and Liberality; the farther from Exceſs, the nearer to Credit. He was appointed by *Galba* to Reviſe the Gifts, and Riches of the Temples; who by a diligent Scrutiny preſerv'd the Commonwealth from being ſacrilegiouſly pillaged by any but *Nero*.

VII. The next Year ſeverely wounded him, and his Family: *Otho*'s Fleet, looſly roving along the Coaſts, waſted *Intemelium*, a part of *Liguria*, and killed his Mother at her Farm, which they ſpoiled, and plunder'd of its Wealth; the occaſion of her Murder: Going to perform his laſt Act of Piety, *Agricola* was acquainted, by an Expreſs, that *Veſpatian* pretended to the Empire, with whom he immediately ſided. At firſt *Mutianus* was at the Head of Affairs, and governed the City, *Domitian* being very young, and making no uſe of his being the Son of an Emperor, but to live licentiouſly; *Mutianus* ſent *Agricola* to take *Muſters*, which he did with Integrity, and Courage. And, underſtanding that their preſent Lieutenant behaved himſelf ſeditiouſly, he gave him the Command of the Twentieth Legion, which was hardly brought to take an Oath to *Veſpatian*. A Legion formidable, and too much for the Lieutenant-Generals, but wholly ungovernable by their own: Tho' 'twas a Queſtion, whether

ther he was too weak, or they too ſtubborn. *Agricola* was elected for his Succeſſor and Revenger; but he, with rare Moderation, wou'd rather ſeem to find than make them good.

VIII. At this time *Vettius Bolanus* was Lieutenant of *Britain*, who was of too mild a Diſpoſition for ſo fierce a People. *Agricola* check'd the Ardor of his aſpiring Spirit, fearing it ſhould increaſe, for he had learned perfect Obedience, and to act honeſtly to his Advantage. In a little time *Petilius Cerialis* was Lieutenant-General here: Now he had Space and Opportunity, to give frequent Proofs of his Courage and Conduct. *Cerialis* firſt made him Share of his Toyl, and Danger, then of his Glory. Oftentimes, for an Experiment, letting him Command a ſmall Party, and, as he came off, a greater. *Agricola* never boaſted of his Performance, but aſcribed all the Honour of the Action to his Superior Officer. Thus by a vertuous Submiſſion, and a Modeſty in ſpeaking of himſelf, he lived without Envy, but not without Praiſe.

IX. Returning from being Lieutenant of the Legion, *Veſpatian* made him a Patrician; and with the Hopes of being Conſul, which was deſign'd him, gave him the Government of *Acquitane*, a Command of the firſt Rank and Dignity. It has been the Opinion of many, that Military Wits are not ſo refined, and poliſhed, Martial Proceedings being more coarſe, and blunt; rather the

Work of the Hand, than Head; not using the Acuteneſs, and Subtility of Civil Courts. Yet *Agricola*, bred a Souldier, by a natural Prudence, lived eaſily and fairly with thoſe Sharpers of the Law. Now he had ſet times for Buſineſs, and Diverſion; when he was on the Bench, and to give Judgment, he was grave, intent, ſevere, but oftenest merciful, if conſiſtent with his Duty: Afterwards there was no Sign of his Authority, for he put off his Auſterity, State, and Rigour; and, what was ſeldom to be met with, his Kindneſs did not abate his Power, nor his Severity, the Love of his Subjects. I ſhould injure the Character of this Great Man, ſhould I tell how free he was from Corruption, or Bribery. He never would purchaſe Fame, which good Men are fond of, by ſlie Arts, or confident Boaſting: He neither emulated his Collegues, nor contended with the Procurators, knowing to be overcome was a Shame, and to conquer no Honour. He continued three Years in his Government, but was recalled with a Proſpect of being Conſul, returning with the Opinion of all, that he was deſigned for *Britain*, becauſe he was moſt fit; not that any thing that dropped from him could occaſion the Report. Fame does not always miſtake, but ſometimes makes a good Choice; during his Conſulſhip he was ſo kind, as to promiſe me his hopeful Daughter, and when it was ended, our Marriage was conſummated: He was immediately made Governor of *Britain*, to which was annexed a Pontificial Dignity.

X. Many

X. Many Writers have deſcribed the Situation, and Inhabitants of *Britain*, which I ſhall do; not to vie with them in Wit and Care, but becauſe it was now firſt totally ſubdued: That, which our Predeceſſors adorned with their Eloquence, I ſhall faithfully relate. Of all the Iſlands that are known to the *Romans*, *Britain* is the largeſt: Its *Eaſtern* Parts lie towards *Germany*, its *Weſtern* towards *Spain*, its *Southern* againſt *France*; there is no Land to be deſcried on the *North*, but an open and wide Sea, that continually beats upon the Shoar. *Livy*, the moſt Eloquent of the Ancient, and *Fabius Ruſticus* of Modern Authors, have compared its Figure to an Oblong Diſh, or an Ax. That is its Shape indeed, of this ſide *Caledonia*, and therefore Fame has applied it to the whole: But there is a vaſt enormous Tract of Land, that, by Degrees, grows narrower and narrower, like a Wedge; the *Roman* Fleet firſt doubling this Point, affirmed *Britain* to be an Iſland, and at once diſcovered and conquered the Iſles of *Orkney*, 'till that time unknown. *Thyle* too, at a diſtance, it deſcried, hid hitherto in Snow and Winter. The Sea here is ſaid to be ſluggiſh and ſtiff to the Oar, not ſubject to be agitated by Winds: I ſuppoſe, becauſe the Continent is far off, and the Mountains upon it but few, which are thought to be the Source and Nurſeries of Winds and Tempeſts: Whereupon ſo continued a Maſs of deep Water, is difficult to be put into Motion. To enquire into the Nature of the Sea, and Tides, is not my Buſi-

neſs,

neſs, it being done by others; but this I ſhall ſay, The Empire of the Sea is no where more abſolute, proudly carrying Rivers of Water hither and thither; and doth not only ebb and flow, but forces its paſſage into the Land, and climbs up to the Tops of Mountains, as if they were its proper Road and Channel.

XI. Whether the firſt Inhabitants of this Iſland were Natives, or imported Strangers, is hardly to be found in this, or any barbarous Nation. We may conjecture at their Original, by the various Faſhions of their Bodies: They that live in *Caledonia*, are red Headed, big Limb'd, which ſpeaks them of a *German* Extraction. The Swarthineſs of the *Silures*, and their curled Hair, would induce one to believe, by their Situation over-againſt *Spain*, that the *Iberi* had heretofore ſailed over, and planted themſelves in theſe parts. They that are Neighbours to the *French*, are like them, either becauſe the Qualities, and Strength of their Progenitors, continue in them; or, becauſe, in Countries bordering upon one another, the ſame Climate createth the ſame Complexion: But 'tis generally believed, the *French* firſt Peopled thoſe Parts. You may gueſs at their Religion, by their ſuperſtitious Opinions. Their Speech differs but little; with equal Boldneſs they challenge Dangers, and with equal Fear decline them when they come: The *Britiſh* Fierceneſs has the Preference, being not at preſent ſoftned by a long and a ſluggiſh Peace. The *French* were formerly brave, but being

ing invaded by Sloth and Idleneſs, they loſt their Courage and their Liberty. The ſame Fate attended the *Britains* heretofore. The reſt remain ſuch as the *French* were.

XII. Their greateſt Strength lies in their Infantry. Some Nations uſe Chariots in War; the greateſt Men drive them, and their Dependants defend them. They were formerly governed by Kings; but now they are divided into Faction, and Parties, by ſome Ring-Leaders. That which contributed moſt to our conquering theſe Warlike Nations, was, their having no Common Council; ſeldom above two or three Cities, at a time, concerted Methods of repelling the Common Foe: So that whilſt they fought ſingly, they were univerſally overcome. They have a dropping, and a cloudy Sky; the Cold here is not ſharp; the Days are of a greater Length than ours; the Night is clear, and in the Extream Parts ſhort; ſo that you ſcarce diſtinguiſh the Beginning from the Ending of the Day. They affirm, if the Clouds did not interpoſe, the Rays of the Sun would be always viſible; and, that he does not riſe and ſet, but glide by; becauſe the Extream and Plain Parts of the Earth, project a low and humble Shadow, which makes Night hang hovering under the Stars and Sky. The Soil will bear all ſorts of Grain, beſides the Olive, and the Vine, and ſuch as love a hotter Climate. It is very fruitful, and every thing ſprings quickly, but ripens ſlowly; which is the effect of moiſt Grounds, and ſhowry Heavens.

Heavens. This Country produces Gold and Silver, and other Metals, which defray the Charge of their Conqueſt. The Sea breeds Pearl, not very Orient, but pale and wan: Some ſuppoſe it want of Skill in thoſe that pick them up; for in the Red Sea they are plucked from the Rock alive, and breathing; but in *Britain*, they are gathered as they lie about in the Sea: But, I believe, there is more want of Worth in the Pearl than Skill, *viz.* Greedineſs in them who gather 'em.

XIII. The *Britains* ſuffer patiently the Levying of Men and Money, and faithfully diſcharge all Publick Employments impoſed on them, if ſo be they are not abuſed thereby, which to them is intolerable, being at preſent ſubdued to Obedience, but not to Vaſſalage. *Julius Cæſar*, altho' he firſt made a Deſcent with his Army, and frighted the People with a ſucceſsful Battel, yet he poſſeſſed himſelf of nothing but the Shoar, and ſeem'd rather to ſhew, than deliver them to Poſterity. Now the Civil Wars of *Rome* turned the Great Mens Swords upon the Common-wealth, and *Britain* was forgot, during a long Peace. *Auguſtus*, but eſpecially *Tiberius*, termed that Oblivion, State-Policy: But 'tis certainly known, *Caius* had a Deſign to attack *Britain*, had he not been of a Temper to reſolve ſuddenly, and as ſuddenly to alter his Reſolution; or, had he not been diſappointed by the bad Succeſs his Arms had in *Germany*; 'twas *Claudius* who firſt effectually proſecuted its Conqueſt, tranſporting Legions, and Auxiliaries, and taking

taking *Veſpatian* in to the Enterprize, which was a Prelude to his future Greatneſs: Now it was, that Countries were reduced, Kings captivated, and *Veſpatian* made known to the World.

XIV. The firſt Lieutenant-General, was *Aulus Plautius*; the next, *Oſtorius Scapula*, both great Commanders: By degrees, the neareſt Parts were brought into the Form of a Province, where a Colony of old Soldiers was planted. Some Cities were beſtowed on King *Cozidunus* (who continued faithful, even within our Memory), according to an Ancient Practice of the *Romans*, who made Kings the Inſtruments of the Peoples Slavery. What others acquired, *Didius Gallus* preſerved; and by erecting a few Caſtles farther up in the Country, ſought to gain the Reputation of having extended his Truſt. *Verantius* followed *Didius*, and died in a Year's time. After that, *Suetonius Paullinus* was very ſucceſsful for two Years, ſubduing Nations, and fortifying Gariſons; upon Confidence of which, he was reſolved to make an Attempt on the Iſland *Mona*, that ſtill furniſhed the Rebels with freſh Supplies.

XV. But this turning of his Back, gave the *Britains* a fair Opportunity, whoſe Fear left them with the Lieutenant-General; they had now leiſure to conſider the Miſchiefs of Bondage, and to compare their Miſeries, and be inflamed by their reflecting upon them: —*What was the Effect of their Patience, but to have heavier Burdens laid upon their*

their Shoulders, as if they were ready to bear any thing? They had heretofore, but one King at a time, but now they had two; a Lieutenant to be laviſh of their Lives, and a Procurator to make havock of their Fortunes. Their Governour's Diſcord, or Concord, was equally pernicious to the Subject; vexed by the Soldiers, and Centurions of the one, and the Force, and Contumely of the other; nothing was exempted from their Luxury and Luſt: The Brave in Fight ſhould plunder, but now their Houſes were become a Prey to baſe ignoble Cowards, their Children forced away, and Soldiers required of them, as if they knew nothing but to die for their Country. If the Britains *would but Number themſelves, they would find, how few of their Soldiers, compared to them, had been brought over: The* Germans *ſhook off their Yoke, who had not the Ocean, but a River only for their Defence: And, that they had the juſter Cauſe of War, their Country, Parents, and their Wives; whereas, their Enemies had no pretence, but Avarice, and Luxury: Would they but emulate their Anceſtors, and not be daunted at the Event of one or two Battles, and conſider, that Men in Miſery are apt to make the braver Attempts, and to go on with the greater Perſeverance, they might make theſe their Enemies as haſtily return, as their Anceſtors did their firſt Invader,* Julius, *by calling away the* Roman *General, and by detaining him, and his baniſh'd Army, in another Iſland, they had vanquiſhed the greateſt Difficulty, which was to Conſult; to which it may be added, that it is more dangerous to be taken Plotting, than Fighting.*

XVI. Ha-

XVI. Having provok'd each other, by ſuch Diſcourſes, and made *Voadica*, a Woman, their Chief, no Sex being excluded the Government, they, by Conſent, made War together, purſuing thoſe diſperſed in Gariſons, taking their Forts, invading their Colonies, as the Seat of Slavery and Oppreſſion: Neither did theſe conquering and incenſed Barbarians, omit any ſort of Cruelty. If *Paulinus* had not been acquainted with the Revolt of the Province, and ſpeedily ſent help, *Britain* had been utterly loſt; but the Succeſs of one Engagement, reduced it to its former Obedience and Patience. A great many kept their Arms in their Hands, being conſcious of their own Guilt, and fearful of the Lieutenant-General; who, otherways a Great Man, to revenge this particular Affront, behaved himſelf cruelly towards the poor People that ſurrendred. *Petronius Turpilianus* was ſent, a Perſon more exorable, and leſs acquainted with their Crimes, which made him receive the Penitent with greater Mildneſs. When he had compoſed theſe Differences, he delivered up the Province to *Trebellius Maximus*; who being a leſs active Man than his Predeceſſors, and wanting Knowledge in Military Affairs, maintained his Province by a gentle way of looking after it. The *Britains* were ſo civil, as to pardon an Error ſo grateful, and ſo eaſie to themſelves. A Civil War breaking out, gave juſt Excuſe to his Remiſneſs: But the Army began to mutiny; which, having been uſed to Enterprize, now grew Looſe for

for want of Action. *Trebellius* avoided their Fury by Flight and Concealment, but loſt his Authority; being forced to Govern precariouſly, as if it had been agreed between him and the Army, that he ſhould live ſafely, provided they might live licentiouſly. This Sedition coſt no Blood. *Vectius Bolanus* came in his room, but the Civil Wars continuing, he could not maintain Military Diſcipline in *Britain*, the Army being alike careleſs of the Enemy, and troubleſome to the Superiour Officer in the Camp; but being a harmleſs Man, and not having incurr'd any Ill-will by reaſon of any Offence, he obtained Reſpect, inſtead of Authority.

XVII. But now *Veſpatian* having won the Empire of the World, and *Britain*, his Captains became Great, his Armies Famous, and the Enemies Hopes little: *Petilius Cerialis* ſtruck them with a preſent Terror, by aſſaulting the City of the *Brigantines*, which was eſteemed the moſt populous of the whole Province. And after many ſharp, and bloody Conflicts, he reduced and waſted the greateſt part of the Country. The bright Reputation of *Cerialis* was enough to eclipſe the Diligence, and Glory of a Succeſſor; but *Julius Frontinus*, a Man as great as Circumſtances would permit, ſuſtained the Charge with Honour, and Renown, overcoming the Difficulties of Defiles, and Paſſes, and the Courage of the Enemy; he ſubdued the ſtout and fighting Nation of the *Silures*.

XVIII. *Agri-*

XVIII. *Agricola* paſſing over, in the middle of Summer, found Affairs in this Poſture, and theſe to be the various Turns of War: The Souldiers living ſecurely, as if the Buſineſs of the Expedition were over; and the Enemy as intently watching all Advantages. The *Ordovices* juſt before his coming cut to pieces almoſt a Squadron of Horſe that lay in their Borders, with which Proceeding the reſt were ſo elevated, that ſome, deſirous of War, approved of the Example; others ſtaid to ſee the new Lieutenant's Reſolution. *Agricola*, tho' the Summer was almoſt ſpent, and his Men diſperſed up and down in the Country, the Souldiers dreaming of nothing leſs than Action, which things mightily croſs'd, and retarded his Warlike Deſigns: Nay, many thought it more adviſable, for the preſent, to guard the Places ſuſpected, reſolved to meet the Danger, gathering together the Enſigns of the Legions, and ſome few Auxiliars; the *Ordovices* not daring to come on even Ground, he placed himſelf at their Head, to inſpire them with the ſame Courage, expoſing himſelf to the ſame Hazard, and made the Army march and deſtroy almoſt the whole Nation; knowing very well, that now was the time for gaining a Reputation; for as things happen at the firſt, ſo they continue, moſt commonly, afterwards: He therefore was very intent upon the Reduction of the Iſle of *Mona*; which, as I have related, *Paulinus* was forced to quit upon the general Defection of *Britain*. But as in dangerous

Adventures, ſomething is always wanting; ſo now they had no Ships to tranſport their Men: But *Agricola*, by his Contrivance, and Conſtancy, carried them over. After they had laid aſide their Baggage; he choſe the beſt, and moſt expert of the Auxiliars, who underſtood all the Fords, and were admirable Swimmers, and could manage their Arms, themſelves, and their Horſes at once; and in this manner poured them on their amazed Enemies, who thought to have ſeen a Navy, and Ships croſſing the Sea, and not a War brought in to their Country ſo miraculouſly: So that they concluded nothing was difficult, or impregnable to ſuch bold Adventurers. Whereupon they immediately ſupplicating for a Peace, and delivering up the Iſland, *Agricola* began to be eſteemed a great, and valiant Commander. At his firſt entring upon the Government, he applied that Time, to Labour and Hazard, which others ſpent in Shew and Complement: He did not let his Succeſs prove fruitleſs; neither would he call, the keeping the Vanquiſh'd in order, an Expedition, or a Victory; he did not crown his Letters of Advertiſement with Laurels, but encreaſed the Glory of his Arms, by taking no notice of it, while Men weighed with themſelves, how great a Proſpect he muſt have of Things to come, who was ſo regardleſs of great Things already done.

XIX. Being well acquainted with the Genius of his Province, and having learnt, at other Mens Coſt, that Arms avail little towards the ſetling of a Peace, if

if Injuries are permitted, he was reſolved to root out all Occaſions of War: And what was to ſome as difficult, as the Government of a Province, beginning with himſelf and Family, he reformed his own Houſe; he allowed no Bond or Free Man to ſhare in the Management of Affairs; he let no Souldiers immediately attend his Perſon, that were privately recommended by Friends, or by the Praiſes, or Entreaties of the *Centurions*; but he eſteemed the beſt Souldier always the moſt Faithful: He would be informed of all things, tho' he did not punctually exact their Execution; he applied Pardon to ſmall Faults, and Puniſhment to great Ones; he prudently choſe thoſe Officers, that were likely to prove inoffenſive, rather than be put to the ungrateful Trouble of condemning them, when Offenders: The Augmentation of Tribute and Corn, he mitigated by an equal proportioning the Burden; and cut off all Extortion, which was more grievous than the Impoſition; for they made a Jeſt of the poor People, who were forced to wait at the Granaries, when lockt up, and to buy Corn, which they muſt ſell at a Price: Several ways, and far diſtant Places, were enjoyned by the proud Purveyors, that the Cities ſhould carry their Proviſions, not to the neareſt, but fartheſt Camp, which was out of the way, till that which was ready, and at hand for all, was made the Advantage of a few.

XX. The rectifing theſe Matters, in the firſt Year of his Government, mightily recommended

Peace, which before, by the Connivance, or Negligence of his Predeceſſors, was as dreadful as War. As ſoon as it was Summer, he drew his Army together, commended thoſe that marched orderly, but checkt the Straglers; he choſe the Places for encamping, and in Perſon, tried the Bogs and Woods; he gave the Enemy no reſt, being never free from Incurſions, and Ravage; when he thought he had ſcared them enough, then he would hold his hand, forbearing Acts of Hoſtility to ſweeten them to a Peace. Theſe Methods of proceeding, wrought ſo upon many Cities, which, till that time had ſtood upon equal Terms with him; that they, laying aſide their Animoſity, voluntarily ſubmitted, giving Hoſtages, and permitting Gariſons and Forts, to inviron them; which was done with ſo much Care and Judgment, that no part before of the *Roman* new Conqueſt in *Britain*, was free from the frequent Inſults of the Enemy.

XXI. The enſuing Year was ſpent in wholeſome Councels, to bring this Rough and Warlike People, living diſperſed, and ready to take Arms upon all Occaſions, to Peace and Quietneſs, by ſhewing them the Pleaſures thereof: In order to which, he privately exhorted, and publickly joyned with them to build Temples, Houſes, and Seats of free Juſtice, praiſing the Forward, repremanding the Backward; which bred in them ſuch an Emulation of Honour, that did as much as Compulſion. Then he took care to have the Sons of the Princes in-

inſtructed in the Liberal Arts and Sciences; preferring their Wit, and Capacity, before the Induſtry of the *French*: So that they, who juſt before, ſcorned the *Roman* Language, now ſtudied their Eloquence, and had their Garb in Eſteem, the Gown being frequently worn; by degrees, they paſt to the Softneſs of their Vices, erecting Portico's, coſtly Baths, and making ſumptuous Entertainments; which ſad and certain Badges of Slavery, the Ignorant termed good Breeding.

XXII. The third Year of the Expedition diſcovered new Nations, waſting the Country as far as an Arm of the Sea, called *Taus*, which ſo intimidated the Enemy, that they did not dare to attack an Army, haraſs'd with Tempeſts; which gave the *Romans* time to build Forts and Caſtles, as they pleaſed. The beſt Judges of War, made it their Obſervation, that no General choſe his Ground with more Prudence, or built Caſtles better ſecured, than *Agricola*; never any being forced, or delivered up upon Capitulation, or deſerted forFear; they made frequent Incurſions, and were furniſhed with yearly Proviſions, to ſuſtain a Siege; the Winter-Quarters were ſecure, every Gariſon being its own Protection: The Enemies endeavours were ſo fruſtrated, that they deſpaired, as formerly, by Reprizals in Winter, to repair their Loſſes in Summer; for they were equally repulſed in both Seaſons. *Agricola* never poorly intercepted the Glory of an Action, due to an inferior Officer, but faithfully atteſted his Merit.

Some thought him too bitter in rebuking; but as he was ſevere to the Bad, ſo he was mild to the Good: He never was malicious, tho' angry; there was no fear of his Reſervedneſs, or Silence; he thought it was more honeſt to offend, than hate.

XXIII. The fourth Summer was paſſed in ſecuring what he had acquired: And if the Courage of the Army, and the *Roman* Glory would have permitted, this had been the Bounds of their Conqueſt in *Britain*. *Glota* and *Bodotria*, two oppoſite Arms of the Sea, being carried up into the Continent, are only ſeparated by a Neck of Land, which was then guarded by a Gariſon; ſo that the *Romans* were abſolute Lords of all on this ſide, driving the Enemy, as it were, into another Iſland.

XXIV. *Agricola* paſſed over in the firſt Ship, and after ſeveral proſperous Encounters, ſubdued Countries never before known. In that Part of *Britain*, that looks towards *Ireland*, he quartered his Forces, not out of any apprehenſion of Danger, but hope of Advantage; *Ireland* lying between *Britain* and *Spain*, and very commodiouſly for *France*, would have united the ſtrongeſt Parts of the Empire, to their mutual Convenience. If you compare *Ireland* with *Britain*, 'tis much leſs, but far bigger than any of the Iſlands of our Sea: The Climate, the Nature, the Faſhion of the People, are not much differing from the *Britiſh*: Their Ports are commodious, and their Entrance ſecure;

ſecure; very well underſtood by Trading Merchants. *Agricola* entertained a petty Prince of that Country, driven out of his Dominions by his rebellious Subjects: He kept him faſt with him, under Pretence of Friendſhip, but it was indeed, to ſerve his own Turn upon occaſion. I have often heard him ſay, That with one Legion, and a moderate Force of Auxiliars, all *Ireland* might eaſily be reduced; and that it would be an Advantage againſt *Britain*, to have it ſurrounded by the *Roman* Arms, and its Liberty out of ſight.

XXV. In the Summer of the ſixth Year of his Imployment, being apprehenſive of a general Inſurrection of all the Kingdoms beyond *Bodotria*, and ſuſpecting all the ways to be infeſted by the Enemy, he examined all the Ports with his Fleet, which was now made part of his Military Strength; and following, made a gallant Shew, at once a War coming upon the Enemy by Land, and Sea: The Horſe, and Foot, and Mariners frequently incamped together, and mixing Company, and Mirth, would alternately boaſt their Exploits, and Adventures; the Land-men telling what tall Woods they had paſs'd, and high Mountains they had climb'd; the Sea-men, how they had been toſs'd and ſhatter'd by Waves and Tempeſts; one vaunting their Victory over the Earth, and Man, the other over the proud Ocean. As I have been informed, the *Britains* were quite dejected at the Sight of our Fleet; we having deprived them of the laſt Refuge of the Vanquiſhed,

by discovering their Sea, hitherto unknown. The Inhabitants of *Caledonia* resolving upon Arms and War, with great Preparations, and greater Noise, Things unknown being more in report than reality, and assaulting our Castles, began to make us afraid of them, as Men us'd to be of Aggressors; the Fearful to cover their want of Courage, gave prudent Advice, perswading him to retreat to the other side of *Bodotria*, rather than be forced: But being informed, the Enemy would fall on him, in several Parties, he marched with his Army, divided into three Bodies, that he might not be enclosed by their Superior Numbers, or disadvantaged, by their better Knowledge of their Country.

XXVI. Which, when the Enemy perceived, they suddenly changed their Designs; and altogether in the Night, broke in upon the Ninth, the most feeble Legion, killing the Centinels, and surprizing the Camp; the Men being all asleep, or amaz'd with fear; and now the Fight was brought within the Trenches: But *Agricola* having learned by his Spies, which way the Enemy marched, followed them at the Heels, and commanded the foremost of the Horse and Foot, to fall on their Rear: The whole Army was to make a general Shout; and at Day-break, the glittering Ensigns appeared. In this Conflict, the *Britains* Courage abated, and the *Romans* returned, not fighting for Safety, but Glory and Honour. Now the *Romans* were Aggressors; there was a cruel

cruel Fight in the narrow Gates of the Camp, 'till the Enemy was routed, one part of the Army contending to bring Succour, the other fighting, to ſhew they did not want it: If the Fens and the Woods had not hid them in their flight, we had ended the War, by gaining this Victory.

XXVII. Upon the fighting this Battle ſo reſolutely, and the winning of it ſo bravely, the Army grew fierce and bold, preſuming nothing could reſiſt their Courage: They cried out, to be led into *Caledonia*, that by a continued Series of Victories, they might be brought to the utmoſt Limits of *Britain*: And our late cautious, and wiſe Counſellors began to ſpeak big, and to be very daring, now the Danger was over. This is the unjuſt Condition of War, that all claim their Share in good Succeſs, but bad is imputed but to one: The *Britains* ſuppoſing themſelves defeated, not by the Courage of their Adverſaries, but Conduct of their General, who had watched his Opportunity, abated nothing of their Arrogance, but liſted the ſtouteſt Men they had, and carried their Wives and Children to Places of the greateſt Security. The Cities confederated together, meeting frequently, and by Religious Rites, and offering up Sacrifices, confirmed their Aſſociation: And thus both Armies parted with equal Animoſity.

XXVIII. This

XXVIII. This Summer there was a horrid, but memorable Fact, committed by a Troop of *Uſipians*, raiſed in *Germany*, for our Service in *Britain*; who having ſlain the Centurion, and ſome Souldiers, put over their Parties, and mixed with them for their Example and Government, they ſeized three ſmall Veſſels, compelling the Maſters to execute their Office; but only one diſcharging his Duty, they kill'd the reſt, as ſuſpected Perſons: It not being yet diſcovered, they miraculouſly ſet out; but by and by, they were toſs'd hither and thither, and had ſeveral Encounters with the *Britains*, who defended their own, in which they ſometimes were worſted, and ſometimes had the better; but at laſt, they were reduced to that Extremity, that they had no Food to ſuſtain them, but the Infirm; when they were ſpent, they caſt Lots who ſhould be kill'd, for the Proviſion of the Reſt. Thus roving about *Britain*, they loſt their Ships, for want of Skill to ſail them, and being taken for Pirates, they were firſt intercepted by the *Suevians*, and the *Friſians*, and were bought and ſold, till at laſt in Traffick, they came on our ſide of the River, which fully diſcovered the whole Adventure. In the beginning of the Summer, *Agricola* had a ſevere Affliction in his Family, the Loſs of his Son, born the Year before; he did not, like ſome Great Men, vent his Sorrow vain-gloriouſly, or expreſs his Concern in an effeminate Lamentation, but made War the Diverſion of his Grief.

XXIX. There-

XXIX. Therefore ſending his Fleet before, which plundred many Places, the Enemy was ſtruck with a great and perplex'd Fear; and making the Army ready, to which he had joyned the braveſt, and by a long Peace, well aſſured *Britains*, he marched to the Hill *Grampius*, which the *Britains* had poſſeſſed; who were not in the leaſt daunted with their former Defeat, knowing now they had nothing to expect but Revenge, or Slavery; and having learned, that Common Danger was to be repulſed by Concord: The Cities, by ſending Ambaſſadors, had united their Force, and entred into a ſtrict League of Defence: Now they had an Army of about Thirty thouſand fighting Men, and the Youth of the Country daily came in to them, with ſuch Old Men as continued luſty and ſtrong, every one telling his old and paſt Exploits: But *Galgacus* was preferr'd for his high Birth, and great Virtue, who made a Speech to this vaſt Multitude, earneſtly deſiring Battle:

XXX. 'As often as I revolve in my Mind, the 'Cauſe and Neceſſity of this War, I am per-'ſwaded, that this Day, and your unanimous A-'greement, will be the beginning of the *Britiſh* 'Liberty. We are all ſenſible of Slavery, we 'have no Land, or Sea, left ſecure, the *Roman* 'Fleet riding on our Coaſts. To take Arms, 'and Fight, as it is honourable for the Brave, ſo 'it is ſafeſt for the Coward. Our former Com-

'bates

'bates with the *Romans* were various in their Success; yet we had Hopes, and a Reserve still in 'our own Power: For we, the Flower of the '*British* Nation, and therefore seated in the in-'nermost Recess, never beheld the slavish Shoars, 'nor had our Eyes violated with the Prospect of a 'Foreign Government: For this little Corner has 'preserved us the small Remains of our Country 'and Liberty: But now the Bounds of *Britain* are 'discovered, and to attempt what is unknown, 'is reputed great. We have no Nation behind 'us, but a raging Sea, and senseless Rocks: The '*Romans* are in the Bowels of our Country, whose 'Pride you vainly seek to evade, by Modesty and 'Submission. They are the Rapparees of the U-'niverse; when Lands are wanting, they rifle 'the Ocean. If their Enemy is rich, they are 'covetous; if poor, ambitious: So that neither '*East* nor *West*, can satisfie their unruly Passions: 'They are the only greedy Men, that with equal 'Avarice, make Wealth and Poverty their Prey: 'To kill, plunder, bear-away, they call by the 'false Name of Empire, and Desolation they 'term a setled Peace.

XXXI. 'Nature commands us all to hold our 'Children and Relations dear; these are pressed, 'carried somewhere to be Slaves. Our Wives 'and Sisters are not ravished in a hostile Manner, 'but they are deluded and debauched, under the 'specious Pretence of Frienpship and Hospitality. 'Our Estates are wasted in paying Tribute, our

'Corn

'Corn in ſupplying the Army with Proviſions. 'Our Bodies and Hands are worn out, partly by 'Stripes, and partly by Contempt, while we are 'ſet to work on Bogs and Woods. They that 'are born Slaves, are ſold but once, and then 'maintained at the Charge of the Purchaſers; but '*Britain* daily buys and maintains its own Servi-'tude. As in a private Family, new Servants 'are always a Laughing-ſtock to the old; ſo in 'this old Family of the Univerſe, we being new-'ly diſcovered, and vile, are ſought out for Scorn 'and Deſtruction. There are no Fields, no Mines, 'no Ports, for which we may be reſerved to Till, 'to Dig, to Trade in. The Gallantry of Subjects 'is very diſtaſteful to their Lords; and yet Di-'ſtance, and Privacy, as it is moſt ſafe, is more 'ſuſpected. Having loſt all Hopes of Pardon, 'let us act as Men that hold their Liberty, as 'well as their Glory, dear. The *Brigantes*, led 'by a Woman, burnt their Colony, and took 'their Forts; and, if Succeſs had not made them 'careleſs, had broke their Yoke. We are, as 'yet, entire, unſubdued, born to be free, and 'not the Vaſſals of proud *Rome*. We'll let them 'ſee at our firſt Meeting, what Men *Calidonia* has 'reſerved 'till laſt.

XXXII. 'D'ye think, the *Romans* Proweſs in 'War, equals their Licentiouſneſs in Peace? No, 'they are made great by our inteſtine Diſcord and 'Diſſentions; they make their Enemies Faults, 'the Glory of their Army, compoſed of ſeveral 'Na-

'Nations, which Proſperity keeps together, and 'Adverſity will disband; unleſs the *French* and '*Germans*, and, what I bluſh to ſay, ſome *Britains* too, are fooliſhly laviſh of their Blood, to 'eſtabliſh Uſurpation. It cannot be conceived, 'that Enemies will continue longer Faithful and 'Affectionate than Servants, the feeble Bonds of 'their Love, are Fear and Terror; if they are 'once removed, they'll ſtreight begin to hate 'thoſe they ceaſe to dread. All the Encouragements to Victory are on our ſide; the *Romans* 'have no Wives to raiſe their Courage, or Parents to upbraid their Flight; they have either 'no Country to defend; or, if they have, 'tis another. Theſe few, but fearful Men, diſtracted 'by their Ignorance, caſting their Eyes on our 'ſtrange Heavens, Earth, and Woods, the Gods, 'at laſt propitious, have, in a manner, delivered 'into our Hands, pent up, and bound. Ne'r 'fear the gaudy Terror of their glittering Gold, 'and Silver, that neither can defend or hurt. 'We ſhall have Troops marching, even, in their 'very Army. The *Britains* will remember, 'ſure, their Country's Cauſe; nor can the *French* 'forget their former Liberty. Like the *Uſipian* 'Cohort, the *Germans* will deſert. We have no-'thing more to fear; their Gariſons are drained; 'their Colonies are made up of Old Men, ſome 'refuſing to Obey, and others Commanding ty-'rannically, while their Towns are at Difference 'and Diſcord among themſelves. Here is the 'General, and the Army, their Tribute, and

'Mines,

'Mines, with other ſorts of Miſeries, the Puniſh-
'ment of Slaves, which you muſt ſuffer for ever,
'or revenge on this Spot; therefore going to
'fight, remember your Anceſtors, and pity your
'Poſterity.

XXXIII. They received this Speech with Joy, Singing, and Shouting, and making different Noiſes, according to the rude Cuſtom of their Country. And as the Troops came together, and the glittering Armour appeared, ſome of the Hotteſt advanced forward, and both Armies were putting in Order. *Agricola*, altho' his Soldiers were very joyful, and ſcarce to be reſtrained by Advice, ſuppoſed it beſt to ſay ſomething before they engaged:

'In eight Years time, Fellow-Soldiers, by your
'Pains, Fidelity, and Valour, and the auſpi-
'cious Fortune of the *Roman* Empire, you have
'conquered *Britain*. In ſo many Expeditions
'and bloody Battels, there was need of your La-
'bour and Patience to encounter oppoſing Na-
'ture, as well as Reſolution to reſiſt the Enemy.
'As I do not repent my having you for my Sol-
'diers, ſo, I hope, you do not your having me
'for your Leader. I have ſurpaſſed the Limits
'of our ancient Generals, and you the Bounds of
'preceding Armies. We do not poſſeſs the End
'of *Britain* by Fame and Report, but have actu-
'ally ſeized it with our Arms and Pavilions: *Bri-*
'*tain* is found and ſubdued. I have often heard

'the

'the Brave cry out, when you were fatigued with 'Bogs and Hills, and Rivers, in your March, 'When ſhall we have an Enemy? When ſhall we 'fight? Theynow appear forced from their lurking 'Holes,and you enjoy your Wiſh,and a fit Oppor- 'tunity for your Valour. All Things will be prone, 'and yield to us,if Victors; but croſs,and adverſe, 'if vanquiſhed: For, as to have finiſhed ſuch tedi- 'ous Journeys, to have evaded ſuch great Woods, 'and croſt ſo many Arms of the Sea, is honoura- 'ble, and becoming, if we go on; ſo if we turn 'our Backs, that which was our Advantage, will 'prove our Danger. We have not their Know- 'ledge of the Country, or the ſame Proviſions for 'the Army: But we have Swords and Hands, 'and in them we have All. I am very well ſatiſ- 'fied, Flight is neither ſafe for the General, nor 'the Army; an honourable Death far excels a 'mean ignoble Life; Safety and Honour dwell 'together. But it cannot be inglorious to fall on 'the utmoſt Confines of Earth and Nature.

XXXIV. 'If you had new Nations, and an 'untried Foe, I would make the Deeds of other 'Armies an Argument for your Courage: But 'now reflect on your own Exploits, interrogate 'your own Eyes; they are the ſame, who by 'Stealth, and under the Covert of the Night, aſ- 'ſaulted the Ninth Legion, and were routed by 'a blaſt of your Breath; they are the moſt apt to 'run of all the *Britains*, for which Reaſon, they 'are now alive. When we Travel the Wild Fo-

reſt,

'reſt, we chaſe away the ſturdy Monſters of the 'Wood, with Force and Violence, but the Raſ-'cal Herd flies at the Noiſe of every Paſſenger; 'ſo the moſt daring *Britains* are long ſince dead, 'theſe are but baſe, ignoble Numbers, whom 'you have found, not becauſe they have reſolved 'to fight, but becauſe they are the laſt you have 'overtook; their Bodies are fixed with exceſſive 'Fear to the Ground, o'er which you'll gain a 'fair and ſignal Victory. Put an end to your 'Expeditions, and let this Day finiſh the Work 'of fifty Years, convince the Commonwealth, 'that neither the Length of the War, nor any 'Excuſes for not making an end of it, can be 'charged upon the Army.

XXXV. Whilſt he was ſpeaking, their Ardor was viſible; when he had ended, they freely vented their Joy, running to their Weapons. As they were thus fired, and ruſhing forwards, he put them in order; Eight Thouſand Foot he placed in the Middle, and Three Thouſand Horſe in the two Wings; the Legions he placed before the Trenches, thinking it would mightily add to his Glory, if he could gain a Victory, without the Effuſion of *Roman* Blood; or at leaſt keep them as a Reſerve, in caſe of a Repulſe: The *Britains* drew up their Army on the higher Ground, moſt for ſhew and Terror, but ſo as the foremoſt Battalions ſtood on the Level, the reſt riſing one above another with the Hill; the Chariots and Horſemen fill'd the middle part of the Field with

their din and clatter, whirling up and down. *Agricola*, perceiving their Numbers to be Superior, that he might not be charged at once in Flank and Front, widened his Ranks, ſo that his Army became more thin, as well as more extended: Some adviſed him to make the Legions advance; but he, being always ready to hope, and reſolute in Danger, alighted from his Horſe, and placed himſelf a Foot before the Enſigns.

XXXVI. The Fight began at a diſtance, which the *Britains* managed with great Conſtancy, and Cunning, avoiding, or putting by whatever was caſt at 'em, with their ſhort Bucklers, and great Swords; but poured upon us a Shower of Darts, till *Agricola* encouraged three *Batavian* Cohorts, and two Tungrians, to bring them to Sword's Point, and Handy-blows, which they were well verſs'd in, being old Soldiers: But that was no way of fighting for the *Britains*, who wore little Shields, and great Swords, without Points, ſo that they were not fitted for a cloſe, or open Fight. Whilſt the *Batavians* dealt Blows, ſtriking them with the Boſſes of their Bucklers, battering and bruiſing their Faces, and thruſting others aſide, who upon even Ground oppoſed their Paſſage, advanced up the Hill; the other Cohorts, with a joynt Emulation and Force, ſlew all near them; but many times, to haſten the Victory, they left Men half dead, others untouched, behind them: In the mean time, the Horſe fled, and the Chariots mingling with the Foot, gave a new Terror,

Terror, but their Carier was ſtopped by the unequal Ground, and cloſe Ranks. It did not in the leaſt look like a Horſe-Fight, for keeping their Ground, they bear down all before them, by the Weight of their Horſes; wandring Chariots with frighted Horſes, but no Drivers, over-run Friend and Foe, as they through fear croſs'd, or met them.

XXXVII. The *Britains*, who were on the Tops of the Hills, and had not yet any Share in the Engagement, being free, and at leiſure, diſdained our ſmall Force, and began to deſcend by degrees, and had encloſed our prevailing Troops, if *Agricola*, ſuſpecting the Deſign, had not detached four Squadrons of Horſe, which were kept for a Reſerve, to oppoſe them; who made them flie as faſt as they came to aſſault; ſo they were caught in their own Trap: Some Squadrons, who fought in the Front, were commanded to leave the Fight, and to purſue thoſe that were put to flight. There was a diſmal Spectacle in the open Plains, where you might ſee our Men following, wounding, and taking ſome, killing others, when freſh offered themſelves: Now, whole Regiments fled as they thought moſt convenient, and turned their Backs to a far leſs Number of their Purſuers: Some naked and diſarmed, ruſhed on the Sword's Point, and offered themſelves voluntarily to Death: All the Field was ſtrewed with Weapons, and Limbs, and dead Bodies, and the Earth was dyed with Blood; many, tho' expiring, retained their Fierceneſs and

Courage. As ſoon as they approached the Woods, they turned and encompaſſed their forward Purſuers, wholly ignorant of the Ways: And if *Agricola*, who was always preſent, had not commanded the ſtouteſt, but lighteſt Cohorts, to encompaſs them like a Tyle, making ſome of the Horſe diſmount, to ſearch the thickeſt, whilſt the reſt ſcoured the thinneſt parts of the Wood, they had ſuffered extreamly by their Confidence: But as ſoon as they perceived they were followed by our Men, marching regularly, and in good order, they all fled, not in Troops as before, having an Eye to each other, but ſeparate and diſperſed, every one taking ſuch Path or By-way for his Security, as his Fear directed; 'twas Night and Wearineſs ended our Purſuit: The Enemies Loſs was computed to be Ten thouſand, ours but Three hundred and forty Men, amongſt whom was *Aulus Atticus*, a Captain of a Cohort, who by his youthful Heat, and unruly Horſe, was carried into the midſt of the Enemy.

XXXVIII. The Night was joyful to the Victors, full of Booty and Gladneſs; the ſcattered *Britains*, Men and Women, dragged along the Wounded, called upon the Unhurt, and Strong, left their Houſes, and burnt them in a Rage, then they ſought Hiding-places, and as ſoon quitted them: Sometimes they conſulted together, and began to have freſh Hopes; now and then they were dejected at the Sight of their dear Pledges, but more frequently enraged; ſo that many,

many, to expreſs their brutal Kindneſs, to their Wives and Children, ſlew them out of pure Compaſſion. The next Day made a fuller Diſcovery of our Victory; all Things were ſilent, the Mountains deſolate, the Houſes burning, and ſmoaking, afar off, and our Scouts met No-body when they were ſent out, or deſcried any thing, but the uncertain Track of their Flight; the Enemy appeared no-where in Companies; and the Summer being ſpent, we could not extend the War: Therefore *Agricola*, led our Men into the Borders of the *Horreſtians*, where receiving Hoſtages, he commanded the Admiral of the Fleet to ſail round *Britain*; ſome of his Men going aboard, and the Terror of the *Roman* Name preceding. *Agricola* marched the Horſe and Foot gently through the new Conqueſt, that the ſlowneſs of his Motion might ſtrike them with a Fear; and ſo he put his Army into Winter-Quarters; and his Fleet having a good and a happy Voyage, arrived at the Port *Trutilenſis*; from whence, ſailing along the neareſt ſide of *Britain*, returned thither again.

XXXIX. *Agricola*, by Letter, certified the true State of Affairs, without any vaunting Expreſſion, or pompous Words; which *Domitian*, according to his Cuſtom, received with a ſad Heart, and a joyful Countenance: He was conſcious of his own ridiculous ſham Triumph over *Germany*, his Captives being the Purchaſe

of Money, not of Blood, and were trimmed and and cloathed artificially for the Mock-Solemnity: But here was a Victory celebrated by the whole World, and obtained by the Slaughter of many thouſands. It was a terrible Mortification to ſee his Glory eclipſed by a Subject: He had in vain laid aſide the Study of Eloquence and Political Arts, if a private Hand ſnatched from him the Military Laurel, other Diſgraces might eaſily be diſſembled, but this was an Ornament fit for no body but a Prince to wear; being continually vexed with ſuch Thoughts, he was often alone in his Cloſet, a ſhrewd Sign of ſome intended Miſchief; but he judged it beſt to ſtifle his Hatred, till *Agricola*'s Fame, and the Armies Love was abated. *Agricola* was ſtill Governour of *Britain*.

XL. Therefore, he ordered ſome Triumphal Ornaments, and the Honour of an Illuſtrious Statue, and commanded in the Senate, that whatever was uſual to compleat, and ſet forth a Triumph, ſhould be appointed. And all this he did in the higheſt Strain of Complement: He made all People believe, that *Syria* ſhould be *Agricola*'s Province, then void by the Death of *Rufus* the Lieutenant, and always reſerved for the beſt Men. Many believed, that his freed Man, who uſed to execute his moſt ſecret Commands, was ſent to him with a Commiſſion for *Syria*, with this Inſtruction, That he ſhould deliver it, if he found him in *Bri-*

Britain, and that meeting him, as he was croſſing the Sea, he neither delivered that, or his Meſſage, but returned to *Domitian*: But it is doubtful, whether this be a Truth, or a Report caſt abroad by the Artifice of the Prince. *Agricola*, in the mean while, gave up the Province quietly to his Succeſſor: And that his Entrance might not be remarkable for the Reſort, or Multitude of People that came out to meet him, he avoided the Civility of his Friends, by coming, according to Order, to the City and Court by Night, where he was received with a ſhort Salutation, and no Diſcourſe, and immediately retired into the Herd of Attendants. Now, to the end that he might leſſen his Military Glory, a thing uneaſie to the Slothful, with other good Qualities, he allowed himſelf more Eaſe and Quiet, being ſober in his Garb, familiar in his Speech, and never going, but with one or two of his Friends; ſo that many, who were wont to judge of Great Men, by their Pomp and Grandeur, were at a loſs, being mightily diſappointed when they ſaw *Agricola*, few underſtanding the Secret of his Management.

XLI. In thoſe Days he was often accuſed and abſolved when abſent: His Crimes were not the Cauſe of his Danger, nor the Complaints of the Injured; but a Prince diſpleaſed with his good Qualities, the Honour of the Man, and the worſt of all Enemies, his Commenders. Now there enſued ſuch

unhappy Times, that would not permit *Agricola* to pass his Life in Silence: For so many Armies had been lost in *Mesia*, *Datia*, *Germany*, and *Pannonia*, by the Temerity, or Ignorance of the Generals; so many Cohorts, and gallant Men, defeated and taken, that 'twas not the Bank of a River, or the Limits of the Empire, but even our Winter-Quarters, and what we were in possession of, that was in a dangerous Condition: Thus having a continued Series of Misfortunes, and every Year being signalized by some Calamity, or Destruction, *Agricola* was call'd for to be General, by the common Voice of all, comparing his Constancy, Vigour, and Military Experience, with the Ignorance, Pusillanimity of others. 'Tis certain these Discourses frequently reached *Domitian*'s Ears, 'till his best Friends, out of Fidelity, and the bad out of Envy and Malice, stirred up their Prince, of himself prone to make the worst of Things: So that *Agricola*, by his own Virtues, and the Vices of others, was hurried to Glory.

XLII. This Year, a new Pro-Consul of *Asia*, and *Africa*, was to be chosen, *Civica* being lately slain. *Agricola* did not want Advice, nor *Domitian* an Example: Some who were acquainted with the Prince's Mind, came to him, and asked him, If he would accept of that Province? And at first faintly commended a private Life, then proffered him their Service to get him excused; but

but at laſt no longer palliating the Matter, ſometimes perſwading, ſometimes threatning him, they pull'd him to *Domitian*; who, with a Set Hypocriſie, and Majeſtick Arrogance, hears his Requeſt, and Excuſe; to which, when he had yielded, he graciouſly ſuffered himſelf to be Thank'd, never bluſhing at ſo abuſive a Favour. But the Salary uſually offered to Perſons of that Quality, and granted to many Others, he never gave to *Agricola*; either being angry 'twas not requeſted, or being ſenſible, that he ſhould look as if he had paid for what he was againſt. It is the Property of Human Nature, to hate thoſe they injure; but *Domitian*'s Nature, prone to Anger, which the more concealed, was the harder to be appeaſed. *Agricola*, made Mild and Gentle by his Prudence and Moderation, for he never by Contumacy, or a vain Oſtentation of Liberty, ſought Fame, or tried his Fortune; therefore let thoſe know, who are fond of Things unlawful, that Good Men may live under Bad Princes, and that Modeſty and Submiſſion, joyn'd with Vigour and Induſtry, will acquire that Glory, which Others ſeeking by indirect Ways, not in the leaſt ſerviceable to the Commonwealth, grow only famous by that Death, which their Ambition brings them to.

XLIII. *Agri-*

XLIII. *Agricola*'s Death was lamentable to his Relations, ſad to his Friends, and a great Concern to Strangers, and Perſons unknown. The Common People, and ſuch as were here upon their Diverſion, wou'd viſit his Houſe, and ſpeak of him in all Publick Meetings: Neither did any body that heard of his Death, either rejoyce at it, or ſoon forget it; but that which increaſed their Commiſeration, was a Report of his being poyſon'd, which I cannot affirm: But it is certain, all the time of his Sickneſs, *Domitian*'s chief Servant, and moſt truſty Phyſician, came to him oftner than is uſual for a Prince to ſend him, as from himſelf, on a Viſit, which was great Care, or Inquiſitiveneſs. On the laſt Day of his Life, every Moment he was expiring, was ſignified by Poſts, laid ready for the purpoſe; and No-body thought they were in haſte to hear that News, for which they would be ſorry. But *Domitian* put on a ſad Countenance, and being free from what he hated, he found it an eaſier Matter to diſſemble his Joy now, than formerly his Fear: But it is certain, when *Agricola*'s Will was read, in which he made him a Co-heir with his Wife and Daughter, he rejoyced exceedingly, as if it had been an Act of Judgment and Reſpect, being ſo blinded by continual Flattery, as not to know, a Good Father never made any Prince, but a Bad one, his Heir.

XLIV. *Agri-*

XLIV. *Agricola* was born on the Thirteenth Day of *June*, *Caius Cæſar* being the third time Conſul, and died on the Twenty-fourth Day of *September*, in the Fifty-ſixth Year of his Age, *Collega*, and *Priſcus*, Conſuls. If Poſterity would have a Deſcription of his Perſon, he was well proportion'd, but not tall; in his Countenance was nothing of Fear, but a great deal of Sweetneſs, ſo that you would eaſily gueſs him a Good Man, and as readily a Great Man. Tho' he was ſnatched away in the midſt of the ſtrongeſt part of Man's Life, yet by reaſon of the Honour he had gained, he lived to a great Age; for he had arrived to the true Worth, which conſiſts of Virtuous Actions; and having been Dignified with Triumphal and Conſular Ornament, What cou'd Fortune give him more? He did not deſire immoderate Riches; but he had a plentiful Eſtate. In this he was happy, that he had a Wife, a Daughter, and in that he eſcaped future Calamities by his Death, at a time when his Honour was untainted, his Name flouriſhed, and his Relations and Friends were all proſperous: For, as he did foretel, and deſire to live in this Happy Age, and to ſee *Trajan* Prince, ſo he had this great Solace, of his ſudden Death, that he avoided the Laſt Times, in which *Domitian*, not by Intervals, or ſhort Pauſes, but, as it were, at one continued Blow, deſtroyed the Commonwealth.

XLV. For

XLV. For *Agricola* did not ſee the Senate-houſe beſet, the Senate encompaſs'd with Arms, a great many of Conſular Dignity maſſacred, and Multitudes of honourable Women, forced to Flight and Baniſhment, by the ſame Outrage. *Carus Metius*, yet, had obtained but one Victory; *Meſſalinus*'s Sentence only made a Noiſe in the Manor of *Albana*; and *Meſſa Bebius* was but then accuſed: But by and by, we carried *Helvidius* to Priſon; the Sight of *Mauricius*, and *Ruſticus*, wounded our Hearts; and *Senecio* ſprinkled us with his Blood: *Nero* withdrew, and would not behold thoſe Cruelties he commanded. But the chiefeſt part of our Miſery, was to ſee, and to be ſeen, under *Domitian*, while our very Sighs and Groans were Regiſtred, and while he was able to behold the Paleneſs and Fear of ſo many Perſons, with a ſtern Countenance, and Face Red againſt all Shame and Bluſhing. O, *Agricola!* thou art happy, not only in a famous Life, but a well-timed Death! As they tell us, who heard your laſt and dying Words, You with great Conſtancy, and Willingneſs, ſubmitted to your Fate, and did all that you could, to bequeath Innocence to your Prince: But that which increaſes mine, and your Daughter's Grief, beſides the ſharp Affliction of the Loſs of you, her Parent, is, that we did not attend you when ſick, cheriſh you when fainting, and ſatisfie our longing Eyes and Arms, in beholding and embracing you. Had we received

ceived your Commands, they had been for ever imprinted in our Minds; this is the greateſt Wound, the moſt pungent Grief, that by a long and unhappy Abſence, we loſt you four Years before you died. I do not doubt, but the tendereſt Mother, the moſt loving Wife, who conſtantly attended your ſick Bed, ſupplied you with all Things proper for your Quality; but you was laid out with fewer Tears, and your cloſing Eyes ſeemed to want ſome deſired Object, they would willingly have taken in with their laſt Glance.

XLVI. If there is a proper Seat for the Good, and as Wiſe Men tell us, Great Souls do not periſh with their Bodies, may you enjoy an undiſturbed Reſt, and recal us of your Family from weak Deſires, and effeminate Lamentations, to contemplate your Virtues, not to be celebrated by Weeping and Wailing: This is the trueſt Honour, your neareſt Relations can ſhew you; this I would enjoyn your Wife and Daughter, the one to honour the Memory of her Husband, the other of her Father, by a frequent Revolving in their Minds his Noble Acts; not that I would prohibit the uſe of Braſs or Marble Statues, which are as frail and mortal as Men; but becauſe the Form of the Mind, cannot be enjoyed, or repreſented, by groſs Matter, or human Art, but by copying it out in one's Life; whatever we loved, or admired in *Agricola* remains, and will continue in the Minds of Men, as long as Time,

or

or Fame, ſhall laſt. When many of the Ancients, below the Dignity of a Memorial, are buried in Oblivion, *Agricola* ſhall ſurvive in Story.

Forum

Forum Julium; a Town ſeated in *Littore Narbonenſi.*

Ordovices; *North-Wales.*

Brigantes; *York-ſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, *Weſtmorland*, and *Cumberland*, with the Biſhoprick of *Durham.*

The Iſle of *Mona*; *Angleſey.*

Taus; *Tweed.*

Glota; the Frith of *Dunbritton.*

Bodotria; *Edenburgh*-Frith.

Silures; *South-Wales*, and *Cornwall.*

Grampius; now called, *Gratabanie.*

Horreſtians; now called, *Angus.*

Trutulenſis; now *Richborow*, near *Sandwich.*

A DISCOURSE OF THE Situation, Cuſtoms and People OF GERMANY.

By Caius Cornelius Tacitus.

ALL *Germany* is ſeparated from the *Gauls*, the *Rhætians*, and *Pannonians*, by the Rivers *Rhine* and the *Danube*; from the *Sarmatians* and *Dacians* by a mutual Dread of Invading each other, or impaſſable high Mountains: The reſt of it the Sea ſurrounds, containing ſpacious Bays and vaſt Iſlands; and 'tis but of late that ſome Nations and Kings have come to our Knowledge, which the War diſcover'd.

The *Rhine* riſes from an inacceſſible and ſteep Pick of the *Rhætian Alps*, with a ſmall bowing inclining to the *Weſt*, intermixes with the *Northern* Ocean. The *Danube*, guſhing out from the eaſie and gently-riſing top of the

Mountain *Abnoba*, paſſes through many Countries, till it diſcharges itſelf in ſix Branches into the *Pontic* Sea; the ſeventh is ſwallow'd up in the Marſhes.

I ſhould fancy the *Germans* to be Natives, and not all intermix'd by the Arrival and Entertainments of other Nations; becauſe thoſe who formerly tranſplanted themſelves were not convey'd by Land, but by Shipping; and moreover, the immenſe and oppoſite Ocean, as I may call it, is touch'd upon with few Ships from our World; for, who, beſides the Danger of a rough and unknown Sea, abandoning *Aſia*, *Africa*, or *Italy*, would inhabit *Germany*, a ſhapeleſs Land, the Climate unpleaſant, melancholy to the View, and uncultivated, unleſs his own Country?

They celebrate in ancient Poeſie, (which is the only Method of the Records and Annals amongſt them) That the God *Tuiſto*, ſprung from the Earth, and his Son *Mannus*, were the Original and Founders of that Nation. To *Mannus* they aſcribe three Sons, from whoſe names thoſe bordering upon the Ocean are ſtil'd, *Ingævones*; thoſe of the Midland, *Herminones*; the reſt, *Iſtævones*. But ſome taking Licenſe from Antiquity, affirm, That more are deſcended from that God, and, that there are more Denominations of that Kingdom, the *Marſi*, *Gambrivi*, *Suevi*, *Vandali*; and, that theſe are the true and ancient Names; but, that the word *Germany* is new, and lately given, becauſe thoſe who firſt paſs'd the *Rhine* and expell'd the *Gauls*, were but now term'd *Tungri*, and then *Germans*: So that the Name of a Party, not of a whole Country, by degrees prevail'd, that all at firſt, for fear of the Conqueror, preſently after having invented a Name, were from themſelves call'd *Germans*.

They report, That *Hercules* had been amongſt them, and that he was the moſt valiant of all Men. They advance ſinging into the Battel. The Verſes they call *Barditus*, which in rehearſing enflame their Courage, and by that very Tune they foretell the Event of the approaching Engagement. They

They terrifie and are terrified, according to the noiſe the Army makes: Nor does it appear ſo much a Conſort of the Voice, as of their Valour: The roughneſs of the Sound is the moſt affected, and a confus'd Murmur, by putting their Shields to their Mouths, by which the Voice ſwells deeper and fuller from the Repercuſſion.

Some conjecture, that *Ulyſſes*, in his long and fabulous Wandrings was carried into this Sea; that he landed in *Germany*, and that *Aſciburgium*, which is ſituated on on the Banks of the *Rhine*, and at this day inhabited, was founded by him, and nam'd ἀσκιπύργιον; and moreover, That an Altar, conſecrated to *Ulyſſes*, with the Name of his Father *Laertes*, was formerly found in that place, and that there are ſome Monuments and Tumuliſts yet extant, inſcrib'd with Greek Characters, in the Confines of *Germany* and *Rhætia*: Which I'm inclin'd neither by Arguments to confirm or confute; let every Man, as he pleaſes, either credit or diſcredit.

I aſſent to their Opinions, who obſerve, that the People of *Germany* are tinctur'd with no foreign Marriages, but continue a peculiar and unmix'd Nation, only like themſelves, from whence the ſhape of their Bodies, altho' in ſo great a number, has the ſame reſemblance; their Eyes blue and fierce, their Hair yellow, and only powerful upon an Aſſault. They're impatient of Work and Labour, can in no wiſe undergo Thirſt and Heat; Cold, and want of Proviſions, they are accuſtomed to, from the Climate and Soil.

The Land, altho' it ſometimes varies in Form, for the generality, is rough with Woods, or ſtinks with Marſhes; as far as it looks to *France* more humid, towards *Noricum* and *Pannonia* more windy. It is indifferently fertile, but improper for Fruit-trees; abounds in Cattle, but, for the moſt part, ſtock'd and runtiſh; nor are their Herds beautifully headed: They are delighted with their Numbers, and thoſe are the only

and moſt acceptable Riches. I very much doubt whether the propitious or angry Gods have denied them Silver and Gold; nor would I affirm, that no Vein of *Germany* produces Silver and Gold; for, who has made the Tryal? They are not ſo much as affected by the Propriety and Uſe of them; yet there is to be ſeen amongſt them Silver Veſſels, preſented to their Ambaſſadors and Princes, but no more eſteem'd than thoſe which are made of Clay, although their Neighbours, for the Advantage of Commerce, ſet a Value upon Gold and Silver, and own and make choice of ſome Coins of our Mony; the Inland People, without tricking, and as formerly, exchange their Commodities. They approve moſt of Old Mony, and what has been long known, eſpecially the *Serrati* and *Bigati*. They prefer Silver before Gold; not out of any Love to it, but becauſe the Pieces of Silver are more uſeful to thoſe who buy cheap Wares.

They have no great Plenty of Iron, as may be infer'd from the make of their Darts. Few uſe Swords or large Launces; they carry Spears, or, according to their own expreſſion, *Frameas*; the Iron narrow and ſhort, but ſo pointed and adapted for uſe, that with the ſame Weapon, as they ſee occaſion, they fight at hand, or at a diſtance; and the Horſeman is very well ſatisfied with a Shield and a *Framea*. The Foot caſt Darts, and every one of them a conſiderable number, and throw them a prodigious way, and are either naked, or only covered with a ſhort Jacket. They don't value themſelves upon their Furniture: Their Shields are only diſtinguiſhed by ſelect Colours: Few have Coats of Male; ſcarce any of them have either Headpiece or Helmet. Their Horſes are neither remarkable for their Shape or Speed, nor are they taught the Manage according to our manner; they are made dexterous at their Career, or in ſingle Wheeling, ſo clos'd in the Ring, that all ſtand even. Weighing all things, their chiefeſt

chiefeſt Strength is in their Foot, and therefore they fight intermix'd, the Swiftneſs of the Foot ſuiting and agreeing in the Engagement of the Horſe, who, pick-ed out of all their Youth, they place in the Front of the Army; and the Number is limited, a Hundred out of every Town, for ſo they're called amongſt themſelves; and that which was at firſt but a Number has now gained a Name and a Reputation. The Army's drawn up in form of a Wedge; they look upon it to give ground when preſs'd, ſo they rally again, to be more of Conduct than Fear. Their Bodies they carry off in doubtful Battels: It's the greateſt Scandal to relinquiſh their Shield; neither is it lawful for thoſe who have forfeited their Honour, either to be preſent in their Religious Duties, or to go to Council; and many, who ſurvive the Wars, put an end to the Diſgrace by the Halter.

They make choice of their Kings for their Noble Extraction, their Commanders for their Courage: nor have their Kings a boundleſs and unlimited Power. Their Captains they prefer more for Example than Command, if active, if of Preſence of Mind, and behave themſelves well at the head of the Army; but it's not permitted to reprimand, nor put in Chains, nor indeed chaſtiſe, to any but to the Prieſts; not as if it were for a Puniſhment, or by Orders of the Captain, but as if their God commanded it, who they believe aſſiſting in their Engagements.

They carry the Effigies, and certain Banners taken down from the Groves, into the Battel: And what is the chief Incitement to their Courage, is, not Chance, nor a fortuitous Embodying, which compoſes the Squadron or pointed Battel, but their own Family and neareſt Relations; and hard by are their Children, from whence the Lamentations of their Women, and Cries of their Infants, may be heard; theſe are the moſt ſacred Witneſſes, and the higheſt Applauders of every Man's Bravery. To their Mothers and Wives

they declare their Hurts; nor are they afraid to ſuck or number their Wounds: They carry Proviſions to, and animate them when they're fighting. It's recorded, That certain Troops beginning to ſtagger, and giving Ground, were made to rally again by the Women, by their Importunities, the expoſing of their own Breaſts, and demonſtrating their approaching Captivity, which, upon the account of their Women, they bear with much more reluctancy; ſo the Affections of thoſe Cities are the moſt effectually ſecur'd, to whom, amongſt their Hoſtages, the Nobleſt Virgins are committed. Moreover, they ſuppoſe there's ſomething ſacred in them, and that they can foretell Events; neither do they reject their Counſel, or neglect to follow their Advice.

We have ſeen *Velleda*, under the divine *Veſpaſian*, long ador'd among many as a Deity: Yet alſo, in time paſt, they reverenc'd *Aurinia* and divers others, not with Flattery, nor as if they would make them Godeſſes. They adore *Mercury* moſt of all their Gods, to whom, upon ſolemn Days, they judge it juſtifiable to offer up Human Sacrifices. *Hercules* and *Mars* they pacifie with lawful Creatures. Part of the *Suevians* alſo ſacrifice to *Iſis*; but I'm in the dark what was the Cauſe and Original of this ſtrange Sacrifice, unleſs her Image, faſhion'd in the ſhape of a Galley, inſtructs us, that their Religion was adventitious. They're of an Opinion, from the Magnitude of the Celeſtial Bodies, that the Gods cannot be confin'd within Walls, or be repreſented in any Human Shape. They conſecrate *Woods* and *Groves*, and call that *Privacy*, from the Names of their Gods, which only in their Worſhip they behold. Divinations by Birds, and Chances, they moſt of all others ſuperſtitiouſly obſerve.

The Cuſtom in managing their Lots is plain and inartificial. A Branch pulled from a Fruit-bearing Tree they cut into Slips, and at a venture, and

and caſually, ſcatter them, being diſtinguiſh'd by ſome Marks upon a white Veſtment; if it be a publick Concern, the Prieſt of the City; but if private, the Father of the Family praying to the Gods; and looking up to Heaven thrice, takes up every one apart, and being held up, gives an Interpretation, according to the former Mark; if they diſcourage, there's no more conſulting about the Affair that day; but if favourable; yet the Credit of the Succeſs is further required: And this alſo is more notable, they argue upon the Notes and Flying of Birds. Its peculiar to that Nation, to experiment the Preſages, and Admonitions of their Horſes: They are publickly fed in thoſe Woods and Groves, white and polluted by no Human Labour, who being put in the Sacred Chariot, the Prieſt, or King, or the Governour of the City attends upon 'em, obſerving their Neighings and Whynnyings: Nor is there greater Credit given to any Divination; not only amongſt the *Plebeians*, but the amongſt the Nobility and Prieſthood; for they believe themſelves to be the Attendants, and theſe the Confidents of the Gods.

There is alſo another Obſervation of their Sooth-ſaying, whereby they explore the Events of their greateſt Battles: They engage a Captive, that ſome how or other has been ſurpriz'd, of that Nation, with whom they're at War, with a pick'd Man of their own, both arm'd after their Country Faſhion; and who gains the Victory, its look'd upon as ominous to the other ſide. Of little Affairs, the Princes; of greater, all in general adviſe: So, notwithſtanding, that thoſe things, whoſe Arbitration is in the Power of the Populace, are fully canvaſs'd amongſt the Princes.

They aſſemble on certain Days, either upon a New or Full Moon, unleſs any thing accidental, or unexpected, falls out; for in tranſacting Buſineſs, they believe this juncture of time the moſt auſpicious: Neither do they reckon by Days, as we do, but by Nights; ſo they make

their Agreements; ſo by a common Conſent their Appointments: The Night here ſeems to guide the Day. This Error proceeds from the Liberty they take, becauſe they do not meet all at once, or upon Command; both the ſecond and third Day is waſted by the Delay of their convening: They ſit down arm'd, if the Company approves on't. Silence is commanded by the Prieſts, in whom there is lodg'd then the Coercive Power: By and by the King or Prince, according to every one's Age, their Quality, Reputation gain'd in the Wars, or Talent in Rhetorick, are heard, more by the Authority of Perſwading, than the Power of Commanding; if the Opinion diſpleaſes, its rejected by a Murmuring; if it pleaſes, they claſh their Weapons: Its the moſt honourable Manner of Aſſent, to applaud it with their Arms. It's alſo lawful to accuſe, and arraign before the Council. The Difference of the Puniſhment, is from the Nature of the Crimes; Traytors and Revolters they hang on Trees; the Sloathful, Timerous, and Sodomitical they drown in Mire and Marſhes, throwing Hurdles upon them. The Diverſity of the Puniſhment reſpects this, that Villanies, when puniſh'd, ought to be expos'd, Scandals conceal'd: But for leſſer Faults, being convicted, for the Manner of their Penalty, they are fined ſuch a number of Horſes and Cattle; part of the Mulct goes to the King or City, part to him, who is injur'd, or diſtributed amongſt his Relations: Perſons of the beſt Quality are alſo elected with thoſe Councils, who do Juſtice to the Towns and Villages: A hundred Aſſociates are aſſiſtant to every one of them, out of the Commonalty; together with their Advice and Authority. They act nothing of private or publick Buſineſs unarm'd; but its not the Cuſtom for any one to go arm'd, till the City has adjudg'd him qualified: Then in the Council-Chamber, ſome one of the greateſt Dignity, or his Father, or his Relation, equips him with

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a Buckler and Sword. This amongſt them is their Gown, this is the firſt Honour of their Youth; but before this they ſeem only part of the Family, but now of the Commonwealth. A noble Extraction, or the great Deſerts of the Fathers, recommend theſe young Men to the Favour of their Prince. They aſſociate with others that are more robuſt, and long ſince approv'd: Neither do they bluſh to be ſeen amongſt their Companions; although he has his Poſt in the Retinue at his Diſcretion, whom they follow. There's a great Emulation amongſt them, who ſhall be chief Favourite to their Prince; and amongſt the Princes, who ſhall have the moſt, and the braveſt Followers. This is their Grandeur, theſe their Forces, to be encompaſs'd with a great Guard of ſelect Youth, their Honour in Peace, and their Defence in War. It gives a Name, and a Reputation to every one, not only in his own Country, but alſo amongſt their Neighbouring Princes, if the Aſſociates excel in Number and Courage. They're alſo apply'd to in Embaſſies, and courted by Preſents; and for the moſt part, by their very Fame, diſpatch their Wars. When they come into the Field of Battle, its diſhonourable to the Prince to be overcome in Bravery; and for his Retinue too not to equalize the Courage of their Prince: But above all things, its infamous, and during Life reproachful, to flie, and ſurvive their General ſlain. Their principal Oath is to defend and protect him, and attribute all their valiant Actions, to his Conduct and Glory. The Princes fight for Victory, their Adherents for their Princes.

If the City, in which they were born, grows ſtiff and unactive, by a long Peace and Repoſe, moſt of the young Noblemen go Voluntiers into thoſe Nations, which are then engag'd in War; becauſe, alſo Quiet is ungrateful to that Nation, and with the more Facility they grow Famous amongſt dubious Enterprizes;

prizes; nor can they maintain their great Attendance, unleſs by Violence and War. They obtain from the Liberality of their Prince ſuch a War-Horſe, and ſuch a bloody conquering Sword.

As to Banquets, although homely, yet a plentiful Table they allow inſtead of a Salary. The Supply of their Munificence proceeds from War and Rapine.

Nor can you ſo eaſily perſwade them to Till the Ground, and wait for a good Year, as to challenge the Enemy, and receive Wounds; for it looks lazy and diſpirited, to acquire that by hard Labour, which may be compaſs'd by Blood. When they have no War, they paſs not their time ſo much in Hunting, as Idleneſs, being much addicted to Sleep and Gluttony: The moſt Valiant and Warlike doing nothing at all, committing the Care of their Houſe, Gods, and Fields, to their Women and Children, and to the moſt infirm of the Family. They have a wonderful Contrariety in their Nature; for thoſe Perſons, who take ſuch delight in Idleneſs, have an averſion to Quiet.

Its the Cuſtom in thoſe Cities, for every Man freely to beſtow on their Princes, either of their Herds or Fruits, which is taken for a Favour, and beſides ſupplies their Neceſſities. They take great Delight in the Preſents of Neighbouring Nations, which are not only ſent from particular Perſons, but from the Publick; as choice Horſes, large Armours, Trappings and Chains: And we have been inform'd, they now receive Money. Its very well known, that Cities are not inhabited by the *Germans*; nor do they indeed, ſuffer Houſes to be join'd together. They plant themſelves ſeparately and divided, as the Spring, Field, or Wood, pleaſes them beſt. They found their Villages not according to our Manner, with connex'd and contiguous Buildings: Every one leaves a Space about his Houſe, either as a Remedy againſt any Accident of Fire, or from their Unskilfulneſs in Building. They

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uſe no Tyles or Mortar amongſt them; but make uſe of in all things a ſhapeleſs Stuff, without either Form or Delight: Some Places they curiouſly parget with an Earth, ſo pure and ſhining, that it imitates a Picture, or the firſt Draught of Colours. They are wont to open Subterranean Caves, and thoſe they cover with a great Quantity of Dung, which ſerves as a Refuge in Winter, and a Granary; and when the Enemy advances, he ravages the open Country: But thoſe things which are conceal'd, or lie hid under Ground, they are either ignorant of, or for that Reaſon are deceiv'd, becauſe they are to be ſearch'd for.

Their Cloathing is a looſe Coat, join'd together with a Button; but for want of that, with a Thorn: Being uncover'd as to any thing elſe, they lie basking whole Days upon the Hearth by the Fire. The moſt wealthy are diſtinguiſh'd by a Garment, not flowing like the *Sarmathians* and *Parthians*, but cloſe, and repreſenting every Joint: They wear alſo the Skins of wild Beaſts; thoſe next the Sea-ſide with leſs Curioſity; but thoſe that are higher in the Country are more nice, as having no other Attire by Commerce. They make choice of the Beaſts, and having taken off their Hides, ſpot them with the Skins of thoſe Monſters, which the outermoſt Ocean, and the unknown Sea produces. Nor have the Women any other Habit than the Men, unleſs that the Women are more frequently cloath'd in Linnen Garments, and thoſe they checquer with Purple, and part of the upper Dreſs is not made into Sleeves; their Arms are naked, and their Boſom lies bare.

However, their Marriages there are very ſtrict; neither is there any part of their Cuſtoms that's more commendable; for they are almoſt the only People of the *Barbarians*, that are contented with one Wife apiece, except a very few, who not for Laſciviouſneſs, but out of State are ſurrounded with many Wives.

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The Wife does not profer a Dowry to the Husband, but the Husband to the Wife: The Parents and Relations are by, and approve of the Preſents; Preſents not contriv'd for Womaniſh Toys, nor by which the New-married Bride may be adorn'd, but Oxen, a Horſe bridled, a Shield with a Partiſan, and Sword: Upon theſe Terms the Wife is receiv'd; and ſhe in her Turn brings ſome Arms to her Husband. This is the greateſt Tye, theſe the Sacred *Arcana's*, theſe they deem the Conjugal Deities; and leſt the Woman ſhou'd think herſelf exempted from the Thoughts of Bravery, and the Hazards of War, ſhe's reminded from the beginning of the ſolemniz'd Marriage, that ſhe's now become a Partner of his Toyls and Dangers, and that ſhe will run the ſame Riſque in Peace and War, as he himſelf does: This the yoak'd Oxen, this the equip'd Horſe, this the preſented Arms declare; ſo they muſt live, ſo they muſt die. Thoſe Things which ſhe receives, ſhe reſtores uninjur'd to her Children; what's put into the Daughter-in-Laws Cuſtody, they return to their Nephews. They therefore behave themſelves with the ſtricteſt Modeſty, being debauch'd with no alluring Objects, with no Provocatives in Banqueting.

The Men, as well as the Women, are equally ignorant of the Myſteries of Learning.

In ſo populous a Nation, Adultery is rarely committed; for which there's a preſent Puniſhment, that's left to the Diſcretion of the Husbands. The Husband having cut off her Hair, turns her out of his Houſe naked, before her Relations, and whips her through the whole Village. There's no Pardon for violated Chaſtity, neither can her Beauty, Age, nor Wealth, recommend her to another Husband. No one there makes ſport with Vices, nor is the Age ſaid to corrupt, or be corrupted. Thoſe Cities do ſtill much more reputably, in which Virgins only marry, and where it's tranſ-

tranſacted with the Hopes and Deſire of being but once a Wife; ſo they receive one Husband, as they do one Body, and one Life; nor is there a Thought beyond that, nor a larger Deſire; not as if it were the Husband, but as the Marriage-State that they affect.

It's look'd upon as the higheſt Enormity, to ſtint the Number of Children, or to kill any of their Kindred. Their good Morals avail more there, than in other places good Laws. In every Houſe going naked and dirty, they ſhoot out into thoſe vaſt Limbs, and thoſe great Bodies we ſo much wonder at. Every Mother gives ſuck to her own Child; neither are they committed to the Care of Maids, and Nurſes.

The Maſters, and Servants, are not to be diſtinguiſh'd by the Niceties of Education; they live amongſt the ſame Cattle, on the ſame Ground, 'till Age diſtinguiſhes the Free-born, and their Courage ſignalizes them.

The Amours of the young Men begin late; for which Reaſon their Youth is not impair'd: Nor are the Maids too ſoon put upon Marriage; their Age is the ſame, their Stature alike. Thoſe that are equally match'd, and ſtrenuous, Inter-marry, and the Children reſemble the Vigour of their Parents.

There is the ſame Reſpect paid to the Siſters Sons, by the Uncle, by the Mother's-ſide, as by the Father: Some think this Tye of Blood is more ſacred and ſtrict; and in receiving of Hoſtages, they rather require it; as if they kept the Mind the more confirm'd, and the Family the leſs reſerv'd.

The Heirs and Succeſſors to every Man, are his own Children, and therefore they make no Will: If he has none, the next Relations, as the Brothers, Uncles, by the Father's, or Mother's-ſide, take poſſeſſion; and his Age is eſteem'd proportionate to the Number of his Kindred and Affinity. Nor are they reſpected who are without Iſſue. They are obliged to eſpouſe, as well

well the Enmities, either of a Father, or Relation, as their Friendſhips; neither do they continue implacable: For Homicide is atton'd for at a certain Number of Beaſts and Cattle, and the whole Family receives Satisfaction advantagious to the Publick, becauſe Feuds are pernicious to Liberty.

Not any Nation is ſo profuſe in Entertainments and Hoſpitality: It's held the higheſt Crime, to turn any one out of Doors; every one treats anſwerable to his Fortune. When the Proviſions are all ſpent, he which laſt entertained, is a Guide and Companion of his Gueſt, and tho' uninvited, they go to the next Houſe; nor is it ill taken. They are receiv'd with the ſame Civility, no one diſtinguiſhes the known and unknown, as far as relates to the Right of Hoſpitality. It's the Cuſtom for him that's going away, to give, if any thing's requir'd: And on the other hand, there's the ſame Freedom in demanding. They take delight in being preſented; nor do they charge to Account what's given, or think themſelves oblig'd by what's receiv'd. The Entertainment of their Gueſts is affable.

As ſoon as they riſe from Sleep, which, for the moſt part, ſpins out the Day, they are waſh'd oftentimes in warm Water, the Winter there laſting long; having done waſhing, they go to Dinner: Their Seats are at a diſtance, and every one has a Table to himſelf; they go arm'd alike to their Buſineſs and Feaſts. It's reckon'd no Diſgrace, to hold out a Day and Night in Drinking. Thoſe frequent Broils amongſt thoſe who are addicted to Wine, are ſeldom paſt over with ill Language, but oftner by Death and Wounds: But they conſult of reconciling Enemies, and contracting Marriages, chuſing their Princes, and of Peace and War, for the moſt part, in their Banquets: As if at no time, the Mind was more open to unbiaſs'd Thoughts, or warm'd to greater Enterprizes. This Nation being neither

neither crafty, nor cunning, by reaſon of the Priviledge of the place, diſcovers the hitherto unreveal'd Secrets of the Heart; therefore, the Mind of all being naked and detected, the next Day it's ſpoken to anew, the Reaſon of both times being weigh'd. They debate when they know not how to diſſemble, reſolve when they know not how to err.

Ale is their Drink: Thoſe who are next the Sea-Coaſt, traffick for Wine. Their Diet is ſimple, wild Apples, freſh Meat, or Curds; without making Preparations, without Dainties, they expect Hunger. Againſt Thirſt there's not the ſame Temperance; if thou wilt indulge their Drunkenneſs, by furniſhing them with as much as they covet, they'll as eaſily be conquer'd by Wine, as by Arms.

The Manner of their Shows is one and the ſame, in all their Meetings; naked young Men, to whom it's a Diverſion, throw themſelves amongſt Swords, and deadly Weapons: Frequent Exerciſe begets Experience, Experience Gracefulneſs; but this notwithſtanding is not done for Profit, or Reward; tho' the Prize of this daring Wantonneſs, is the Pleaſure of thoſe which behold it. Dice (which you'd wonder at) the ſobereſt Perſons play at, amongſt their weighty Affairs, and with that raſhneſs of winning or loſing, that when all's gone, they ſet Body and Liberty upon the laſt Throw; he that loſes, enters into a voluntary Vaſſalage, altho' younger and more robuſt, ſuffers himſelf to be bound and ſold. Obſtinacy in this ill Cauſe, they ſtile Faith. Slaves of this Condition, they deliver up, by the way of Commerce, that they may abſolve themſelves from the Reproach of the Victory. They uſe the reſt of their Servants not after our manner, by aſſigning them their Offices in the Family; every Man governs his own Houſe, and domeſtick Affairs. The Maſter enjoyns the Payment of a Proportion of Corn, or Cattle, or Cloathing, as to his Farmer, and ſo far the

the Slave complies. The other Offices of the Houſe, the Wife and Children manage. It's very uncommon to beat a Slave, or to puniſh him with Fetters, and hard Labour. They are wont to kill them, not by Diſcipline, and Severity, but out of Paſſion and Anger, as they wou'd an Enemy, and that without Impunity. The Freed-men are not much above their Slaves, ſeldom doing any thing of Importance in the Houſe, never in the Cities, except in thoſe Nations which are under Subjection; for there they have the Aſcendent, both over the Free-born, and the Nobles too. Amongſt other Nations, the inequality of Freed-men, is an Argument of Liberty.

They are Strangers to Uſury, and the making Advantages by Intereſt, and therefore it's more obſerv'd, than if it had been prohibited.

The Fields, according to the Number of the Tillers, are cultivated by Turns; which they divide amongſt themſelves, according to the Credit of the Perſons: The largeneſs of the Plains, makes the Diviſion leſs difficult. The plough'd Lands they change annually, and let the Ground lie fallow; neither do they endeavour, by their Labour, for an Improvement, or Enlargement of their Soil; ſo that they may plant Orchards, encloſe Meadows, and water their Gardens; Corn only they expect from the Ground. Whereupon, they don't divide the Year into ſo many Parts: Winter, and Spring, and Summer, have their Names and Significations: The Name and Benefit of Autumn they are alike ignorant of.

They are not ambitious of pompous Funerals; this only is obſerv'd, that the Bodies of Illuſtrious Perſons are burnt with particular ſorts of Wood. They heap not up the Pile with Garments, nor Odors; his own peculiar Arms, and the Horſe of ſome of them is alſo ſuperadded, to the Fire. Their Tombs are rais'd with Turf. They deſpiſe the lofty and coſtly Magnificence of

of Monuments, as only burthenſome to the Dead. Lamentations, and Tears, they refrain quickly; Grief, and Sorrow, ſlowly. It's commendable in Women to lament, in Men not to forget.

Theſe Things we have been inform'd, have been allow'd of by all, of the Origin and Cuſtoms of the *Germans*: Now I'll relate the Inſtitutions of particular Nations, and their Ceremonies how they differ, and what People have removed out of *Germany* into *Gaul*.

The Divine *Julius*, the beſt of Authors, affirms, That formerly the Condition of the *Gauls* has been much more powerful: And therefore its credible, that the *Gauls* alſo paſs'd into *Germany*: For how little cou'd a River hinder it, but that as every Nation grew more potent, they ſhould poſſeſs and exchange their, as yet, promiſcuous Habitations, and undivided Dominions? Therefore the *Helvetians* kept their Ground, between the *Hercynian* Foreſt, and the Rivers *Rhine*, and *Manus*; the *Boii* the furthermoſt parts; and both Nations were *Gallican*.

The Name of the *Boiemi* is yet extant, and ſignifies the ancient Remembrance of the Place, altho' the Inhabitants are chang'd: But whether the *Araviſci* remov'd from the *German* Nation into *Pannonia*, from the *Orſi*, or the *Orſi* from the *Aravi ſci* into *Germany*, whereas hitherto they uſe the ſame Language, Cuſtoms, and Manners, is uncertain; becauſe in Times paſt, from the like Scarcity and Liberty, the ſame Convenience, and Inconvenience accru'd to thoſe who inhabited the Banks on both ſides.

The *Treveri*, and *Nervii*, are over and above ambitious of affecting a *German* Genealogy; as if by this Honour of Blood, they were diſtinguiſh'd from the Reſemblance, and Sluggiſhneſs of the *Gauls*. Undoubtedly the People of *Germany* were the *Vangiones*, *Treboci*, *Nemetes*, who inhabited the Bank of the *Rhine*. The *Ubi*

alſo, altho' they deſerv'd to be a *Roman* Colony, are aſham'd of their Original; and who more willingly wou'd be call'd *Agrippinenſes*, from the Name of their Founder, having formerly paſs'd over, and out of Experience of their Fidelity, were planted upon the Bank of the *Rhine*, that they ſhould expel their Enemies, not that they themſelves ſhould be guarded.

The *Batavians*, of all theſe Nations, are the moſt couragious: They inhabit not much of the Bank, but an Iſland of the River *Rhine*, formerly the Nation of the *Catti*, who paſſed over into thoſe Habitations, from a domeſtick Sedition, in which they were to be made a part of the *Roman* Empire. The Honour remains, and a Mark of the ancient Alliance; for neither are they diſgrac'd by Tribute, nor does the Receiver of the publick Revenues oppreſs them. They are exempted from Taxes and Contributions, and only ſet apart for the Service of the War, as Darts and Arms are reſerv'd for Battle.

The Nation of the *Mattiaci* are alſo under the ſame Obedience; for the Greatneſs of the People of *Rome* was extended beyond the *Rhine*, and their Majeſty beyond the ancient Confines of the Empire. As to the Frontiers of their Country, and Habitations, they live upon the Bank: In Humor and Inclination they are joyn'd with us: As to other things, they are like the *Batavians*; but that, as yet, by reaſon of the Soil of their Country, and Air, they are much braver. I ſhall not reckon them amongſt the People of *Germany*, altho' they have taken up their Abode beyond the *Rhine*, and the *Danube*, who cultivate thoſe Fields, which pay Tenths.

The moſt profligate of the *Gauls*, and who are grown bold by Want, poſſeſs the Land of a doubtful Title. Now their Territories being enlarg'd, and Forts advanc'd, they are eſteem'd the Border of the Empire, and part of a Province. Beyond theſe the *Catti* are ſeated whoſe Bounds

Bounds begin from the *Hercynian* Foreſt; but not in ſuch ſpacious and fenny Places, as the reſt of the Cities, into which *Germany* expatiates itſelf. Here the Hills ſeem to continue, but grow thin by degrees; and the *Hercynian* Foreſt follows, and together, leaves the *Catti*.

The Bodies of that Nation are hardned, their Limbs compact, their Countenances threatning, and their Courage greater. They have as much Reaſon and Policy as is to be found amongſt the *Germans*. They prefer choice Men, hearken to their Officers, know their Ranks, and make the beſt of Opportunities, delay their Reſentments, order the Day according to their ſeveral Occaſions, intrench by Night, reckon Fortune dubious, but Virtue unerring; and what is more uncommon, unleſs it's to be allow'd from the Reaſon of their Diſcipline, To repoſe more Confidence in their General, than their Army. All their Strength lies in the Foot, whom, beſides their Arms, they load with Iron Tools, and Proviſions: You may ſee others go to Battle, but the *Catti* to War. They ſeldom make Incurſions, or engage accidentally. It's peculiar to the Horſe, ſuddenly to gain the Victory, or ſuddenly Retreat: Expedition borders upon Fear, but Delay comes nearer to Conſtancy; and the particular Courage of every one, ſeldom try'd by the reſt of the *Germans*, is grown to an unanimous Conſent amongſt the *Catti*, that as ſoon as they attain to the Years of Maturity, to let their Hair and Beard grow long; nor do they lay aſide this Faſhion of the Face, devoted and oblig'd to Gallantry, 'till they have ſlain an Enemy.

Upon Blood, and Sports, they diſcover the Forehead, and declare, That they have made a Recompence for their being born, and that they are worthy of their Country and Parents; that Deformity ſticks to the cowardly and timerous. Moreover, every one of the moſt valiant, wears an Iron Ring, as it were a

Bond (moſt ignominious to that Nation) 'till he can acquit himſelf of it by the Death of an Enemy.

This Mode pleaſes many of the *Catti*; and now theſe remarkable People, grown grey, are both ſhew'd together, to their Enemies, and their own Soldiers: Theſe always give the firſt Onſet: This is always the Fore-front, diſtinguiſh'd by the Figure they make; neither in Peace have they milder Aſpects: They have no Houſe, or Land, or take Care of any thing; according as they come to any one, they are provided for; are profuſe of another's, Contemners of their own, 'till Bloodleſs Old Age makes them incapable of ſuch hard Service.

The *Uſipii*, and *Tenecteri*, Neighbours to the *Catti*, inhabit upon the *Rhine*, now known by the Channel, which is ſufficient to be a Boundary.

The *Tenecteri*, above their accuſtomed Reputation in War, excel in the Art of Horſe-Diſcipline; nor have the *Catti* a greater Repute for Foot, than the *Tenecteri* have of Horſe: So have their Anceſtors inſtituted, and their Poſterity imitate them. Theſe are the Plays of Children, this the Emulation of Young Men, and the Aged perſevere in them.

Amongſt the Family, and Goods, as the Rights of Succeſſions, Horſes are deliver'd: The Son receives them; not as he does the reſt, by Priority of Birth, but as he is more Couragious, and a better Man in War.

Near the *Tenecteri*, in Times paſt, the *Bructeri* liv'd: Now its reported, that the *Chamavi*, and *Angrivarii*, are come to dwell there; having chas'd away, and totally extirpated the *Bructeri*, either by the Conſent of the bordering Nations, or out of Hatred to their Ambition, or for the Sweetneſs of the Booty, or by a peculiar Favour of the Gods to us: For they did not envy us the Sight of a Battle, wherein were ſlain above Threeſcore thouſand; not by the *Roman* Arms, and Darts, but what is more Magnificent,

nificent, to give Diverſion, and to delight the Eye.

I pray, that if the Affection for us from theſe Countries can't remain and continue, that their Averſion for one another may; that when the Fates of the Empire are declining, Fortune can't perform a Greater Thing than the Diſcord of our Enemies.

The *Dulgibini*, and *Chaſuari*, ſhut up on the back; the *Angrivarii*, and *Chamavi*, and other Nations, not ſo much as mention'd. On the Front the *Friſii* are ready to receive them: They are call'd the Greater, or Leſſer *Friſii*, from the Proportion of their Forces; both Nations ſpread themſelves from the *Rhine* to the Ocean; where Fame hath publiſh'd, that *Hercules*'s Pillars are there, as yet, remaining.

Whether *Hercules* was there, or whether what is every-where Magnificent, we agree to impute to his Honour.

Nor was Reſolution wanting to *Druſus Germanicus*; but the Ocean oppos'd both him and *Hercules*, from making further Diſcovery. Since no one hath attempted it, it looks more holy and reverend to believe, rather than be too inquiſitive, in prying into the Secrets of the Gods.

Hitherto we have known *Germany* towards the *Weſt*. Towards the *North* it returns with a very great Winding.

And firſt of the Country of the *Chauci*. Although it begins from the *Friſii*, and poſſeſſes part of the Shoar, yet it is cover'd by the Confines of all thoſe Nations, which I have deſcrib'd, until it winds even to the *Catti*.

Such an immenſe Tract of Ground, the *Chauci* don't only inhabit, but alſo repleniſh: The moſt Noble of all the *Germans*, and who chuſe rather to defend their Greatneſs by their Juſtice. Without Covetouſneſs, without Weak-

neſs, quiet and ſequeſtred, make no War, are waſted by no Theft or Robbery: And this is a principal Demonſtration of their Courage and Force, becauſe that they did not obtain by Injuries a Superiority over others. Notwithſtanding they are all in a readineſs for War. And if their State requires an Army, they are well provided of Men and Horſes, and they are in the ſame Repute when they lie ſtill.

On the ſide of the *Chauci*, and *Catti*, the *Cheruſci* being unprovok'd, have too long indulg'd a laſting, but conſuming Peace, which was more pleaſant than ſafe; becauſe between the impotent and powerful there's no living in Security: When it's done by Force, Modeſty, and Integrity, are Names in the Power of the Superiour: So that they which were, in former Times, the good and juſt *Cheruſci*, are now call'd cowardly and fooliſh: Fortune, in the conquering *Catti*, was reputed in them Wiſdom; and the *Foſi*, a bordering Nation of the *Cheruſci*, were affected with the Ruine of the *Cheruſci*, by Right, their Companions of Adverſity; whereas they were much their Inferiours in Proſperity.

The ſame Coaſt of *Germany*, next to the Ocean, the *Cimbrians* inhabit; now a little City, but great in Glory: Their Camps on both Shoars, are largely the Monuments of their ancient Fame, and thoſe Intervals, by whoſe Compaſs thou may'ſt compute the Bulk and Strength of the Nation, and the Confidence they had of ſo great an Army.

Our City had been founded 640 Years, when firſt the Arms of the *Cimbrians* were heard on, *Cæcilius Metellus*, and *Papirius Carbo*, being Conſuls. From whence, if we reckon to the Second Conſulſhip of the Emperour *Trajan*, it almoſt amounts to Two hundred and ten Years; ſo long *Germany* was conquering: During which long Space of Time, there were many reciprocal Loſſes on both ſides; neither has the

the *Samnite*, nor the *Carthaginians*, nor the *Spaniards*, nor the *Gauls*, or indeed the *Parthians*, ſo often check'd us in our Carier; becauſe the Liberty of the *Germans* is more vehemently affected, than in the Kingdom of the *Parthians*: For what hath the *Eaſt* to object againſt us, beſides the Death of *Craſſus*, who had loſt himſelf, vanquiſh'd *Pacorus*, caſt down by *Ventidius*? But the *Germans* having ſlain, or taken Priſoners, *Carbo*, and *Caſſius*, and *Scaurus Aurelius*, and *Servilius Cepio*, and alſo *Marcus Manlius*, have, moreover, deſtroy'd Five Conſulary Armies from *Rome*; and *Varus*, with his three Legions, ſent by *Cæſar*: Neither has *Caius Marius*, in *Italy*; the Divine *Julius*, in *Gaul*; *Druſus*, *Nero*, and *Germanicus*, aſſaulted them in their own Habitations without Danger.

Not long after, the great Threatnings of *Cæſar* were turn'd into Ridicule.

From this time there was a ſetled Peace, 'till by the Opportunity of our Diſcord, and Civil Wars, they had won, by Aſſault, the Winter-Camps of the Legions, and alſo attempted *Gaul*: And being again from thence repuls'd, were afterward rather triumph'd over, than conquer'd.

Now we muſt treat of the *Suevians*, of whom there is not only one Nation, as of the *Catti* and *Tenecteri*; for they take up the major part of *Germany*, divided as yet by Countries, and diſtinct Names; although, in general they may be call'd *Suevians*. Its the Mark of the Nation, to curl their Hair, and tie it in a Knot: So are the *Suevians* diſtinguiſh'd from the reſt of the *Germans*; ſo are the Free-born of the *Suevians* from the Vaſſals. So in other Countries, whether from the Alliance of the *Suevians*, or (which often happens) in imitation, and that ſeldom, and whilſt they are young too: Amongſt the *Suevians*, even till they're Grey, they tie their briſly Hair behind, and

oftentimes upon the Crown of the Head only: Their Princes wear it more exact: Such innocent Care they take of their Beauty. Nor do they do it out of a Deſign, that they may make Love, or be beloved: They go into Battle with their Hair comb'd high, and for a Terror, and are ſo trimm'd up in view of their Enemies.

The *Semnones* report, That they are the moſt Ancient, and Noble of the *Suevians*. The Truth of their Antiquity, is confirm'd by their Religion. At a ſet time, all the People of one Blood, aſſemble by their Embaſſies in a Wood, Sacred by the Oracles of their Anceſtors, and by an ancient Veneration, and celebrate the horrid Beginnings of their barbarous Rites, by publickly killing a Man.

There is alſo another Reverence paid to that Grove; no one enters into it, unleſs bound like an inferior Perſon, and profeſſing openly the Power of their God: If by chance he falls down, it's not lawful to be taken away, or riſe up, but he is roll'd off the Ground: And thither all their Superſtition tends; and from thence were deriv'd the Origine of their Nation, that there was a God, Ruler of all, that all beſide were ſubject, and obeying.

The Succeſs of the *Semnones* gives this Authority: They inhabit a Hundred Villages; and compoſe ſo great a Body, that they believe themſelves the Head of the *Suevians*: On the other hand, the ſmall Number they have makes famous the *Longobards*; becauſe, being encompaſs'd with many, and very powerful Nations, they are ſafe themſelves, not by a Compliance, but by Battles and Hazards. Moreover, the *Reudigni*, and *Aviones*, and *Angli*, and *Varini*, and *Eudoſes*, and *Suardones*, and *Nuithones*, are fortify'd by Rivers and Woods: Neither is there any thing remarkable in particular, but that they in common Worſhip *Herthum*, that is, their Mother-Earth, and believe ſhe inter-

interpoſes in the Affairs of Mankind. There is a Sacred Wood in an Iſland of the Ocean, and a Chariot dedicated in it, cover'd with a Garment, allow'd to be touch'd but by one Prieſt: He underſtands, when the Goddeſs is come to her Retiring Room, and follows her, drawn by Cows, with much Veneration. Then are their Days of Rejoycing, and Feſtival Places, which ſhe vouchſafes to honour with her Preſence, whatſoever ſhe reputes worthy of her Arrival and Friendſhip. They make no Wars, put on no Armor, all their Arms are lock'd up: Peace and Tranquility is only then known, then only belov'd, 'till the ſame Prieſt returns the Goddeſs to her Temple, ſatiated with the Converſation of Mortals; preſently after the Chariot, and Veſtments, (and if you'll Credit it) the Deity her ſelf is waſh'd in a ſecret Lake: Bond-men attend, whom the ſame Lake immediately ſwallows up; from hence there's a myſtical Terror, and a holy Ignorance, that ſhould be, which they only ſee, who are juſt periſhing. And this part of the *Sueui* is extended into the very Heart of *Germany*; the nearer (that I may after the ſame Method, as I did a little before, follow the *Rhine*, ſo I may now the *Danube*) is the City of the *Hermunduri*, faithful to the *Romans*; and therefore to theſe of all the *Germans*, is Traffick allow'd, not only upon the Bank, but in the Bowels of the Country, and in the moſt flouriſhing Colony of the Province of *Rhætia*: They go where they pleaſe, without a Guard; and whereas to other Nations, we ſhew only our Arms and Incampments, to theſe, we throw open our Houſes, and Villa's, they not ſo much as coveting them. Amongſt the *Hermunduri*, the River *Albis* riſes, formerly very famous and much known; now its ſcarcely heard of. Hard by the *Hermunduri*, the *Nariſſi*, and further on the *Marcomani*, and *Quadi* live. The higheſt Reputation and Power the *Marcomani* have acquir'd by their Valour, and alſo their Habitation,

tion, having in times paſs'd driven out the *Boii*. Neither do the *Nariſci*, or *Quadi* degenerate; and this is as it were the Entrance of *Germany*, ſo far as its cover'd by the *Danube*. The *Marcomani* and *Quadi*, even within Memory, had Kings of their own Nation: The Noble Race of the *Marobodui*, and *Turdi*; and even now they ſubmit to be govern'd by Foreigners; but the Force and Power of their Kings is deriv'd from the *Roman* Authority. They are ſeldom aſſiſted with our Arms, tho' often with our Money: Neither are the *Marſigni*, *Cobini*, *Oſi*, *Burii*, which lie at the Back of the *Marcomani* and *Quadi*, of leſs Power, of whom the *Marſigni*, and *Burii*, in Speech and Habit reſemble the *Suevii*. The *Gallican* Language convinces, that the *Gothini*; the *Pannonian*, that the *Oſi*, are not originally *Germans*, becauſe they ſubmit to Taxing: Part of their Tribute the *Sarmates*, other part the *Quadi* impoſe on them, as upon Foreigners. The *Gothini*, to their Diſgrace, alſo dig up Iron: And all theſe have ſeiz'd little of the Champaigne, but Foreſts, and the Tops and Heights of Mountains; for a continued Ledge of Hills ſeparates and divides *Suevia*; beyond which many Nations dwell; out of which, the Names of the *Lygii* is the moſt diffuſive to many Cities.

It may ſuffice to inſtance the *Arii*, *Helveconi*, *Manimi*, *Eluſii*, *Naharvali*, as the moſt Potent. Amongſt the *Naharvali*, a Grove of the Ancient Religion is ſhewn; a Prieſt preſides in Womaniſh Attire; but they report, That the Gods were *Caſtor* and *Pollux*; by a *Roman* Conſtruction, the Name of that Deity is *Alcis*: There are no Images, no Monuments of a Foreign Superſtition; notwithſtanding, as Brothers, as young Men, they are worſhipp'd. But the *Arii* over and above their Forces, in which they ſurpaſs thoſe People, that are little before reckon'd up, are Cruel, and with Art and Time ſet off their innate Fierceneſs: Their Shields

Shields are black, their Bodies painted, they make Choice of dark Nights for their Engagements; and by a Dread and Shadow this diſmal Army ſtrikes a Terror, no Enemy being able to ſupport this new, and as it were, infernal Sight; for the Eyes are firſt conquer'd in all Battles. Beyond, the *Lygi*, the *Gothons* are govern'd a little more ſlaviſhly, than the reſt of the Countries of *Germany*; and yet not beyond Liberty. Next them, from the Ocean lie the *Rugii*, and *Lemovii*; and the Diſtinction of all theſe Nations, are round Shields, ſhort Swords, and Loyalty to their Kings. From hence, the Cities of the *Suionians*, beſides Men and Arms, are powerful in Shipping in the very Ocean: The Make of their Ships differs in this, becauſe, on both ſides, the Prow of the Ship always guides the Fore-part ready for Landing; neither are they manag'd by Sails; nor do they make fit the Oars in order on the ſides: The rowing is mov'd hither and thither as ill, and in ſome Rivers changeable, as occaſion requires. They ſet a Value upon Riches; and therefore, one governs, without exception, and not with the precarious Right of being accountable. Neither are their Arms in common, as amongſt the reſt of the *Germans*, but they are ſhut up under a Keeper, and that alſo a Slave; becauſe the Sea keeps off the ſudden Incurſions of an Enemy: Beſides, Soldiers that have nothing to do, eaſily grow effeminate: For, it is not the Intereſt of a King, to ſet the Noble, nor Free-born, nor indeed the Freedman, over his Armory.

Beyond the *Suionians* is another Sea, ſlow, and almoſt motionleſs, by which there is a Belief, that the whole World is bounded, and encompaſs'd; becauſe the laſt Brightneſs of the Setting Sun continues till it riſes again, and ſo very clear, that it eclipſes the very Stars. Some are of a Perſuaſion, that a Sound is to be heard of his riſing out of the Sea, and that the Forms

Forms of Gods, and the Rays of his Head are to be ſeen. Even there (and Fame is true) is the end of the World. Therefore, now on the right Coaſt of the *Suevian* Sea, the Countries of the *Æſtyii* are beat upon, who follow the Cuſtoms and Habits of the *Suevians*; but their Language comes nearer to the *Britiſh*: They worſhip the Mother of the Gods; they carry about the Pictures of Boars, as the Cognizance of Superſtition; that's for Arms, and a full Protection, and Warrants the Worſhipper of the Goddeſs ſecure, even among his Enemies. They make uſe of Clubs, more than Steel: They labour harder for Corn, and other Fruits, than is cuſtomary for the Sloath of the *Germans*; and diligently pry into the Sea; and they only of all others gather Amber, which they call *Gleſum*, amongſt the Shallows, and on the very Shoar: Neither is the Nature or Reaſon which produces it, enquired after, or found out, by theſe Barbarians. Moreover, it lay long amongſt the reſt of the Purgings of the Sea, till our Luxury gave it a Name: They make no uſe of it, for its unskilfully gathered, and brought miſ-ſhapen to us; and they with wonder, receive the Price: Notwithſtanding, you may take it to be the Juice of a Tree; becauſe ſome terreſtrial, and alſo flying Animals, for the moſt part appear in the midſt of it, which being intangl'd by its Viſcoſity, and ſuddenly, that Matter growing hard, are enclos'd. As in the more remote Places of the *Eaſt*, the Woods and Groves are more fruitful, where Frankinſence and Balms diſtil; ſo I ſhould believe, that there are in the Iſlands, and Countries of the *Weſt*, which drawn out and melted by the Rays of the Neighbouring Sun, glide into the adjacent Sea, and by the Force of the Tempeſts, float to the oppoſite Shoar: If you experiment the Nature of Amber in the Fire, it burns like a Torch, and nouriſhes the pinguous, and odoriferous Flame, and immediately grows as ſoft as Pitch or Roſin.

The

The Countries of the *Sitoni* are bounded by the *Suevians*; in other things they are alike, and differ only in this, that they are govern'd by a Woman; inſomuch, as they don't only degenerate from Liberty, but even from Servitude. This is the End of *Suevia*.

I am in ſuſpence, whether I ſhould aſcribe the Nations of the *Peucinians*, *Venedians*, and *Fennians*, to the *Germans*, or *Sarmates*; although the *Peucinians*, whom ſome call *Baſtarnas*, in Speech, Habit, Situation, and their little Huts, live as the *Germans*: They are all naſty and ſluggiſh: The Marriages of their Nobles are intermix'd; they are ſomewhat disfigur'd by the Dreſs of their Garments. The *Venedi* have very much follow'd their Cuſtoms; for they ravage, whatſoever is built on the Hills, between the *Peucinians* and *Fennians*: Yet, theſe ought rather to be reckon'd amongſt the *Germans*, becauſe they both pitch their Tents, carry up and down their Shields, and take a Pride in Footmanſhip, and being Fleet: All which things differ from the *Sarmates*, who live in Waggons, and on Horſe-back.

The *Fennians* are extreamly Cruel, and very Neceſſitous, having neither Arms, nor Horſes, nor Houſes; their Food is Herbs, their Cloathing Skins, and their Lodging is the Ground; their Confidence is in their Arrows, which for want of Iron, they point with Bones: The ſame Hunting maintains the Men, and the Women alſo; for they accompany one another every where, and demand part of the Booty. Nor is there any other place of Refuge for the very Infants, from wild Beaſts and the Weather, than that they're cover'd over with interwoven Boughs. Hither the Youth return, this is the Receptacle of the Aged; this they deem more happy, than groaning under the Toil of tillinged Ground; than to take Pains in building Houſes, and turning over their own, and other Peoples Fortune, betwixt Hope and Fear; here they are ſecure

cure againſt Men, ſecure againſt the Gods, having attain'd the moſt difficult Affair; that they have no Vows to make to the Gods; that they have nothing to wiſh. For other things, they're meerly fabulous; That the *Helluſii* and *Oxionæ* have the Faces and Countenances of Men, their Bodies and Limbs of wild Beaſts; which I will leave in common as a thing uncertain.

The End of the Second Volume.

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F I N I S.

The Family of AUGUSTUS.

C. Octavius, who was Governor of Macedonia, had by his

First Wife, *Ancharia*,

The Elder Octavia, who, by her first Husband, C. Marcellus, had Issue

- *M. Marcellus*, whose first Wife was Pompeia, the Daughter of Sextus; his second Julia, the Daughter of Augustus. He died young, without Issue by either.
- *The elder Marcella*, who had by her first Husband, M. Vipsanius Agrippa, } Children, as Suetonius saith; but we are not able to find them, for Vipsania, the Wife of Tiberius, was none of them.
- By her 2d Husband, Julus Antonius Africanus, the Triumvir's Son, of whom Plutarch in Anthony, and our Author in the 4th Ann. she had } *L. Antonius Africanus*, who died at *Marseilles*, Annal 4. From him or some Brother, as I suppose, came —— } *Sex. Antonius Africanus*, of whom in 14 Ann.
- *The younger Marcella*, of whom nothing.

By her second Husband, M. Anthony, the Triumvir,

- *Antonia the Elder*, who, by her Husband L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, had
  - *Domitia*, whose Husband was Crispus Passienus, as I guess from Quinctilian, lib. 6. cap. 2.
  - *Domitia Lepida*, who had by her first Husband, M. Valerius Barbatus Messala, } *Valeria Messalina*, Wife to the Emperor Claudius. See Lipsius's Commentary, p. 170. and Seneca in Menipæa, who makes Augustus Messalina's Great Uncle.
  - By her 2d, Ap. Junius Silanus, who yet seems to have been first the Husband of *Æmilia Lepida*, the great Grand-daughter of Augustus, and by them it is probable had } *L. Silanus*, betrothed to Octavia, Ann. 12. *M. Silanus*, Proconsul of Asia, Ann. 13. *Junia Calvina*, the Daughter-in-law of Vitellius, Ann. 12. and who survived to the time of Vespasian. See Suet. Vesp. c. 23.
  - *Cn. Domitius*, whose Wife was Agrippina, by whom he had } The Emperor *Nero*.
- *Antonia the Younger*, whose Issue, by her Husband Drusus, follows in the next Page.

Second Wife, *Attia*,

Octavia the Younger, of whose Marriage, or Issue, there appears nothing.

C. Octavius, who was afterwards *C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus Augustus*, who, by his Wife Scribonia, had

Julia, who by her first Husband M. Marcellus, and her third, the Emperor Tiberius, had no Issue; but by her Second, M. Vipsanius Agrippa, she had

- *C. Cæsar*, who married Livia, the Sister of Germanicus, Ann. 4.
- *L. Cæsar*, for whom Æmilia Lepida was designed, that was afterwards married to P. Quirinus, Ann. 3.
- *Agrippa Posthumus*.
- *Julia*, married to L. Æmilius Paulus, the Censor's Son, by whom she had Issue
  - *Æmilius Lepidus*, who married Drusilla. Dio 59, & Suet. Cal. c. 24.
  - *Æmilia Lepida*, the Wife of Claudius, Suet. Claud. c. 26. And I know not whether she is not the same who was married to Drusus, the Son of Germanicus, Ann. 6.
- *Agrippina* married to Germanicus, by whom she had
  - *Nero*, who married Julia, the Daughter of Drusus, Ann. 6.
  - *Drusus*, who married Æmilia Lepida, Ann. 6.
  - *C. Caligula*, of whose Marriages consult Suetonius.
  - *Agrippina*, who had three Husbands, Cn. Domitius, Crispus Passienus, the Emperor Claudius.
  - *Drusilla*, whose first Husband was L. Cassius, her second M. Æmilius Lepidus.
  - *Livia*, or *Livilla* according to Suetonius, *Julia* according to Tacitus and Dio, married M. Vinicius, Ann. 6. She was first married, or one of her Sisters, to Quinctilius Varus, whom Seneca, l. 1. Controv. c. 3. calls Germanicus's Son-in-law, and of which something appears in the 4th of the Annals.

The former is AUGUSTUS's *Family by Blood, this that follows, is his Family by Affinity, or his Wife* LIVIA's *Family, which was taken into his own by Adoption.*

Ti. Claudius Nero, whose Wife was *Livia Druſilla*, afterwards *Auguſta*, by whom he had Iſſue

- *Tiberius Nero*, who was afterwards Emperor, whose firſt Wife was Vipſania Agrippina, the Daughter of M. Vipſanius Agrippa and Pomponia, Daughter of Atticus, by whom he had
  - *Druſus*, who married Livia, or Livilla, the Siſter of Germanicus, by whom he had
    - *Tiberius the Twin*, whom Caius diſpatched. Sueton. cap. 14.
    - Another *Twin*, whoſe Name is unknown, Ann. 2. And who died at four Years old, Ann. 4.
    - *Julia*, who was married to Rubellius Blandus, Ann. 6. by whom ſhe had
      - *Rubellius Plautus*, whom Nero put to death. His Wife was Pollutia, Ann. 16.

His ſecond Wife was *Julia*, the Daughter of Auguſtus, by whom he had no Iſſue that lived.

Druſus Nero Germanicus, whoſe Wife was the younger *Antonia*, by whom he had

- *Germanicus Cæſar*, who married *Agrippina*, whoſe Iſſue you have before.
- *Livilla*, who firſt married *C. Cæſar*; then *Druſus*, her Couſin-German by the Father's ſide; and afterwards was betrothed to Sejanus, Ann. 4.
- *Claudius*, who was afterwards Emperor, whoſe firſt Wife was Plautia Urgulanilla, by whom he had
  - *Druſus*, to whom Sejanus's Daughter was betrothed. Sueton. Claud. c. 27. Tacit. Ann. 3.
  - *Claudia*, whom he caſt off.
- His ſecond Wife Ælia Petina, by whom he had
  - *Antonia*, whoſe firſt Husband was Pompeius Magnus, put to Death by Claudius; her ſecond, Fauſtus Sulla.
- His third Wife Valeria Meſſalina, by whom he had
  - *Octavia*, firſt betrothed to L. Silanus, but afterwards married to the Emperor Nero.
  - *Claudius Britannicus*, put to death by Nero.